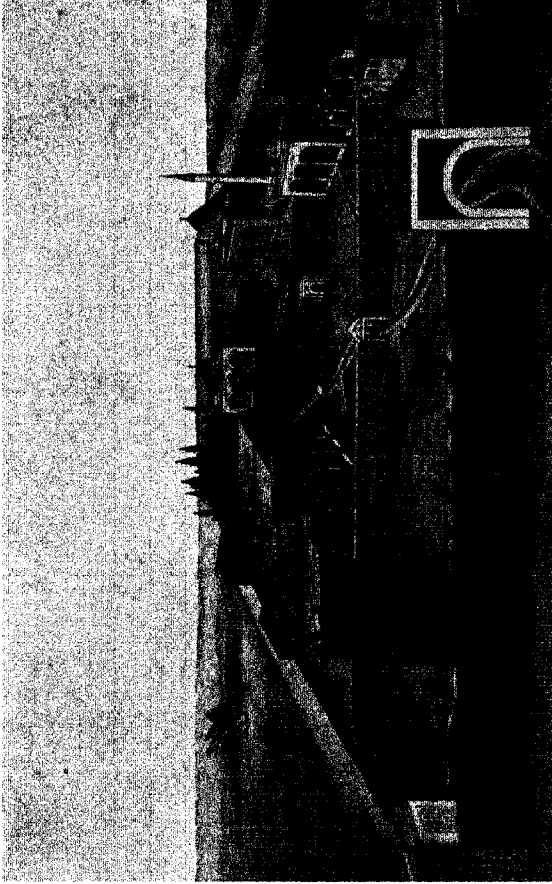


CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM
UNDER THE SULTANS

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
AMEN HOUSE E.C. 4
LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW
LEIPZIG NEW YORK TORONTO
MELBOURNE CAPE TOWN BOMBAY
CALCUTTA MADRAS SHANGHAI
HUMPHREY MILFORD
PUBLISHER TO THE
UNIVERSITY



THE TEKKE OF HAJI BEKTASH

CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM
UNDER THE SULTANS

BY THE LATE

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Cambridge ; Librarian of the British
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Aberdeen University, 1921-3*

1926-8

VOL. I

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1929

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

Cyzicus, Athos and its Monasteries

Letters on Religion and Folk-lore,

Joint Author (with H. H. Jewell) .

of The Church of our Lady of the

Hundred Gates at Paros

Printed in Great Britain

EDITOR'S NOTE

MY husband spent most of his life from 1899 to 1916 in Greece and Turkey. During the first fourteen years of this period, working as an archaeologist rather than as an orientalist, he studied at various times the classical archaeology of Greece, the medieval and modern history of Smyrna, the rise and development of the Orthodox monasteries of Mount Athos, the records of medieval geography and travel in the Near East, and the Genoese and Venetian coins and heraldry found in that area. The fruits of these studies were several books and some fifty articles.

In the spring of 1913 he visited Konia, the ancient Iconium. There he became interested in the interplay of Christianity and Islam within the Turkish empire, and from that time this subject and its derivatives occupied most of his attention. The result of his researches is this work, the first comprehensive study of Turkish folk-lore and its relations with Christianity. The inequalities of the work, however, are so obvious that they call for an explanation of the circumstances in which it has been written and published.

After his visit to Konia the author read and wrote steadily until the outbreak of the war. His delicate health made active military service impossible, and he continued his researches, amid ever-increasing difficulties, until the summer of 1915. Then he joined the Intelligence Department of the British Legation at Athens, where use was found for his exceptional knowledge of the languages and general conditions of the Near East. He found the work uncongenial, but he devoted himself entirely to it and had only his weekly holiday for writing. Late in 1916 the lung trouble that had long sapped his strength was diagnosed and he was sent to Switzerland. There was considerable danger

from German submarines at that time on the sea journey from Greece to Italy, and to avoid risk of loss he left behind him in Athens such of his manuscripts as did not exist in duplicate. In Switzerland he continued to read and to write, so far as his gradually declining health and strength allowed. He died there on February 22, 1920, a few days after his forty-second birthday.

It then fell to me to publish as much of his work as possible. On the present subject he had intended to publish two books, the first entitled 'Transferences from Christianity to Islam and Vice Versa' and the second 'Studies in Turkish Popular History and Religion'. Since, however, their contents were cognate and 'Studies' was left very unfinished, my friends advised their fusion. This has been carried out, 'Transferences' being represented in the present edition by Part I and Chapters XXV-XXXVIII of Part III, and 'Studies' by Part II and Chapters XXXIX-LX of Part III. The title of the present edition was given by me.

Very few of the manuscripts had passed the author as ready for publication. One-third of the total number were nearly ready. Four-fifths of the others, including those in Athens, were in a provisional form, and one-fifth existed only in notes. In my editorial work I have preserved the original text as scrupulously as possible. Certain repetitions were deleted after the two books were combined, and defective chapters have been written up and completed to the best of my ability, but these are the only parts of the text which are not as my husband wrote them. In such alterations as I made, I followed his notes and made extensive use of his letters to Professor R. M. Dawkins. All the passages rewritten have been specified, so that editorial mistakes may not be imputed to him. In the foot-notes I have taken more liberties. My husband hoped that others

would desire to build on his foundations, and with this possibility in view I have greatly enlarged the foot-notes by including whatever relevant material existed in his Swiss note-books. Much of this material was destined for two companion volumes which he planned on transferences from paganism to Christianity in the West and from Christianity to Islam in Syria and Palestine. Some of his work on transferences from paganism appears in his 'Letters on Religion and Folklore', but the bulk of his material for those companion volumes is now to be found in the foot-notes of the present book. In this connexion I regret that some references have defied verification.

The bibliography, glossary, and index are my work. The glossary was kindly checked by Sir Harry Lamb, G.B.E., K.C.M.G., and the index was revised by the indexing expert of the Clarendon Press. The map has been drawn under my directions by the Press.

The spelling of classical and Moslem names has caused the usual difficulties. In both cases well-known words have been written in what seemed their most familiar, though possibly erroneous, English forms. Less familiar classical words have been transliterated letter by letter, and unfamiliar Moslem words have been given, through the kind help of Mr. E. Edwards, according to the British Museum system of transliteration, but without diacritic signs. On the whole, Turkish, rather than Arabic, vowels have been preferred in these Moslem words.

As foot-notes indicate, early versions of some chapters have already appeared elsewhere. My cordial thanks are now offered to the editors of the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, and the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* for permitting the chapters in question to be reprinted.

As regards other obligations, my husband would have wished special mention to be made of the generosity

with which the library of the Faculté de Théologie Libre at Lausanne and the cantonal libraries of Sion and Lausanne lent him books during his stay in Switzerland. His constant praise of the staff and library of the Reading Room at the British Museum was more than justified by my own experiences when verifying the references in this work. The Clarendon Press have undertaken its publication on most generous terms and have shown a very pleasant courtesy in all their dealings with me. Their printers have handled the long and difficult manuscript with taste and skill. The Hibbert Trustees have kindly borne part of the expenses of publication. The clever photograph of the sacred fowls of St. James is by Mr. C. Thomas. The 'writing' of the Seven Sleepers was made for me by a Cretan dervish in 1915. Professor Dawkins has read Parts I and II in manuscript and has made some useful suggestions. Professor Sir Thomas Arnold, C.I.E., F.B.A., D.Litt., has allowed me to consult him again and again. Mr. Stanley Casson, Principal W. R. Halliday, the late Dr. D. G. Hogarth, C.M.G., F.B.A., D.Litt., Professor D. S. Margoliouth, D.Litt., Dr. H. Thomas, D.Litt., and the Rev. Dr. Wigram, D.D., also have been kind. From first to last Dr. G. F. Hill, LL.D., F.S.A., D.Litt., has put his experience and his learning at my disposal.

In a sense it is fitting that my hand should put the finishing touches to the work. The fateful visit to Konia was the wedding present I (unforeseeingly) chose from those which my husband-to-be offered me the previous summer. Since his death I have spent four years, all told, preparing the work for publication. Yet it is only too certain that many errors and deficiencies still remain in it, mass of detail that it is. I hope they will be set down to me and will not gravely impede readers in their use or their enjoyment of the work.

M. M. H.

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LIST OF PERIODICALS AND BOOKS CONSULTED

I. LIST OF PERIODICALS

- Abb. Bayr. Ak.* for *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Munich).
- Abb. Sächs. Ges.* for *Abhandlungen der Königlich-Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* (Leipzig).
- A. J. A.* for *American Journal of Archaeology* (Baltimore).
- A. J. Phil.* for *American Journal of Philology* (Baltimore).
- L'Albanie* (Lausanne).
- Amer. Miss. Her.* for *American Missionary Herald* (Boston).
- Annales des Mines* (Paris).
- Archaeologia* (London).
- Arch. des Miss.* for *Archives des Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires* (Paris).
- Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* for *Archäologische Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich* (Vienna).
- Arch. Hist. Gascogne* for *Archives Historiques de la Gascogne* (Auch).
- Archiv f. Religionsw.* for *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (Freiburg i. B.).
- Arch. Zeit.* for *Archäologische Zeitung* (Berlin).
- Ἀθηναῖον* (Athens).
- Ath. Mitth.* for *Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* (Athens).
- Atti Soc. Lig.* for *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* (Genoa).
- Das Ausland* (Munich).
- Beitr. z. Vaterl. Gesch. Basels* for *Beiträge zur vaterländischen Geschichte Basels* (Basel).
- Bessarione* (Rome).
- Blackwood's Magazine* for *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (Edinburgh).
- Boll. R. Soc. Geogr.* for *Bollettino della Reale Società Geografica* (Rome).
- B.C.H.* for *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* (Athens).
- B.S.A.* for *Annual of the British School at Athens* (London).
- Bulletin d'Archéologie Chrétienne* (Belley).
- Bull. Soc. Géog.* for *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* (Paris).
- Bund* (Berne).
- Buζavriς* (Constantinople).
- Byz. Zeit.* for *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (Leipzig).
- Chambers' Journal* (London).

- Class. Rev.* for *Classical Review* (London).
Comptes Rendus for *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (Paris).
Congr. Arch. for *Congrès Archéologique de France* (Paris).
 [Onzième] *Congrès d'Orientalistes* (Paris).
Contemp. Rev. for *Contemporary Review* (London).
 Δελτίον Χριστ. Ἀρχαιολ. Ἐταιρείας for Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας (Athens).
 Δελτίον Ἱστορ. Ἐταιρείας for Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας (Athens).
Denk. Wien. Akad. for *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Vienna).
Échos d'Orient (Paris).
 Ἡμερολ. Φ. Σκόκου for Ἡμερολόγιον Φ. Σκόκου (Athens).
Emmanuel Coll. Mag. for *Emmanuel College Magazine* (Cambridge).
Eng. Hist. Rev. for *English Historical Review* (London).
 Ἔσθια (Athens).
Expositor (London).
Folk-Lore (London).
Gelehrte Anzeigen d. bayr. Akad. for *Gelehrte Anzeigen der Königlichen Bayrischen Akademie* (Munich).
Geog. Journ. for *Geographical Journal* (London).
Globus (Brunswick).
Harper's Magazine (London).
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Der Islam (Strassburg).
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J. R. Anthr. Inst. for *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (London).
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Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch. for *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* (London).
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Report Brit. Ass. for *Report of the British Association* (London).
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Rev. Ét. Anc. for *Revue des Études Anciennes* (Bordeaux).
Rev. Hist. Relig. for *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* (Paris).
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¹ The periodical is to be distinguished from Le Quien's book of the same name.

- Rev. Num.* for *Revue Numismatique* (Paris).
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¹ The majority of modern Greek books in this list are accessible only at the British Archaeological School, Athens, or the National Library, Athens. Mr. Heurtley, of the British School, and Mr. D. P. Petrocochino have kindly helped me with certain of their bibliographical details. Books marked with an asterisk are those I have been unable to consult.—M. M. H.

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I

TRANSFERENCES FROM CHRISTIANITY
TO ISLAM AND VICE VERSA

I

INTRODUCTION

PROFESSOR SIR WILLIAM RAMSAY has in repeated articles laid stress on the tenacity of local religious traditions in Asia Minor, especially directing the attention of travellers to important Mohammedan holy places as possible heirs to Christian traditions.¹ The following essay is an attempt to bring together some available cases of sites and cults transferred from Christianity to Islam, and to draw from them such conclusions regarding the causes and process of such transference as seem justified by the evidence at our disposal. Though my reading of this evidence often leads me to conclusions differing widely from Ramsay's, I am confident that he will recognize and appreciate any honest attempt to work out his own suggestions: nor can the arrangement of so much widely scattered material be without a certain value.

My own conclusion, derived, I hope, impartially from the evidence, is that a survival of religious tradition is so far from inevitable that it is only probable under favourable conditions. A violent social upheaval, such as a conquest by aliens, may possibly, and a change of population involving a wide area will probably, obliterate such traditions altogether. In the transition from Christianity to Islam both these conditions obtained in many country districts of Asia Minor. In European Turkey the Christian element has always been in the majority, but the conquest of 1453 meant considerable

¹ *Trans. Orient. Congr.* (London), 1893, ii, 381-91; *Expositor*, 7th series, ii (1906), pp. 454-75; *Pauline Studies*, chap. vi; cf. also *Impressions of Turkey*, pp. 71, 265; *Geog. Journ.* xx (1902), p. 274; *B.S.A.* xviii. 61.

social changes for Constantinople, from which of necessity, owing to the comparative completeness of its records, many of my cases in Chapter II are taken. On the other hand, in the pagan-Christian transition¹ period the process was gradual and without violent shock. It is logical to expect less survival from Christianity to Islam than from paganism to Christianity, and such facts as we have are in harmony with this expectation.

Despite the readiness with which the eye of faith detects 'survivals', well-documented instances of the imposition of Mohammedan cults on Christian are rare in Turkish lands. This may be partly discounted by the considerations (1) that our knowledge of the Christian cults obtaining in the interior of the country at the Turkish conquest is lamentably meagre, and (2) that little or no research has been directed to the investigation of the *origines* of Mohammedan holy places.² We cannot in the nature of things expect more than a very limited number of proved or probable transferences of cult.

For the purposes of the present investigation we may divide our instances of transferred or supplanted sanctuaries into the following main categories :

(a) Urban sanctuaries, where the transference is expressed outwardly by the transformation of parish church into parish mosque (Chapter II).

(b) Suburban or rural sanctuaries, where the characteristic outward change is from monastery to *tekke* or dervish convent, or from Christian chapel to Moslem oratory (Chapter V).

(c) 'Natural' cults, depending ultimately for their sanctity on physical characteristics of the site, where

¹ Cf. Hasluck, *Letters*, pp. 47, 57.

² This could alone excuse my own presumption in intruding on such a field without sufficient knowledge of the languages to consult oriental sources at first hand.

buildings and organization are non-existent or of negligible importance (Chapters VIII and IX).

In all apparent cases of Christian cults transferred to Moslems we must distinguish as clearly as possible the character of the newcomers' inheritance from the displaced religion. Is it, so to speak, 'material' or 'spiritual'? Has the Christian site or building alone fallen into alien hands, or has there passed with it some of the pre-Mohammedan *religio loci*, e. g. the personality of the saint supplanted or the local legends and customs of the sanctuary? And how far has the previous sanctity of the spot affected its selection by later comers?

TRANSFERENCE OF URBAN SANCTUARIES

IN the case of urban cults particularly a special *caveat* must be entered against the arbitrary assumption that, because a church was taken over by the conquerors and used as a mosque, the *religio loci* was transferred with the building. It was the normal custom of a Mohammedan sovereign, on conquering a town, either to build a mosque or to appropriate to that use as soon as possible the best available building, which was frequently, as is natural, a church. This he did, primarily in order to seal his conquest by having official prayer (*khutba*) said for him as sovereign, and in the second place with the less personal object of providing for the public worship of his co-religionists.¹ Thus, even during a temporary occupation, mosques were not infrequently built, as by the Arabs at Missis in A. D. 703,² by Harun-al-Rashid at Tyana,³ and (according to tradition) by Maslama at Galata⁴ during the Arab siege of Constantinople. On the other hand, the first action of the Ottoman sultan Osman, after the taking of Karaja Hisar, was the transformation of the church into a mosque.⁵ Mohammed II at Constantinople first trans-

¹ Fabri (*Evagat.* ii, 228) notes that, when either Christians or Saracens take a town, they change the cult, mosques becoming churches and vice versa. The reason in both cases is *propter aptitudinem*. Even the apostles did not destroy temples, but removed the idols and consecrated the buildings: see Hasluck, *Letters*, pp. 233 ff.

² Brooks, in *J.H.S.* xviii, 204-5.

³ Bury, *E. Roman Empire*, p. 250.

⁴ This seems, however, to be a 'discovery' of Mohammed III's reign (1595-1603): cf. Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii, 71, and below, pp. 719-20.

⁵ Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 75.

formed S. Sophia into a mosque and later built one of his own, the latter being officially the 'Friday' mosque of the city. Still later, it is recorded of Suleiman the Magnificent that he converted churches into mosques in every one of the towns and fortresses he had won from Christendom.¹ All churches in towns taken by assault were at the disposal of the conqueror, though the principle was not always insisted on.² The significance of the 'Friday' mosque in conquered towns is thus primarily political rather than religious,³ and the change from church to mosque was in most cases dictated merely by precedent and convenience. When whole villages of Christians were converted, the village

¹ Evliya, *Travels*, I, i, 82. An inscription at Chios (Hasluck, in *B.S.A.* xvi, 154, no. 16b) testifies to Turkish practice at this same period. A curious commentary on this is provided by the passage in Michon, *Solution nouv. de la Ques. des Lieux Saints*, p. 72. In the eighteenth century the Cenaculum at Jerusalem was known also as the Tomb of David. Some Moslems obtained entry to the convent on the plea of its being David's tomb, and said their prayers there, after which it was automatically recognized as a mosque. Omar, on the contrary, when he took Jerusalem, said his prayers at the spot now marked by a minaret near the Holy Sepulchre church (Stanley, *Sinai*, p. 460). This was a mark of clemency, because he could have done so within the church, thereby transforming it into a mosque.

² At Damascus we find the curious compromise of dividing the great church between the two religions (Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 265: cf. Menasik-el-Haj, *Kitab*, tr. Bianchi, p. 36, in *Rec. de Voyages*, ii, 115). At Larnaka in Cyprus the church of S. Lazaros was transformed into a mosque, and afterwards bought back by the Christians (de Villamont, *Voyages*, i, 284: cf. Kootwyck, in Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, p. 190). At Constantinople part of the city was regarded as taken by storm, part as surrendered (Mordtmann in *Byz. Zeit.* xxi, 129-144). The transformation of churches into mosques after this date seems due to special circumstances, political, religious, or even personal.

³ In the same way the churches on Mount Athos had scarcely suffered from the Turks until the political troubles of the Greek revolution arose (Hasluck, *Athos and its Monasteries*, pp. 50 ff.). Miss Durham found that the Turks had desecrated a church *from policy*, and states that this terrorism had a great moral effect (*Burden of the Balkans*, pp. 122-3).

church probably became a mosque automatically in the same way.¹

It is further to be noticed that a mosque is only by exception a holy place² in the superstitious sense that a church often is, since it is not normally a place of burial³ or the repository of relics. Both these functions belong in Islam rather to the *turbe* or mausoleum. In towns only a limited number of privileged graves are gathered round the mosques, the great burial-grounds being outside the walls. The conjunction of mosque

¹ A case in Cappadocia, dating back less than two centuries, is cited by Oberhammer and Zimmerer (*Durch Syrien*, p. 143): cf. Rott, *Kleinas. Denkm.*, p. 199. On the other hand, the Vallahadhes of SW. Macedonia (see Wace and Thompson, *Nomads of the Balkans*, p. 29; M. M. Hasluck, in *Contemp. Rev.*, Feb. 1924, pp. 225 ff.) have preserved some churches as such. According to information supplied to me by a police officer of Chotil, there is at Vrosdan a church of the Anargyri, whose feast is kept by the local Mohammedan women, if sick; an Orthodox priest celebrates at the church, crossing these women's foreheads with oil from the saint's lamp: the women are particular that this oil, and no other, should be used. At Vron diza a church of S. Nicolas remains unchanged. Once a man stole a tile from the church but restored it after S. Nicolas had appeared and threatened him in a dream, and ever since a lamp has been kept burning in honour of the saint. A shepherd feeding his flocks near Vinyani was rebuked by Kasim (S. Demetrius), who appeared to him. A man who neglected to fulfil his vow to light a lamp to S. Demetrius was struck cross-eyed. [My personal inquiries in 1922 suggested that these and similar churches survive in some Vallahadhes villages because the villages in question were till lately *chiftliks* worked by Christian labourers, for whose benefit the church was tolerated. M. M. H.] Cf. the Moslem Albanians of Kachanik (Bérard, *Macédoine*, pp. 110 f.).

² Even the great mosque of Mecca is used by poor pilgrims as a lodging (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i, 273). They eat and sleep there, but may not cook.

³ Mohammed himself even forbade the bringing of corpses into mosques at burial (d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, i, 240). Lane, however, states that in Cairo bodies are brought into a mosque before burial (*Mod. Egyptians*, ii, 263). Mohammed's own tomb at Medina is separated from the mosque lest it should become 'an Object of Idolatrous Adoration' (Burton, *Pilgrimage to Meccah*, 1906, i, 314). For the Sultan of Egypt and S. Barbara's body see below, p. 235, n. 1.

and *turbe* either is, as, *e. g.*, at Eyyub at Constantinople, a development of the idea that the graves of departed saints impart a peculiar efficacy to prayer ;¹ or, as, *e. g.*, at the Ulu Jami at Manisa, it is due to a pious founder's desire that prayer for his soul may be suggested by the presence of his tomb in or near the mosque.² In cases where a 'transferred' church possessed a grave, for instance, of peculiar sanctity, this sanctity might (but need not) be inherited by the mosque, either through the adoption of the tomb under another name or by some less obvious process.

The following instances of 'transferred' churches illustrate the abolition, adoption,³ or transference of the cults involved :

I. S. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE. Here, in spite of the 'superstitious' sanctity attaching to the Christian church from the numberless relics and sacred objects deposited in it, especially the tomb of S. John Chrysostom,⁴ the building became at the conquest primarily a *jami* or place of assembly for the Faithful. The case of S. Sophia is, however, remarkable as illustrating the tendency, not only of certain old superstitions to survive—the selection being apparently quite arbitrary—but also of new ones to come into being after the change of masters. In this case certainly the resultant mass of superstitious legend is due at least as much to the

¹ The mental attitude of Mohammedans with regard to the saintly dead, which of course varies greatly from class to class, has been admirably explained by Gibb (*Ottoman Poetry*, i, 180, n. 2 : quoted below, pp. 256-7) : the above is a perfect orthodox point of view. See the fuller treatment below, pp. 250 ff.

² See below, p. 228.

³ For the assimilation of non-Islamic ideas by Islam see especially Goldziher, in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii (1860), p. 298. The Holy Land in particular affords well-documented examples of Christian cults taken over by the Moslems.

⁴ See especially an anonymous fifteenth-century pilgrim's account in Khitrovo, *Itin. Russes*, pp. 225-7.

inherent beauty and impressiveness of the building itself as to its antecedent consecration.

In S. Sophia, then, though the Christian cults of saints' relics were abolished when the church became a mosque, at least three of the sacred antiquities of the Christians continued to be recognized as such by the Turks.¹ (1) The doors said by the Christians to have been constructed from wood of the ark² were still an object of reverence to Moslems, who said a *fatiba* for the repose of Noah's soul before them as a preliminary to setting out on a voyage.³ (2) The sacred well, covered, as Christians said, by a stone from the well of Samaria,⁴ afforded the Turks a cure for palpitation of the heart. (3) The curative virtues of the 'sweating column', attributed by the Christians to S. Gregory,⁵ were fathered by the Turks on the Moslem saint Khidr:⁶

¹ Of S. Sophia Quiclet says (*Voyages*, p. 170): 'il y a une pierre de marbre, sur laquelle les Turcs croient que la Vierge a lavé les langes de nostre Seigneur, qu'ils honorent extrêmement pour cette raison'.

² Khitrovo, *Itin. Russes*, pp. 225-7.

³ Evliya, *Travels*, I, i, 63, and C. White, *Constantinople*, i, 272. Cf. Lonicerus, *Chron. Turc.*, tom. I, vol. ii, cap. i, p. 101: 'vnam [januam] e ligno arcae Noae extractam esse fabulantur, qua etiam de causa perforato aere tribus locis lignum osculis adeuntium, & remissionem inde peccatorum sibi promittentium, patere aiunt'. Cf. also G. Sandys, *Travels*, p. 25; Aaron Hill, *Ottoman Empire* (1709), p. 138.

⁴ Antoniadès, '*Αγία Σοφία*', ii, 169 ff.

⁵ C. White, *Constantinople*, i, 270, and Evliya, *op. cit.* I, i, 63. Ailing Christians rubbed their shoulders against it for cure (Antony of Novgorod (1200), in Khitrovo, *Itin. Russes*, p. 90, and in Lethaby and Swainson, *S. Sophia*, p. 102). Aaron Hill (*Ottoman Empire*, p. 138), says that in his day both Christians and Turks held the column for that at which Christ was scourged: 'and upon this only ground you may see great numbers of promiscuous People wiping off the Moisture with their Cloaths or Foreheads, some expecting by its sovereign Power, to be protected from the least Misfortune'. The moisture of the column is held to cure ophthalmia if patients wet their fingers in the hole made by Khidr's thumb and touch their eyes with the damp finger (Guthe, in *Z.D.P.V.* xvii, 303). For the connexion with S. Gregory see Sandys, *Travels*, p. 25; Antoniadès, '*Αγία Σοφία*', ii, 226-7.

⁶ For Khidr see below, pp. 319 ff.

both saints are said to have appeared near the pillar. Further, a series of legends grew up associating the building both with the conquest of Constantinople and with much earlier events in the history of Islam. Thus, the hole in the Sweating Column was said to have been made by Khidr as a sign to Mohammed, the conqueror of the city.¹ When the Turks first entered the building, the corpse of one of their warriors was found in it laid out ready for burial, with the invocation *Ya Vudud* ('O All-loving') inscribed on his breast in crimson letters.² By a further stretch of imagination the 'praying-places' of heroes like Eyyub, Sidi Battal, and others who fought in the Arab sieges of Constantinople, were pointed out.³

The site and building itself were islamised by various traditions. The site had been sanctified by the prayers of Solomon: ⁴ at the building Justinian's architect was aided in his work by the Moslem saint Khidr,⁵ who attempted to orientate the building after its construction: ⁶ and, finally, a legend connected the repairs after the earthquake of A. D. 538 with Mohammed himself. The dome, so ran the story, fell in on the day the Prophet was born,⁷ and could not be repaired till Elias (Khidr) appeared to the Greeks and prescribed the use of mortar compounded of sand from Mecca, water from the well Zem-zem, and saliva of the Prophet. The

¹ Guthe in *Z.D.P.V.* xvii, 303.

² Evliya, I, i, 44; I, ii, 14. The story is possibly influenced by the legend current in Mandeville's time (in Wright, *Early Travels*, p. 135; cf. Bovenschen in *Z. f. Erdk.* 1888, p. 216, for Mandeville's sources), that the body of a man was found in S. Sophia with an inscription showing that he had believed in Christ long before His birth. For this ante-dating type of legend see below, pp. 72-3.

³ Evliya, I, i, 59 f. ⁴ *Ibid.* I, i, 60. ⁵ *Ibid.* I, i, 55: cf. 21 f.

⁶ Carnoy and Nicolaidis, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 29. The Turkish folk-lore regarding S. Sophia collected in the work shows that many of the traditions of Evliya are probably current in our own day.

⁷ A church at Erzerum did the same (Haji Khalfa, tr. Armain, p. 651).

place where Elias appeared was held sacred by the Turks and pilgrims, who, saying their prayers there for forty days in succession, were infallibly granted their hearts' desire by the intercession of Elias. Loss of memory was cured by seven successive prayers at the spot and the observance of certain prescribed forms of prayer and diet.¹

It appears indeed from Evliya's account that two hundred years after the Conquest S. Sophia was as 'superstitiously' holy to the Turks as it had been to the Greeks before them. Of this holiness, as we have seen, part only was actually inherited: the rest may be regarded as the outcome of the impression of almost supernatural magnificence made by the building on the conquerors, and their natural desire to associate it with the history of their own religion since it had become a mosque. Any remarkable ancient building may attract to itself a cycle of legend: the fact that S. Sophia is now a mosque has more to do with the religious colouring of its Turkish folk-lore than the fact that it was once a church. This point is illustrated by the history of the 'Tower of the Winds' at Athens, which had no religious associations till it was adopted by dervishes,² of which adoption there is no earlier record than that of Stuart and Revett.³ At a later time the tower was supposed to be haunted by the Moslem saint Kara Baba.⁴ The religious-superstitious association is

¹ Evliya, i, i, 55 and 64; more fully in C. White's *Constantinople*, i, 267 ff.; Khidr also appeared in S. Sophia in the reign of Sultan Selim II (Evliya, i, i, 61).

² They came or returned between Pococke's visit in 1740 (*Descr. of the East*, ii, ii, 168) and Stuart and Revett's in 1753 (*Ant. of Athens*, i, 14: cf. Le Roy (1754), *Mon. de la Grèce*, ii, 10, and Chandler (1765), *Trav. in As. Min. and Greece*, ii, 117).

³ The dervishes then in possession of the building were Kadri, as is shown by the still remaining plaster finial in the form of a twelve-sided Kadri mitre (*tağ*).

⁴ Kambouroglous, *Ἱστορία*, iii, 125; for Kara Baba, who was buried

probably here suggested in the first instance by the resemblance of the building to an octagonal Seljuk *turbe*.¹

It is noteworthy that, while the greatest respect was shown to S. Sophia, the mosque of Mohammed II was by some considered a specially propitious place of prayer, 'because the workmen employed in building it were all Musulmans; and to this day neither Jews nor Christians are allowed to enter its blessed doors,'² *i. e.* because it had never been a church. This is in direct contradiction to the theory of inherited sanctity.

2. PARTHENON, ATHENS. The history of the transformed Parthenon offers phenomena exactly similar though not so fully documented. Of its Christian marvels at least one continued to attract the admiration of the new congregation—the transparent marble windows by which light was admitted to the interior. This

at the east end of the Acropolis, see Dodwell's *Tour through Greece*, i, 305.

¹ Whereas the account of Athens in 1390 by N. da Martoni (below, p. 181, n. 5) is full of medieval saints, relics, and miracles, the curious notice of its wonders written about the time of the Turkish conquest and entitled *Τὰ Θέατρα καὶ Διδασκαλεῖα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν* by the so-called *Anon. Viennensis* (in Kambouroglous' *Μνημεῖα*, i, 92, and elsewhere) displays a purely classical interest. Here (§ 2) the Tower of the Winds is called the school of Socrates, an association kept up till the middle of the seventeenth century, though the building itself becomes a convent (*tekke*) of dervishes called the 'Tekke of Ibrahim'. This is first mentioned by another anonymous author (*Anon. Paris.*, published by Förster in *Ath. Mitth.* viii, 31, and by Kambouroglous in *Μνημεῖα*, i, 95, and *Ἰστορία*, i, 125, 159). He has been placed by various authors in the fifteenth, the sixteenth, and even the second half of the seventeenth century (Gregorovius, *Stadt Athen*, ii, 361, note), and considers the building to have been the 'temple and school' of Socrates. The French missionary Babin, dated with certainty in the middle of the seventeenth century, considers it, however, a tomb (Babin, *Relation d'Athènes*, Lyon, 1674, p. 41; cf. Nointel, *ap. Laborde, Athènes*, i, 122, and Consul B. Goujon in Omont, *Miss. Arch.* i, 335; see also Perry's *View of the Levant*, p. 492). This is, to my mind, the Turkish contribution to the myth.

² Evliya, *Travels*, i, i, 66-7.

simple miracle, thought by Martoni in 1395 to indicate the presence of a buried saint,¹ was considered by the seventeenth-century Turks to be a sign given by the Prophet to Mohammed the Conqueror the day the church was changed into a mosque.²

The antecedent Christian sanctity³ of the building and the potency of Christian magic were credited with two miracles of the 'black' sort.⁴ (1) A Turk, who ventured to open a marble chest or tomb, was struck dead, and his action brought plague on the town.⁵ (2) Another, who fired at an *eikon* of the Virgin in the building, was killed outright by the ricochet of the bullet, or, according to other accounts, was punished by the withering of his arm.⁶ Further, we have evidence, though on the doubtful authority of La Guilletière, that about the middle of the seventeenth century the Parthenon became the centre of an important Moslem pilgrimage administered by dervishes from Asia Minor, who, however, had been driven out some ten years before our author wrote (*i.e.* about 1659). The passage concerning this neglected chapter in the Parthenon's history is given in full on p. 755. La Guilletière's statement is denied by Spon on the authority of Consul Giraud and local Greeks ten years later (1679). But Giraud was not consul at the time to which La Guil-

¹ Martoni in *Ath. Mitth.* xxii, 429. For other 'burning stones' of the same sort see below, p. 181 and n. 5.

² La Guilletière, *Athènes Ancienne et Nouvelle*, p. 196.

³ The Parthenon is sometimes supposed to have been a church of the Wisdom of God, but Lambros has shown it belonged to the *Παναγία Ἀθηνιώτισσα* ('*Ἀθῆναι περὶ τὰ τέλη τοῦ ἰβ' αἰῶνος*, p. 34).

⁴ On such miracles see below, pp. 36-7.

⁵ Babin, *Relation d'Athènes*, pp. 32-3; La Guilletière, *op. cit.*, p. 198; Wheler, *Journey into Greece*, p. 364; Galland, *Journal*, i, 38.

⁶ Babin, *Relation d'Athènes*, pp. 32-3; La Guilletière, *op. cit.*, p. 193; Galland, *loc. cit.*; Wheler, *loc. cit.* During the Turkish occupation of Mount Athos a soldier shot at the Virgin over the gate of the monastery of Vatopedi: the image bled and the soldier was found hung (Didron, *Iconographie Chrétienne*, p. 461).

letière refers, and some considerations support the latter's testimony. His description of the interior of the building hung with rags and other offerings rings true, and the movement against the dervish orders under Mohammed IV from 1656 onwards¹ fits exactly with the expulsion of the dervishes mentioned by La Guilletière.² It is, however, possible that he has confused the Parthenon with another building. If not, to whom were the dervish cult and pilgrimage directed? Athens was particularly connected by learned orientals with the Greek philosophers, and on that account called by them the 'City of the Sages' (*Medinat al Hokama*).³ The local traditions of the later Middle Ages associated nearly every ancient building at Athens with some philosopher.⁴ The tradition of Athens as the dwelling-place of Plato 'the divine' was still alive among the Turks in the middle of the seventeenth century.⁵ It is quite possible that the Parthenon at Athens, like the church of S. Amphilocheus at Konia,⁶ figured

¹ For this movement see below, pp. 419-23.

² As to the reputation of La Guilletière, the general verdict of our own times is that his forgery consisted in his using the material of other people, notably the Athenian missionaries, passing it off as the fruit of his own travels.

³ D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orientale*, s.v. 'Athiniah': cf. Saad-ed-din, in Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 351.

⁴ *Anon. Viennensis* (ed. L. Ross in *Jahrbücher der Litt.* 1840): also Kambouroglous, *Μνημεία*, i, 159).

⁵ Cf. Haji Khalfa, *Rumeli und Bosna*, p. 109: 'Atina . . . der Wohnort des göttlichen Plato und der berühmtesten Philosophen, und deshalb die Stadt der Weisen genannt'.

⁶ See below, pp. 364-5. Another house of Plato was shown at Pergamon in the fourteenth century (Ibn Batuta, tr. Sanguinetti, ii, 315; tr. Lee, p. 73), though Galen, not Plato, was the philosopher connected with that town: possibly the two were fused in the popular mind. A reputed house of Hippocrates (to Arabs, Bokrat) in Kos served in the eighteenth century as a mosque (Egmont and Heymann, *Travels*, i, 263); already in 1420 Buondelmonti had spoken of the house and spring of Hippocrates (*Liber Insularum*, § 45), the latter at first identified with a curious built well-house above the town of Kos, and later,

as Plato's observatory.¹ The dervishes of La Guille-
tière's time came from Konia,² where the cult of Plato
was predominant.

3. S. DEMETRIUS, SALONICA, was not converted into
a mosque till some years after the taking of the city by
the Turks. The grave of the saint, to which primarily
the church owed its sanctity, was respected and re-
mained a Christian pilgrimage :³ it was, further, to some
extent adopted as a place of healing by the Moslems.⁴

after this had reverted to its classical name of Burinna, with a spring
called *κόκκινα νερά* (Herzog, *Koische Forschungen*, p. 161). Other re-
ferences to Hippocrates in Kos are Galland (1673), ed. Schefer, ii, 21 ;
Perry (1743), *View of the Levant*, p. 481 ('imperfect Vestiges of the
house on a high rocky hill about a mile west of Burinna'); *ibid.*, p. 480
(Burinna = dormitory and study of Hippocrates); Des Barres, *Voyage*,
i, 179 (palace of Hippocrates); *ibid.* i, 180 (school in the town, now
turned into a mosque). The Greeks told Michaud (*Corresp. d'Orient*,
1830-I, iii, 464) that his chamber was in the castle of Kos. Tucher, in
Feyerabend (1480), *Reyssbuch*, p. 371 B, speaks of the house of Hippo-
crates.

¹ It is interesting to note in this connexion the letter (1641) signed
by the Turkish notables of Athens, including the head of the dervishes,
commending the Jesuit missionary Père Blaizeau for his knowledge of
astrology (Carayon, *Rel. Inéd. de la Compagnie de Jésus*, p. 147).

² See the extract given below, p. 755.

³ The profit derived from pilgrims is here of course a consideration :
cf. Mackenzie and Irby, *Travels in Slavonic Provinces*, p. 10 ; G. F.
Abbott, *Tale of a Tour in Macedonia*, p. 14.

⁴ Joan. Anagn., *De ext. Thessalon. Excid.*, cap. xvi ; Eustathius,
Opuscula, p. 173 ; L. Garnett, *Women of Turkey*, ii, 151, n. 1 ; for the
cult in 1489 see Khitrovo, *Itin. Russes*, p. 263. The Turkish name of
the mosque, Kasimiyeh (after Kasim, the sixth Imam), seems merely to
refer to the original Christian festival, S. Demetrius' day (Oct. 26)
being also sacred to Kasim (Rycaut, *Greek and Armenian Churches*,
p. 152). I can find no suggestion that the tomb of S. Demetrius was
regarded as that of Kasim (*cf.* Cantimir, *Hist. Emp. Oth.* ii, 39) by the
Turks, though this is not an impossible development (*cf.* especially
below, p. 48 ; Elwan Chelebi) in spite of the fact that a tomb of
Kasim exists at Bagdad (Southgate, *Travels*, ii, 167 ; Massignon, *ir
Rev. Hist. Relig.* lviii (1908), p. 337). For the 'measuring' of S. De-
metrius see below p. 263, quoting de Launay, *Chez les Grecs de Turquie*
pp. 183-4.

The exact converse of this phenomenon (*i. e.* a Moslem place of pilgrimage situated in a church in a Christian country and respected by Christians) is to be found in the case of the reputed tomb of a 'sister of Mohammed' at the church of SS. Peter and Sophia at Tarsus under the rule of the Armenian kings.¹

4. S. AMPHILOCHIUS, KONIA. Here the miracle-working grave of S. Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium, was identified by the Seljuk Turks with that of Plato the philosopher.² The church was in the fifteenth century a pilgrimage for both religions.³

5. S. ANDREW OF CRETE (KHOJA MUSTAFA JAMISI), CONSTANTINOPLE. The miracle-working Christian saint buried here⁴ was superseded on the 'discovery' in the reign of 'Sultan Mahmud' of apocryphal graves of Fatima and Zeinab, the daughters of the Imam Husain, who were said to have been brought captive to Constantinople and to have killed themselves to avoid being

¹ Willebrand of Oldenburg (1211), ed. L. Allatius, *Σύμμικτα*, i, 137. The grave was in *angulo quodam extra fores* [sic] *Ecclesiae*. The church is now replaced by the Ulu Jami (Langlois, *Cilicie*, p. 317). See further below, p. 698.

² A parallel case is that of Aristotle at Palermo. Gregorovius, quoting (*Wanderjahre*, iii (*Siciliana*), p. 114) Amari's translation of the tenth century Ibn Haukal, says 'im Al-Kassar (der Paläopolis des Polybius) bewunderte er die grosse Festtagsmoschee [evidently meant for *Freitagsmoschee*], die ehemalige Kathedrale der Christen, worin man ihm eine Kapelle zeigte, in welcher der Sarg des Aristoteles in der Luft schwebte. Zu ihm, so sagt er, beteten ehemals die Christen um Regen'. It is to be noted that the Arabs took Palermo in 831, the Normans in 1071. Like Plato at Konia, Aristotle is probably a Christian saint taken over by the Arabs as Plato by the Seljuks, and re-named. See further, below, p. 364.

³ Khitrovo, *Itin. Russes*, p. 256 (1466): 'il y a là une église chrétienne [consacrée], selon eux, à Platon, & selon nous, à Amphilothée . . . l'huile sainte découle de lui jusqu'à présent'. For the Seljuk cult and legends of Plato see below, pp. 363 ff.; for the subsequent history of the church, see below, chap. iii, no. 9.

⁴ Van Millingen, *Churches in Constantinople*, p. 108; Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 116.

married to Christians, or to have died in prison for refusing to deny their faith. The transformed church thus acquired a respectable Mohammedan tradition, and the Moslem saints continued the miracles of healing with which the Christian church was formerly associated.¹

6. S. THEKLA (TOKLU MESJIDI), CONSTANTINOPLE. The saint and healer² here celebrated by the Christians was replaced by a Turkish saint, apparently apocryphal, called Toklu or Doghlu Dede. This personage is supposed by the Turks to have acted as a sort of regimental *bbisti* at the siege of 1453;³ the legend is probably evolved from the name, originally a corruption of Thekla, which was borne by a Turkish saint, Doghlu Baba, buried at Brusa. Doghlu Baba was so called because he *drank* sour milk,⁴ whereas his namesake at Constantinople purveyed it to the troops.

7. S. ELIAS (DAUD MONASTIR), BRUSA. This church—we know nothing of its Christian past—was given a new sanctity by the interment in it of the remains of Sultan Osman. It thus became not only a holy place for Mohammedans, but a national Ottoman sanctuary.⁵ It was never a Friday mosque, its small proportions and circular plan marking it out for a *turbe*.

¹ Carnoy and Nicolaidès, *loc. cit.*; Meyer's *Konstantinopel*, p. 319. Before this discovery the tomb of a 'Companion of Eyyub' was shown at the mosque (*Jardin des Mosquées* in Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii, 35 (349)).

² M. Hamilton, *Incubation*, p. 135.

³ Paspates, *Buç. Μελέται*, p. 359; Van Millingen, *op. cit.*, p. 207; Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 340; Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii, 16. The word *dogh* is represented as an old Turkish word for *whew*.

⁴ Seaman, *Orchan*, p. 120; *cf.* the *Yoghurtlu Dede* of von Hammer (*Brussa*, p. 57). But this saint seems also known as *Daghli Baba* ('Mountain Father'), *cf.* Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iii, 364.

⁵ The church was badly damaged by an earthquake in 1804 and is now destroyed: see Texier and Pullan, *Byz. Architecture*, p. 157; G. Wheler, *Journey into Greece*, p. 216; von Hammer, *Brussa*, pp. 47 ff.; J. Pardoe, *City of the Sultans*, ii, 24 ff.; W. Turner, *Tour in the Levant*, iii, 175-6.

Though at least one church in every conquered city was made over to Islam in the way we have described, it must not be assumed that the local tradition of a mosque having been a church is in all cases a true one.¹ An instance which can be checked is that of the great mosque of Isa Bey at Ephesus, which down to quite recent times was pointed out as the church of S. John. The entirely frivolous reasons for this identification are discussed and dismissed by Falkener.² The church of S. John was indeed transformed into a mosque, and is mentioned as such down to the middle of the fourteenth century.³ But the mosque of Isa Bey is a purely Turkish building dating from 1375.⁴ In our own times a relatively modern mosque at Uskub has been claimed by the Serbian conquerors as a church of S. Simeon and bids fair to change its religion on that obviously untrue assumption.⁵

¹ Della Valle mentions (*Voyages*, iv, 61) a mosque claimed by Armenians as an ancient Armenian church, apparently falsely.

² Falkener, *Ephesus*, p. 155.

³ Ibn Batuta, tr. Sanguinetti, ii, 308; Wilhelm von Boldenseele (1336). Ibn Batuta wrote about 1340.

⁴ *Austrian Expedition to Ephesus*, i, 131.

⁵ F. W. H.

III

ARRESTED URBAN TRANSFERENCES

NUMEROUS cases are on record in which the transference of a church to Islam has been attended or followed by untoward incidents which have been regarded by the Christians as miracles and by the Moslems as due to black magic.¹ When these warnings are considered too serious to be neglected, the usual course is to close the church altogether or to put it to some secular use,² not to restore it to Christian worship. Examples are common, and, though the stories are usually told by Christians, we shall find that they are also accepted, and indeed acted upon, by Moslems. Thus :

1. A CHURCH at MARSOVAN was transformed into a mosque, but it was found impossible to keep its minaret from falling down as soon as it was built.³

2. S. JOHN, RHODES. The minaret added to this transformed church was five times struck by lightning.⁴

¹ The same may happen when a mosque is turned into a church, as in the case of a mosque at Akka (Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 331). Early Christians also recognized and feared the potency of pagan magic, taking precautions accordingly ; cf. Allard, *L'Art Païen*, p. 262 (a law of 435 (*Cod. Theodos.* xvi : x, 25) orders pagan 'fana, templa, delubra, si quae etiam nunc restant integra, praecepto magistratum destrui, collocationeque venerandae christianae religionis signi expiari').

² After the fall of Jerusalem the Ascension church was made a mosque, but, as Christians could not be kept away, the Saracens spoiled it of its marbles and left it common (Fabri, *Evagat.* i, 389).

³ Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 761 ; Haji Khalfa (tr. Armain, ii, 682) recognized the mosque as a Christian building but without mentioning the superstition connected with it. At Jerusalem the house of Ananias is now a mosque, but three attempts to build a minaret have failed (Goujon, *Terre Sainte*, p. 33). Similarly, infidels could not put images in the rebuilt temple (Petachia, in *Nouv. Jour. As.* viii, 400).

⁴ Stochove, *Voyage*, p. 223 ; cf. Veryard, *Choice Remarks*, p. 330.

3. The METROPOLIS, YANNINA, was converted into a mosque in 1597; the same year the minaret fell, owing, as was said, to the intervention of the Archangels.¹

4. 'S. JOHN', PERGAMON (the great ruin now known as 'Kizil Avli') had a minaret added when it was first adopted as a mosque. The doorway opening on the gallery, designed to face Mecca-wards, insisted on turning to the north, which in some obscure way led to the fall of the minaret. The building is now abandoned.²

5. 'S. SOPHIA', SOFIA, was half ruined by an earthquake when transformed into a mosque.³

6. S. FRANCIS, GALATA (1701) was struck by lightning for a similar reason. In this case the miracle was attributed by the Franks to the patron saint.⁴

¹ Contemporary MSS. note published by Lambros in *Néos 'Ελληνο-μνήμων*, vii, 183. We may perhaps infer that the date of the accident was the feast of the Archangels (Sept. 6) or that the church was dedicated to them: a church of S. Michael in the castle is mentioned in the MS. *History of Yannina* published by Leake (*N. Greece*, iv, 562), but this seems to have been destroyed in the reign of Murad II in 1431, *cf.* however, p. 563.

² Arundell, *Seven Churches*, p. 288; C. B. Elliott, *Travels*, ii, 126. The same miracle is told by Rycaut, perhaps owing to some confusion, of S. Demetrius in the same town: 'there are two churches, one anciently dedicated to S. John, and another to S. Demetrius, both which the *Turks* have relinquished, the first because (as report goes) the Walls fall as much by night as they are built by day; and the other, because the Door of the *Menareh* or Steeple, which above where they call to Prayers points always towards *Mecha* . . . did in a miraculous manner after it was built turn itself to the North, to which point that Door now looks, of which I myself have been an Eye-witness; but what deceit may have been herein contrived by the *Greek* Masons I am not able to aver' (Rycaut, *Greek and Armenian Churches*, p. 67). J. B. S. Morritt, *Letters*, p. 134, heard that a small mosque near the church had fallen down every time the *Turks* attempted to build it.

³ Kanitz, *Bulgarie*, p. 295: this church-mosque was also said to be haunted by the ghost of 'Sophia the daughter of Constantine and Helen (!!)', who was buried there (Benaglia, *Viaggio*, p. 45).

⁴ De La Mottraye, *Travels*, i, 166, 206.

7. S. SOPHIA, PERGAMON. Here a cross insisted on replacing the newly built minaret and became such an obsession that the Turks built a dome over it.¹

8. CHURCH at THYATIRA (AKHISAR). Here the top of the minaret fell repeatedly.² This or another transformed church in the same town possesses a column which 'wept' when a Christian entered the building and 'high above the roof is a small cross, the removal of which would cause the collapse of the mosque'.³

The destruction of minarets, which are the characteristic Mohammedan feature of a transformed church, may be attributed either to the anti-Moslem influence of the building itself, as below in No. 12, or simply to the 'evil eye' of the deprived Christians.⁴ It is sufficiently obvious that the tall and slender minaret is in the nature of things the most likely part of any mosque to suffer from lightning or earthquake.

Some transformed churches were much more dangerous, e. g. :

9. S. AMPHILOCHIUS, KONIA (see above, p. 17, No. 4), though transformed into a mosque, as may be seen from the still existing *mibrab*, was found to be unlucky for Moslems, who died 5 after entering it, and it was disused in consequence.⁶

¹ Elliott, *op. cit.* ii, 127.

² Wheeler, *Journey into Greece*, p. 236.

³ Ramsay, *Studies in History and Art*, p. 290 : also in his *Interm. of Races in Asia Minor*, p. 21.

⁴ The minaret of the Green Mosque at Bulak (Cairo) falls if a 'Frank' draws it. David Roberts, whose drawing shows the minaret much higher than it is now, may have been the innocent cause of the superstition, see Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 75.

⁵ Similarly, Moslems cannot live in the Christian village of Sidnaya near Damascus (d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 462), in the church of S. Thomas at Jerusalem (Goujon, *Terre Sainte*, p. 242 : cf. Thévenot, *Voyages*, ii, 650), in the cell of S. Paul at Jerusalem (Goujon, p. 34), or in the house of Veronica there (Tobler, *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, i, 252). Maundrell (ed. Wright, p. 459) mentions a village Booteshallah [Beit Jala] near Bethlehem in which no Turk can live more than two years : *none*, he adds, *will risk it* : cf. Robinson, *Palestine*, ii, 322. The

10. JUMANUN JAMISI, ADALIA. A chapel of the 'Friday' mosque at Adalia (a transformed church) was shut up because it was found that all Moslems who entered it died.⁷ The whole building is now abandoned and appears still to have a bad reputation: a few years ago a wall was built round it *on account of an outbreak of plague in the immediate vicinity*.⁸

Moslems retaliate in kind, saying no Christian can live long in the Persian city of Chardabago (Maundeville, ed. Wright, p. 205). The same prejudice exists between Jew and Moslem. Thus, no Jew can live at Thaurus (Ludolf, *De Itinere*, p. 58) or at Caesarea (Carnoy and Nicolaidis, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, pp. 224-6), and Turks die at the Jewish Jobar (d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 461: cf. the inscription warning strangers away from the Temple of Herod at Jerusalem on pain of death, mentioned by Josephus, *Antiq.* xv, 14). Occasionally, a compromise is made: for instance, the house of Judas at Damascus could not be converted into a mosque, so both Turks and Christians worship side by side in it (d'Arvieux, ii, 456). The mention of the house (church) of S. Thomas on Zion raises several very interesting problems. According to Tobler (*Topogr. von Jerusalem*, i, 446) it was first mentioned by Tchudi (1519) as the house of S. Thomas and inhabited by Indian Christians from India. It was thought the site of Christ's appearance to Thomas. In 1586 Zuallart says it was a church but in ruins [the year 1561 saw the whole group of buildings on Mount Zion in Moslem hands. F. W. H.] Boucher (1610) says that all Jews and Moors who entered it died, either immediately or within three days (cf. also Quaresmius, 1616-26, and Nau, 1674). Troilo (1666-) heard the story from a Turk. Yet from 1681 onwards a mosque stood on the site and was seen by Tobler.

⁶ It is now a clock-house and store (cf. Ramsay, *Pauline Studies*, p. 170; *Studies in History and Art*, p. 290). It was probably first intended on account of its conspicuous position for the Friday mosque of Konia, this place being taken eventually by the adjacent mosque of Ala-ed-din. In theory the Friday mosque, or at least its minaret, should overtop all Christian churches.

⁷ Lucas, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, i, 245; the same author (*ibid.* i, 95) notes the case of a church at Kutahia, of which the anti-Moslem influence was so strong that Turkish houses built near it fell down.

⁸ H. Rott, *Kleinas. Denkm.*, p. 46; cf. above, p. 22. When the Armenian renegade, Ali Pasha, was governor of Beyrut, he turned the church of S. George there into a mosque. Although (for a consideration) he allowed the Christians to carry away all the sacred furniture,

11. S. NICOLAS, ALESSIO (Albania). This church was transformed into a mosque at the conquest (1478), but has since been abandoned as unlucky, three successive *muezzins* having fallen from the belfry while announcing the hour of prayer.¹

The explanation given by Lucas in the case of No. 10 is probably good for all.² The Turks held that the Christians had laid a spell on the building, while the Christians admitted the working of the holy relics left inside. In the case of Alessio we know that Skanderbeg was buried in the church, and that at the conquest his tomb was rifled by the Turks who used his bones for charms.³ He was probably held responsible for the accidents also.

12. MOSQUE OF ZACHARIAH, ALEPPO. A curious story of compromise after hostile manifestations in a converted church comes from Aleppo. At the Mohammedan conquest of that city a church, now called the Mosque of Zachariah, was transformed into a mosque. The first *muezzin* who gave the call to prayer from its tower fell and was killed: the second died by a violent death. His successor prayed to the Christian saint to spare his life. The request was granted on condition that the Christian *trisagion* should take the place of the orthodox Moslem call to prayer. The office of *muezzin* is hereditary in this mosque, and an author of the seventies assures us that the *trisagion* (in Arabic) ⁴ is cried from the minaret once in twenty-four hours.⁵

pictures, &c., ill-luck pursued the pasha for his sacrilege: falling ill, he was taken to Constantinople where he was beheaded, his body being thrust into the sea. See d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 376-7.

¹ Von Hahn, *Alban. Studien*, i, 93; Hecquard, *Haute Albanie*, p. 57; Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 241.

² Above, p. 23.

³ Barletius Scodrensis, *Vita Skanderbegi*, xiii, *ad fin.* (in Lonicerus, *Chron. Turc.* i, 36, and elsewhere). For their motive see also below, p. 35.

⁴ Cutts, *Christians under the Crescent*, 1876, pp. 46 f.: 'it is said

The haunting or bewitching of churches might, as at first in the case of Adalia (No. 10), be partial only, just as a visitation might fall upon the minaret and spare the main building. The sacristy of a church in Belgrade remained intractable long after the conversion of the church,⁶ and one of the galleries of the S. Sophia mosque at Okhrida seems to have had a bad reputation down to the Balkan war, without, however, rendering the building as a whole unfit for Moslem worship.⁷ The house of S. Anne at Jerusalem has been turned into a mosque, but Moslems die if they enter the crypt.⁸

that the proclamation made at midnight from this minaret, and made with the hand before the mouth so as to disguise the words, is not the usual proclamation of the muezzins, but is a proclamation of the Name of the Holy Trinity . . . to this day the listener can hear the voice from the minaret of Zechariah begin: "*Kadoos Allah, kadoos, etc.*", and go off into an unintelligible cry, clearly different from the usual cry, and believed to be that which is written above' [*i. e.* 'Kadoos Allah, Kadoos el kawi, Kadoos ilezi la iemoot, erhamna,' the Arabic version of *ἅγιος ὁ Θεός, ἅγιος ὁ ἰσχυρός, ἅγιος ὁ ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς*]. It should be remembered that the Christian doctrine of the Trinity is most repugnant to Moslem theology.

⁵ Milder versions of the same theme are recorded by Thévenot and de la Brocquière. The former states that a certain mosque at Damascus was reputed a former temple of Serapis and said to contain the body of S. Simeon Stylites. 'Le Muesem n'y peut crier la prière comme aux autres Mosquées, & . . . lorsqu'il veut crier, la voix lui manque' (Thévenot, *Voyages*, iii, 61). When the *muezzins* climbed the minaret of the transformed church of S. Barbara at Beirut, 'they were so beaten that from that day no one has ventured to return thither' (B. de la Brocquière, ed. Wright, pp. 296 f.). It is remarkable that the mosque of S. Simeon Stylites in Antioch of Syria is a recognized Moslem pilgrimage (Menasik-el-Haj, tr. Bianchi, in *Rec. de Voyages*, ii, 105), from which town the body of the saint was transferred to Damascus, according to Thévenot, *loc. cit.* ⁶ Pouillet, *Nouvelles Relations*, i, 129.

⁷ Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 140. Wace in 1912 found the mosque disused (*Ridge-way Essays*, p. 280). Edmund Spencer in 1850 (*Travels*, ii, 72) says it was in his time a military store.

⁸ At the time (1735) of d'Arvieux' visit to Beirut Turks no longer ventured to descend into the crypt of its chief mosque, which had formerly been a church belonging to the Cordeliers. 'Les premiers

13. S. STEPHEN, BATRON (near Tripoli in Syria), offered a still more violent supernatural resistance to the Moslem usurper. Originally a Benedictine monastery church, it was transformed into a dervish convent. In the space of a year no less than thirty-five of the inmates died sudden and violent deaths :

‘ Les uns estoient trouvez renversez par terre, tous livides de coups, qu’ils disoient leur avoir esté donnez par un phantosme, qui leur apparoissoit dans cette Église, vestu à la façon des Papazes Chrestiens. Les autres estoient tous fracassez et meurtris de leur cheute du haut de la tour de ladite Église, d’où ils estoient renversez par une vertu occulte et divine qui les éblouissoit, lorsqu’ils y montoient. Si bien qu’épouvantez d’un si grand chastiment, ils n’oserent plus s’opiniasterrer à y demeurer, et l’abandonnerent malgré eux ; ce qui m’a esté raconté sur les lieux mesmes, que j’ay veus et visitez.’¹

If we may attempt to define at all the agency by which such miracles are supposed to be performed, we must take into account not only the buried saints and patrons, but also the spirits belonging to the buildings concerned.

qui y descendirent depuis que l’Église eut été convertie en Mosquée, perdirent la vûë, Dieu les punissant ainsi de leur trop grande curiosité.’ To avoid all risk of similar accidents they blocked the door of the staircase which led to the crypt (d’Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 347). This was dangerous to Moslems for the further reason that it contained the famous ‘ Bleeding Crucifix ’ of Beyrut (d’Arvieux, *loc. cit.* : Goujon, *Terre Sainte*, p. 325 : de la Brocquière, ed. Wright, p. 297). The story went that some Jews had outraged the crucifix, whereupon it shed a quantity of blood. Most of the blood was distributed abroad in bottles, but one portion was preserved in the crypt of the church, though the Turks of d’Arvieux’ time refused to allow Christians to see it. The crucifix also was preserved in the crypt. Once some rich Christians had subscribed considerable sums in order to buy it, but the Turks were unable to remove it, some dying then and there, others becoming blind and dying later (d’Arvieux, *loc. cit.*). For a possible explanation of the origin of the legend see Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 151.

¹ Febvre, *Théâtre de la Turquie*, p. 46. Savary de Brèves (*Voyages*, p. 43) cites other miracles related of this church and admitted by local Turks. He seems, however, to think the dedication S. James.

14. Thus, at the church of S. NICOLAS, CANEA, now a mosque, the Greeks hold that unless the picture of the saint is duly provided with a lamp, the spirit of the building (not S. Nicolas himself) appears and kills the guardian for his neglect.¹

15. At S. CATHERINE'S MOSQUE, CANDIA, also a transformed church, the spirit of the building contents itself with a yearly demonstration of a terrifying sort. It has the form of an ox.²

The presence of such spirits in sacred buildings is not contingent on the transformation of a church into a mosque, since churches as such are often inhabited by spirits of this class.³ They generally appear in animal form, and, as Polites hints,⁴ probably represent the spirits of beasts immolated at the erection of the buildings to which they are attached. But the transformation, and still more the destruction, of the church, excites their hostility,⁵ as the Turks themselves admit.⁶

¹ Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 517.

² *Ibid.*, no. 518.

³ *Ibid.*, nos. 507 (Zante), 511, 512, 513, 515 (Athens); also 503, 509, cf. 487. On the Mohammedan side similar phenomena occur: for instance, at the mosque of Muhyi-ed-din at Damascus any *kboja* who ascends the minaret is thrown down by an 'Arab' (F. W. H. from Husain Aga of Chotil): there is, so far as I know, no Christian tradition, and the 'Arab' is generally a merely secular 'spook' or 'demon': for this see below, pp. 730-5.

⁴ Note on no. 507.

⁵ Cf. de Brèves, *Voyages*, p. 127: 'vinsmes à la maison de saint Thomas, que la deuote Imperatrice de Constantinople fit eriger en Eglise, maintenant deserte, & demy ruinée: souuent les Turcs ont essayé de la reparer, pour s'en servir de Mosquée, mais soudain que les Architectes y entroient, vn hideux serpent sortant d'entre les ruines leur faisoit quitter outils & dessein tout ensemble'. A serpent in the same way prevented the desecration of the Nativity church by the Saracens (Fabri, *Evagat.* i, 474-5) and by Jews (Goujon, *Terre Sainte*, p. 273). For a similar belief in Albania see Durham, *High Albania*, p. 264.

⁶ Triandaphyllides, *Οἱ Φυγάδες*, i, 36: ὑποθέτει ὁ Τοῦρκος ὅτι ἔχουσι τὰ τοιαῦτα οἰκοδομήματα πνεῦμα φύλακα αὐτῶν, καὶ πᾶς ὁ κατακρημνίζων τοιαῦτα κτίρια ἐπερεθίζει τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ ἐκδίκησιν τοῦ πνεύματος . . . Ἦκουσα αὐτοὺς διηγουμένους πολλὰ παραδείγ-

Merely to threaten a sacred building might bring down the vengeance of Heaven. Wheler relates a story connecting the explosion in the Propylaea some twenty years before his time with the impious action of a Turk, which was miraculously frustrated :

‘ A certain *Haga* of the Castle, a zealous Enemy to Christianity, resolved one day to batter down a Church ; who having prepared all things in readiness over Night to do the intended Execution next day, being a Festival according to their Law, they meant thus maliciously to celebrate, by the Ruin of a Christian Church. But were the same Night miraculously prevented by Thunder and Lightning from Heaven ; which set the Powder on Fire, and blew part of the Roof, whereon the *Haga’s* House stood, together with him, and his whole Family, up into the Air. . . . The next day they found Bows and Arrows, Shields, and other Armour, all about the Country ; but never heard they any news of the *Haga* again.’¹

This story is still current in Athens in connexion with the church of S. Demetrius on the slopes of the *ματα παθόντων δήθεν, διότι ἐτόλμησαν ν’ ἀφαιρέσωσι λίθους μόνον ἐκ τοιούτου ἐρειπωθέντος οἰκοδομήματος*. Christians are equally superstitious about taking stones from churches : people who do this either die suddenly or lose a hand or a foot (H. Rott, *Kleinas. Denkm.*, p. 192). The sheikh at Angora, who in 1834 pulled down part of the Augusteum (the property of his own *tekke*), was nevertheless pursued by ill-luck (Perrot and Guillaume, *Explor. de la Galatie*, i, 297). The sultan who removed three of the columns which supported the dome of S. Euphemia’s, Chalcedon, could not move the fourth : it weeps on the feast-day of the church (but the priests deliberately arranged this miracle) : see Sestini, *Lettres*, iii, 171. The Saracens could not build on the site of S. Mary of the Swoon, nor could they take away its stones (Fabri, *Evagat.* i, 359). The image of the Virgin of Sidnaya near Damascus turned to flesh when stolen and so frightened the thief into restoring it (Maundrell, *Voyage*, p. 220) : for this image see further below, p. 462, n. 7, and Porter, *Damascus*, p. 130. The Saracens were so terrified by a vision that they could not remove the columns of the Nativity church (Ludolf, *De Itinere*, p. 72).

¹ Wheler, *Journey into Greece*, p. 359, who probably had it from the French consul Giraud (cf. Collignon in *Mém. Ac. Inscr.* 1897, p. 63). A similar miracle occurs in Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii, 79 (697).

Museum Hill, surnamed 'the Bombardier' (Λουμβαρδιέρης) on account of the incident. According to the version related to me in 1914 the *agha* tried to bombard the church on a Christian feast-day when it was full of people, but his cannon turned against himself.

Spoliation of churches is likewise apt to bring with it untoward results. The *bey* who stole the famous 'burning stone' of Angora went blind till he returned it, and only recovered his sight by the intercession of a sinless child.¹ Instances of this sort could be multiplied,² but they are mostly told by the Christians and seem practically to have had little or no restraining influence.³ It is interesting to find the Turkish soldiers quartered on Athos during the Revolution sparing the pictures of saints in the monastery churches,⁴ but mutilating those of devils in representations of the Last Judgement, &c. Their conduct, both here and in other circumstances mentioned above, amounts to a tacit confession of Turkish belief in, and fear of, Christian magic.⁵ This betrays itself also in various other ways.⁶ At the conquest of Salonica Sultan Murad II, before entering S. Deme-

¹ Lucas, *Voy. dans la Grèce*, i, 111-12: cf. below, p. 181. For the power of virginity see below, p. 200.

² Cf. Blancard in Charrière, *Négociations dans le Levant*, i, 351.

³ Cf. however, Fabri, *Evagat.* i, 474-5, and the instances given above, p. 27, n. 6.

⁴ Slade, *Travels in Turkey*, p. 492.

⁵ Lamartine, *Voyage en Orient*, iii, 173, tells the amusing story that, if a Christian says the Creed continuously, a dervish at the Tower of the Forty at Ramleh must go on turning (these dervishes are Mevlevi) until he dies: once the dervishes caught a Christian doing this and made him recite the creed backwards and so stop the charm. The stories of defiling mosques and churches seem to indicate that both religions may also indulge in reckless defiance of the other's magic: for such stories see Fabri, *Evagat.* i, 268 (an exact parallel to which is in Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i, 307-8: cf. also Fabri, *Evagat.* i, 380). Cf. also E. H. Palmer in *P.E.F., Q.S.* for 1871, p. 125. Cf. Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 177.

⁶ e.g. Moslems will not cut wood near former Christian churches (Durham, *High Albania*, p. 160).

trius, *sacrificed a ram with his own hands*,¹ after which he proceeded without scruple to sack the church. The sacrifice was of course apotropaic² and amounted to an acknowledgement of the hostile potentialities of the church.³

The power of the Cross is also admitted by Moslems.⁴ Ibn Batuta at Constantinople says he was 'prevented' from entering S. Sophia by the numerous crosses placed on and around the building to exclude infidels.⁵ It is this belief in the hostile potentialities of the Cross,⁶ not mere wantonness, which is responsible for the common defacing of sculptured crosses in occupied Christian buildings: as a rule the horizontal limbs only are obliterated.⁷ On the other hand, Christian magic may be conciliated, and the Cross itself pressed into the service of Moslems. A stone decorated with a cross at Eljik in Galatia cures sickness; ⁸ the Kizilbash of Pontus mark their bread before baking with a cross; ⁹ in Tunis

¹ Ducas, cap. xxix (p. 201 B).

² The root-idea of all sacrifice (*kurban*) among Semites seems to have been that of communion with God: it is now regarded as apotropaic, a life being given for life threatened or spared. In practice *kurban* is apt to degenerate into a free meal: see further below, pp. 259 ff.

³ Chateaubriand, quoting Père Roger, *verbatim*, says (*Itinér.* ii, 373) that the Turks are so scrupulous about the Sakhra because, all prayers being efficacious, those of a Christian might succeed in driving out the Turks altogether.

⁴ Poiré, *Tunisie Française*, p. 173, says that the Moslem women of Algeria tattoo crosses on their faces and arms.

⁵ So in G. Temple, *Travels*, ii, 127; Lee's translation, however, gives (p. 84) quite a different rendering of the passage.

⁶ Before 'Hamor' could build the Dome of the Rock a cross on Mount Olivet had to be removed (Fabri, *Evagat.* ii, 217).

⁷ e. g. at S. Sophia (Grelot, *Voyage to Constantinople*, p. 99); at Adalia (Hasluck, in *B.S.A.* xv, 271); Amastris (Hasluck, in *B.S.A.* xvii, 136 (1)); Smyrna (Hasluck, *ibid.*, 149). In later conquests, e. g. Rhodes and Chios, the crosses were spared.

⁸ See below, p. 206, n. 3.

⁹ G. E. White, in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xl (1908), p. 230.

women tattoo a cross on their faces ;¹ a phylactery worn by the Moslem women of Egypt is called ' wood of the Cross ' ;² and Sir Edwin Pears has noted at the present day the use by Turks of the prophylactic cross on buildings in course of erection.³ In 1916 an English resident of Constantinople told me that the building of a mosque at Bulgurlu, a village in Asia opposite Constantinople, was constantly interrupted by accidents of various kinds. A learned *khoja* discovered that the reason of this was that the site chosen was that of an old Christian church, and that the ill-luck could be turned by placing a cross in the crescent crowning the minaret of the mosque. His advice was followed, the accidents ceased, and the cross and crescent are, according to my informant, still to be seen on the minaret of the village mosque.

A similar tale was told d'Arvieux of the chief mosque in Beyrut, the former church of the Cordeliers.⁴ When the Turks captured Beyrut and placed a crescent where the cross had been on this church, the steeple was destroyed by lightning. A second shared the fate of the first, as did a third, a fourth, and a fifth.

' A la fin un Renegat qui avoit été Chrétien dans sa jeunesse . . . persuada au Gouverneur & au Peuple, que le seul moyen qu'il y avoit d'y faire tenir un croissant, étoit de mettre une croix au-dessus, les assurant que par ce moyen les sortileges cesseroient & n'auroient plus d'effet.'

The expedient proved successful, as d'Arvieux saw for himself.⁵

Like the Cross, both the rites of the Church and the gospel itself may be turned to account by Moslems. For example, the baptism of the half pagan Turkoman princes of southern Asia Minor, attributed by Bertran-

¹ Covell, *Greek Church*, p. 391 ; Poiré, *loc. cit.*

² Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, ii, 317.

³ *Turkey*, p. 79.

⁴ Mentioned above, p. 25, n. 8.

⁵ D'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 348.

don de la Brocquière to their wish to 'take off the bad smell' which distinguished Mohammedans,¹ was almost certainly a prophylactic measure. Busbecq in the middle of the sixteenth century knew several Turks who had had their children baptized in secret, the reason being that 'they were persuaded that the ceremony contained some good in itself and they were sure that it had not been arbitrarily introduced'.² A passage in Story is very interesting and clear on the point. Quoting from Casalius,³ he says :

'These ablutions became much less frequent among the Christians on account of the expiation made upon earth by the blood of Christ, for the innate *foetor* in the blood of man was expelled by baptism ; and it is related of certain tribes on the confines of Armenia, who generated exceedingly unpleasant smells, that whenever they were washed in the waters of baptism they at once lost this bad odour. Indeed, the Patriarch of Constantinople observed, that some of those who came to receive baptism from the Christians demanded it not for the orthodox reason of purifying their souls and obtaining sancti-

¹ Ed. Schefer, p. 90 (ed. Wright, p. 315) : 'Ramadan . . . avoit esté filz d'une femme crestienne laquelle l'avoit fait baptisier à la loy greguesque pour luy enlever le flair et le senteur qu'ont ceulx qui ne sont point baptisiez. Il n'estoit ni bon crestien ni bon sarazin.' Cf. p. 115 (ed. Wright, p. 324), where the prince of Karaman is similarly said to have been 'baptistié en la loy greguesque pour oster le flair'. The supposed smell of the unbaptized Turk (see Hahn, *Alban. Studien*, i, 38 ; Durham, *High Albania*, p. 74) has been used by Greeks in modern times to account for his otherwise inexplicable custom of *washing* (Hobhouse, *Albania*, i, 33).

² Busbecq, *Lettres*, ii, 111 f. The same author cites (p. 110) the curious fact that the Turks had the greatest respect for the 'Blessing of the Waters' by the Greek Church at Epiphany, before which they never put to sea, and for the yearly ceremony of the digging of the Lemnian earth, at which a Christian priest regularly presided (for this see below, pp. 675 ff.). The reason given was that 'there are several ancient customs among them which daily practice has proved very useful and of which the reason is unknown', and that their forefathers were wiser than themselves.

³ *De Thermis et Balneis Veterum*.

fication, but considering it as a sort of incantation by which they could obtain corporal cleanliness. So also, in the same manner and for the same purpose, the Agerini¹ sought baptism, as Balsamum² relates in his commentary on the nineteenth canon of the 'Concilium Sardicense', and elsewhere on the forty-ninth canon (Synod VI in Trullo) where he says that these same Agerini were persuaded that their children would be vexed by demons, and smell like dogs, unless they received Christian baptism. In a similar way the Jews stink and are freed therefrom by baptism.'³

More worldly reasons are sometimes admitted. Thus, among the Druses 'on a même des exemples, que de vieux Emirs & Shechs, qui croient que leur posterité pourroit avoir quelque avantage de l'amitié des Chrétiens, se sont fait baptiser sur leur lit de mort'.⁴ A young Druse prince, having been circumcised to please the Turks, was baptized at the instance of his Maronite tutor to get him the political goodwill of the Maronites.⁵

Later, we find Mohammedan mothers in Albania baptizing their children as a charm against leprosy, witchcraft, and wolves.⁶ A Venetian *Relazione* of 1579

¹ *Agareni* = Moslems. Cf. Fabri, *Evagat.* i, 275 (Jerus.); iii, 50 (Cairo).

² Theod. Balsamon (middle of the twelfth century).

³ Story, *Roba di Roma*, ii, 31. He adds a reference to Fortunatus, *Carmina V (de Judaeis baptisatis, A. D. 579)*, who says 'abluitur Judaeus odor baptismate divo', and another to Bosio, *Relig. di S. Giovanni*, ii, 1589, who mentions the dogs of Halicarnassus (Budrum) who detected Turks by smell (cf. also Fabri, *Evagat.* iii, 261-2). Isabel Burton (*Inner Life of Syria*, p. 203) and Fabri (*Evagat.* ii, 370) also mention the supposed smell of Jews.

⁴ Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 353. The Druses permit their children to be baptized if a Maronite monk or bishop wishes it.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 385. Cf. Fabri, i, 275 (Jerusalem Saracens).

⁶ T. W. Arnold, *Preaching of Islam*, p. 156, quoting the unpublished seventeenth century MS. of Bizzi, for which see Ranke, *Servia*, pp. 367 ff. In the *acta* of the Albanian council of 1703 it is stated that Mohammedan parents baptized their children 'non ut Christianos

says that Turkish mothers generally considered baptism as a protection against the first,¹ and another of 1585 says that Sultan Murad III was baptized, the ceremony being held for a specific against the falling sickness.²

With regard to the superstitious use of Christian symbols and texts Thomas Smith writes of the seventeenth century Turks :

‘ Some of them, notwithstanding their Zeal for *Mahomet* and the Religion by him establish’d, retain not only a favourable and honourable Opinion of our Blessed Saviour, but even place some kind of confidence in the usage of his Name, or of the words of the Gospel, though it may seem to be wholly in the way of Superstition. Thus in their Amulets, which they call *Chaimaili*, being little bits of Paper about two or three fingers breadth, roll’d up in pieces of Silk, containing several short Prayers or Sentences out of the *Alcoran*, with several Circles with other Figures, they usually inscribe the holy and venerable Name of *JESUS* or the figure of the Cross, or the first words of *St. John’s* ³ Gospel and the like.’ ⁴

efficient sed pro corporali salute, ut liberentur a foetore, comitiali morbo [epilepsy], maleficiorum periculo, et a lupis’ (Von Hahn, *Alban. Studien*, i, 38). Conversely, Christian children in Albania (Durazzo) are circumcised (Bérard, *Turquie*, p. 16) : cf. Pears, *Turkey*, p. 172. In the same way the conversion and baptism of the Arian tribe cured them of leprosy (Gregory of Tours, *De Mirac. S. Mart.* i, xi) : this idea probably depends on the prototypes of the Jordan baptism and the cure of the leprous Naaman in the Jordan (cf. Gregory, *De Glor. Mart.* i, xix).

¹ Alberi, *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti*, ser. III, vol. iii, i, 455 : ‘ le mogli dei Turchi purchè possano furtivamente battezzare i figliuoli, non mancano, et molti Turchi ancora se ne contentano, siccome molti che hanno figliuoli di moglie turca li fanno battezzare, avendo essi credenza che il battesimo non lascerà venir loro la lebbra ’.

² Alberi, *op. cit.* ser. III, vol. iii, iii, 280 : ‘ una opinione . . . regna fra i Turchi, che i lor figliuoli quando sono battezzati abbiano miglior ventura e non sogliano patire di mal caduco ’.

³ Thiers, *Traité des Superstitions*, i, 315, condemns amulets containing the gospels and, quoting Augustine (*Tract. 7 in cap. 1 S. Johan*), says the gospel of S. John was placed on the head for headache : cf.

Georgewicz, an Hungarian Croat, who lived thirteen years in captivity among the Turks, mentions this use much earlier and gives a hint of the thought which underlay it: 'Inveniuntur inter eos [*sc.* Turcos], qui eius sint superstitionis, vt *in aciem prodituri*, primum caput Evangelij Joannis Graece conscriptum de collo suspendunt, persuasum habentes, certum hoc *aduersus hostilem impetum & insidias* esse amuletum.'⁵ At the time of which our author writes (the reign of Suleiman I, 1520-66), Turkish arms were turned chiefly against Christendom: it is hard to resist the conclusion that the Christian charm was here used expressly to nullify Christian opposition, magical or otherwise.⁶ Similarly, in the Jewish wars certain Maccabean soldiers killed in a skirmish were found to be wearing idolatrous charms⁷ and were supposed to have lost their lives for their impiety. But we may well doubt whether the rest of the troops were so pious as their survival was held to imply. So, in Crete, as late as the revolution of 1897,

Maury, *Croy. du Moyen Âge*, p. 357 (service of exorcism included reading this gospel and passing the priest's stole round the patient's neck). Collin de Plancy (*Dict. des Reliques*, ii, 34, *s.v.* Jean) says it was used to expel demons, to cure epilepsy, to find treasure, and to avert thunder: further, when Siberian Cossacks plunder a house, they place a key at this chapter of the Bible; if the key turns, there is money about. Cf. also Estienne, *Apologie pour Hérodote*, ii, ch. xxxii, § vii.

⁴ In Ray's *Voyages*, ii, 71. Père Pacifique (*Voyage de Perse*, p. 31) cites a case of a Turkish woman with a paralysed hand who was cured by having the latter passage read over her, the miracle taking place at the words *Verbum caro factum est*. For an example of the use of the latter charm against foul weather by a Greek seaman, see Cockerell's *Travels*, p. 130.

⁵ In Lonicerus, *Chron. Turc.* i, iii, 208 (the italics are mine). The date of Georgewicz' first published work is 1544.

⁶ Similarly, Mohammed II himself is said to have worn an amulet made of the seamless tunic of Christ and an *enkolpion* of the Virgin (Francesco Suriano, *Trattato di Terra Santa* (late fifteenth century), pp. 94 f.). Cf. also the case of Skanderbeg, above, p. 24.

⁷ *Ἱερῶματα τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰαμνείας εἰδώλων, ἀφ' ὧν ὁ νόμος ἀπήργει τοὺς Ἰουδαίους* (2 Macc. xii, 40).

we are told that the holy tables of churches in Christian villages sacked by the Turks were systematically broken in pieces :

‘ the explanation given by persons of both creeds was always the same. When the church is consecrated, the bits of candle used are melted together into a lump, and the sacred relics placed in the middle ; the whole is then put into the hollow column which supports the altar-slab. *The Moslems believe that if they wear a Christian relic Christian bullets cannot hurt them.* What is more curious still is that the Mussulmans, believing that the spell only lasts a few years, actually take back the relics to the Christian priests, who are said, for backsheesh, to place them on the altar during Mass ; having thus regained their power, the charms are handed back to their possessors.’¹

Much of this participation in Christian superstition certainly arises from the enforced intimacy of Christian and Moslem women, and especially from mixed marriages and the introduction of Christian women to harems.² It does not of necessity imply that the Moslem populations which use the Cross or even baptism as prophylactics are converts from Christianity, though in some districts (*e. g.* Albania and Crete) this is at least an important contributory cause of the anomaly.

To sum up, all such miracles of ‘ Arrested Transference ’ are thus seen to be really a subdivision of the theme of ‘ Punishment for Sacrilege ’. The instrument is the foundation animal or negro³ or the saint (by apparition) or relics. The ultimate cause of the fatal

¹ Bickford Smith, *Cretan Sketches*, pp. 71 f.

² Cf. de la Brocquière and the Venetian *Relazioni* cited above, and especially, for the form of mixed marriage known as *cubin*, de la Mottraye, *Travels*, i, 335 ; Alberi, *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti*, ser. III, vol. ii, 454 f. ; and for an interesting and probably typical case Gédoyne, *Journal*, ed. Boppe, p. 130.

³ This is almost the same thing as guardian spirit, negro, or snake, the connexion being the guardianship functions commonly exercised by negroes (see below, p. 732).

entry seems to be the presence of relics, and of this the Christian type may lie in Edessa. The letter of Christ to Abgarus was preserved there, and its presence was supposed to render the town uninhabitable for heretics and infidels.¹ Edessa was in a good situation geographically for the dissemination of its legends and the antiquity of its Christianity gave them considerable prestige.

¹ Ludolf, *De Itinere*, p. 62. See also Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 172.

IV

SECULARIZED URBAN CHURCHES

A SECOND category of 'arrested' transferences is formed by the churches devoted by the Moslem conqueror to civil uses. This seems to have been done when a sufficient number of churches in a conquered city had been converted into mosques. Of the secularized churches, some lost their religious character permanently, some retained a tradition of sanctity among the ousted Christians.¹ Others, again, after an interval of secular use, became mosques and accumulated Moslem traditions, others, like certain churches in the last chapter, proved 'unlucky' for Moslems and were in rare cases restored to Christian use. Examples are :

1. S. IRENE, CONSTANTINOPLE, transformed at the conquest into an armoury.

2. S. MARK, RHODES, converted into a bath.²

Other instances of the conversion of sacred buildings into baths are given below (Nos. 3, 4, 5) : these may explain³ the Christian religious associations of other baths, where there is no further evidence of an original church.

3. A BATH exists at MARSOVAN where the Christians still celebrate S. Barbara.⁴ This bath is said, and probably correctly according to my informant, to have been a church. On S. Barbara's day the bath is always

¹ *e. g.* the church of S. John at Ephesus was used by the Turks as a market-house, but remained intact and accessible to Christians (Ludolf, *De Itinere*, p. 24).

² Belabre, *Rhodes of the Knights*, p. 153, *cf.* p. 156.

³ But *cf.* ch. ix, no. 10 (Kainarja), note.

⁴ Cumont, *Stud. Pont.* ii, 142 : the saint seems to be localized in Pontus as well as at Nicomedia, but the original legend, in which a bath figures, locates her in Egypt (at Heliopolis in her *acta* as set forth by Symeon Metaphrastes—see de la Roque, *Voyage de Syrie*, i, 130 : her body was preserved at Cairo according to Ludolf, *De Itinere*, p. 54).

accessible to Greeks who come there and light candles in honour of their saint. The bath is said in local legend to have been at one time the abode of Piri Baba, a Moslem (Shia) saint buried on the outskirts of the town.¹ This legend is at least as early as Evliya Efendi, who records a tradition current in his day that Piri Baba frequented the bath in order to heal the women who resorted there, causing thereby some scandal.²

4. A BATH in SMYRNA is called by the Christians after S. Catherine, whose day is still celebrated there by Greek women.³

5. BATH of YILDIZ DEDE, CONSTANTINOPLE. This bath is said by a Turkish authority to have been originally a church transformed soon after the Conquest. It has to some extent acquired sanctity for Moslems by the burial in its immediate vicinity of the founder, Yildiz Dede ('S. Star').⁴

The history of this cult, which comes from a single (eighteenth-century) source, offers considerable opportunity for speculation. 'Yildiz Dede' may have been (1) an historical personage (from his name a dervish) of the date indicated. But the 'time of the Conquest' is by the eighteenth century already for the Turks a mythical period to which ancient saints are readily attributed. Or (2) he may have been an imaginary person evolved from a translation of the name of the Greek saint Asterios,⁵ to whom a monastery at Con-

¹ Information kindly supplied me by Professor White of Marsovan.

² Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 213-14. A curious Christian parallel for this is recorded in Stephen Graham's *With the Russian pilgrims to Jerusalem*, p. 254.

³ Fontrier in *Rev. Ét. Anc.* ix, 116.

⁴ *Jardin des Mosquées* in Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii, 52 (489): 'Le fondateur, Yildiz dédé, changea, au temps de la conquête, une église en un bain qui prit son nom; son tombeau fut reconstruit lorsque le Sultan Mahmoud I monta sur le trône, et un cloître y fut établi en 1166 (1752)'.

⁵ For another possible connexion between *Yildiz* and *Asterios* see below, p. 101.

stantinople was dedicated.¹ Or (3) he may have been a canonized bath-spirit² supposed to be attached to a *hammam*, whose name or sign was *Yildiz* ('Star').

Of churches which, after an interlude of civil use, again became sacred buildings, probably owing mainly to their suitability for the purpose, we may cite :

6. The church of PANTOKRATOR, CONSTANTINOPLE. It became a mosque after being used some twenty years as a store.³

7. S. THEODOSIA (GUL JAMI), CONSTANTINOPLE, has a similar history, but is from a religious point of view more interesting. The reputation of the saint's tomb as a place of healing in Byzantine times is brought out especially by Stephen of Novgorod (1350).⁴ When the city was taken by the Turks, the tomb was desecrated and the remains of the saint scattered. The church was used as a naval store till the reign of Selim II (1566-74), when it became a mosque. In the seventeenth century it was held by the Turks to be a foundation of the Arab invaders of Constantinople.⁵ The tomb of the saint, in the south-east pier of the dome, seems to have been rediscovered during repairs in 1832 and is now Turkish in form. The doorway leading to it bears the curiously inappropriate Turkish inscription 'Tomb of the Apostles, disciples of Jesus'; and it is regarded by some authorities as that of Constantine Palaiologos, but this tradition cannot be traced farther back than the restoration of 1832.⁶

¹ Du Cange, *Constant. Christ.* iv, 153; Siderides in *Φιλολ. Σύλλογος*, κθ', 255.

² Cf. below, ch. ix, no. 10.

³ Van Millingen, *Byz. Churches in Constantinople*, p. 233.

⁴ Khitrovo, *Itin. Russes*, p. 125.

⁵ Evliya, *Travels*, i, i, 24: cf. below, p. 717.

⁶ Van Millingen, *Byz. Churches in Constantinople*, pp. 162 ff.: no one with any idea of the meaning of evidence will, I think, dispute van Millingen's reasoned conclusions as against the fantastic assumptions on which the legend of the grave of Constantine rests. Only one point

The secularization, however, of a church might, like transformation, bring with it disastrous consequences. Thus :

8. A chapel of S. NICOLAS AT EMIRGHIAN on the Bosphorus was desecrated and turned into a private house by a Turk during the Greek revolution. The owner, not content with this, threw down the *eikon* of the patron saint : he died the same night. Exorcism of the ' spirit ' by a Greek priest proved in vain : successive tenants of the house were equally unlucky, and it was perforce abandoned. The story was firmly believed by Greeks and Turks alike.¹

The phenomena are not confined to Christian places of worship. It is recorded that a synagogue in Rhodes, transformed into a bath by Suleiman I, turned unlucky on this account.²

In some cases the manifestations following the secularization remains unexplained : why do the Turks call the grave that of the Apostles ? I suspect that this comes from a misunderstanding or wilful perversion of the late Constantine legend, which insists that the remains of the Emperor were brought from the church of the Apostles, when the latter was destroyed, to the present Gul Jami (then a naval store). See further below, p. 354, n. 1.

¹ J. Pardoe, *City of the Sultans*, ii, 168. A very similar instance is recorded from Sylata by Pharasopoulos (*Tà Σύλατα*, p. 28). It is also said that Mustafa Beg in 1618 turned the Chapel of Flagellation at Jerusalem into a stable. In the morning he found his horses dead : each time he renewed the experiment the horses died. At last a ' wise man of El Islam ' told him the Christians venerated the site because of the Flagellation of Christ, so Mustafa Beg abandoned it as a stable, but would not give it back. It fell to ruins eventually, but Ibrahim Pasha gave it to the Franciscans, for whom Maximilian of Bavaria rebuilt it in 1838 (I. Burton, *Inner Life of Syria*, p. 346 : cf. Goujon, *Terre Sainte*, p. 181). Tobler (*Topogr. von Jerusalem*, i, 347) gives the above and other versions, Quaresmius (1616-26) being the first to tell the tale, with Laffi (1675) copying him, and Roger (1647) and Legrenzi (1673) following him : Legrenzi introduces an earthquake. The pedigree of the chapel seems very doubtful, and the site does not appear to have been recognized much, if at all, before the miracle.

² Egmont and Heymann, *Travels*, i, 268 f.

rization of a sacred building led to its restoration to its original use. Of this a good instance is that of a church in Cyprus.

9. S. JAMES OF PERSIA, NICOSIA, was desecrated, and for some time used by a fanatical janissary as a stable. The saint appeared to the janissary 'tout brillant de lumière, vestu d'habits sacerdotaux, tenant un baston pastoral en main' and threatened him and his house with disaster if he continued in his sacrilegious course. The janissary tried to treat his 'dream' lightly, but a second and more terrible vision, followed by the sudden death of the camels kept in the church-stable, brought him to his senses, and he abandoned the stable and the adjoining house. As no one else dared purchase the property, it eventually came into the hands of the Capuchins at a nominal figure, and the church was restored to its original use. It was henceforward greatly revered by local Mohammedans, who anointed their sick with oil from the saint's lamp.¹

It is interesting to note that near the mother-church of S. James of Persia at Nisibin there exists, or existed, a small building once used as a granary by a Mohammedan. But S. James appearing to him in a dream and asking him why he profaned his temple, the proprietor abandoned his granary, which was in Niebuhr's time used as a chapel by the Jacobites.² The connexion is obvious,³ as is the superior handling of the theme in the

¹ M. Febvre, *Théâtre de la Turquie*, pp. 7 f. : ' Il ne se passe pas jour qu'ils n'y viennent faire quelques prières & demander aux Religieux par devotion un peu de l'huile de la lampe qui brûle devant l'image du Saint pour en oindre leurs malades, en reconnoissance de quoy ils donnent des cierges, ou une phiole d'huile pour entretenir toujours cette lampe allumée. J'en ay veu d'autres qui en passant devant l'Eglise, la saluoient avec une inclination de teste, & touchoient la muraille des deux mains comme pour en attirer la benediction'.

² C. Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 308-9.

³ For a similar inheritance from the mother-church cf. the case of an Armenian convent at Dar Robot, near Mardin, which was regularly

Cypriote version, where the church itself is in question, not an insignificant building in its vicinity.

A particularly interesting and well-documented instance of similar development is afforded by the church-mosque at Mamasun.

10. MAMASUN TEKKE, near NEVSHEHR. Possibly the most extraordinary case of an ambiguous cult in Asia Minor is the worship of the Christian saint Mamas under his own name by Turks and Greeks in the wholly Turkish village of Mamasun. The sanctuary, called Zialet Kilise ('Pilgrimage Church'), was discovered, apparently in the last century,¹ by a series of 'miraculous' accidents. The site was apparently an outhouse and was formerly used as a barn,² but it was found that hay kept in it caught fire. As a stable it proved equally unlucky, the horses kept in it dying one by one.³ These warnings finally induced the Turkish owner to excavate, very possibly in the hope of finding the 'talisman' which bewitched the building.⁴ A rock-cut Christian church and human bones were then discovered, the church being attributed to S. Mamas, probably on account of the name of the village,⁵ and later adapted for the modern cult. At the east end stands a Holy Table (at which itinerant Christian priests officiate), with a picture of S. Mamas, while in the south wall is a niche swept out by an exorcised devil (Niebuhr, *op. cit.* ii, 324, note). This miracle is borrowed from the great monastery of Echmiadzin (Rycaut, *Greek and Armenian Churches*, p. 406).

¹ It is not indicated in the map of the Archbishop Cyril (1812), which generally marks even Moslem *tekkes* of importance, nor is it noticed in his *Περιγραφή* (1815).

² So Nicolaides (in Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 193), but from Rott's account (*Kleinas. Denkm.*, p. 263) it would appear that the *tekke* is one of a series of rock-cut churches, many of which are still used as barns.

³ Cf. above, no. 9.

⁴ For the procedure see the tale of the 'Priest and the Turkish Witch' in Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 839.

⁵ *Mamasun* would be near enough to the Turkish genitive from *Mamas*.

(*mibrab*) for the Turks. There is no partition between the Christian and Moslem worshippers, but the latter, while at their prayers, are allowed to turn the picture from them. The skull and other bones of the saint, discovered on the site, are shown in a box and work miracles for Christian and Turk alike: sick people are also cured by wearing a necklet preserved as a relic. The sanctuary is tended by a dervish.¹

The bones of S. Mamas are of course not authentic. He was born at Gangra (Changri) in Paphlagonia² and suffered at Cæsarea, near which are ruins of a church still associated with his cult.³ The bones at Mamasun were in all probability identified with the saint on account of the name of the village, which is really derived from the ancient Momoassos.⁴

The accounts of the sanctuary and cult at Mamasun are given in full below.⁵ It will be noticed (1) that the Greek versions entirely ignore the miraculous circumstances attending the discovery and (2) that they reproduce to some extent the 'haunted stable' *motif* used in the similar stories of the churches of S. James the

¹ For the tradition of the haunted building and the origin of the cult see Carnoy and Nicolaides, *loc. cit.*: for the church-mosque see Levides, *Μοναὶ τῆς Καππαδοκίας*, pp. 130 f., and Pharasopoulos, *Τὰ Σύλατα*, pp. 74 f. It is mentioned also by H. Rott, *Kleinasi. Denkm.*, p. 163. I am indebted to Mr. Sirinides of Talas for first-hand information not contained in these authors. The church-mosque is mentioned as a place of pilgrimage of Greeks, Armenians, and Turks by H. Rott, *loc. cit.* Other churches frequented by both religions, who similarly partition the building, are S. John's at Sebaste in Palestine (d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 82) and S. George's at Lydda (de Brèves, *Voyages*, p. 100).

² Here a *turbe* is still associated with his name by Christians (below, p. 95).

³ Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 310. For the early cult of S. Mamas see Theodosius, *de Situ Terrae Sanctae* (c. 530), ed. Geyer, p. 144, and Delehaye, *Culte des Martyrs*, pp. 203 f.

⁴ The equation Momoassos-Mamasun has Ramsay's sanction (*Hist. Geog.*, p. 285), and is readily paralleled in the local nomenclature of this district.

Persian at Nicosia¹ and the chapel of the Flagellation at Jerusalem.² It is, however, probable that some foundation for the tale, whether real, alleged, or artificial, existed at Mamasun, since it is otherwise difficult to account for the discovery in a Turkish village and its exploitation by a Turk. A somewhat similar case is related by Lady Duff Gordon from Egypt, in which a Mohammedan mason in Cairo received spontaneously, or at least from no recorded suggestion, instructions in a dream from a Christian saint buried in a Coptic church at Bibbeh to come and repair his church. The instructions were acted on, the mason putting his services gratuitously at the disposal of the local Coptic community.³

My latest information⁴ on the cult at Mamasun, derived from a Greek native of Urgub who has been recently exiled, seems to show that it has become of late years markedly more Mohammedan in type. According to my informant, the custodian is no longer a dervish but a 'Turk'—the antithesis is significant—who professes himself a dervish only to conciliate Christian pilgrims. There are no longer pictures (*εικόνας*) in the church, only the remains of frescoes (*ἀγιογραφίες, ιστορίες*) on the walls: nor are the relics shown or handled.⁵ The saint, now called Mamasun Baba, is buried in a *turbe* a short distance from the church, where his tomb is shown and pilgrims go through the common rag-tying ritual. The establishment is supported by the tithes of a neighbouring village called Tekke.

¹ Above, p. 42.

² Above, p. 41, n. 1, from Tobler, *Jerus.* i, 347, and I. Burton, *Inner Life of Syria*, p. 346. The miracle, it will be remembered, is alleged to have occurred in 1618 and is recorded by a contemporary, Quaresmius.

³ *Letters from Egypt* (1902), p. 30. The saint appears to have been S. George.

⁴ April, 1916.

⁵ Turkish religious law insists on immediate burial (*cf.* d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, i, 235, and the other references given below, p. 235, n. 1.)

The nearest parallel I can find for so amicable a juxtaposition of religions is the sanctuary formerly frequented by sailors, Christian and Moslem, at Lampedusa,¹ midway between Malta and the Barbary coast, where a single rock-cut chapel served by a Catholic priest and at times wholly untenanted, sheltered a Christian altar with a statue of the Virgin and the grave of a Mohammedan saint, receiving in consequence the veneration of both religions.² Closer in some respects is the analogy between the *tekke* of Mamas and a Christian monastery of S. George situated in a Mohammedan village near Bethlehem and venerated by both religions.³ But S. George is in Syria particularly susceptible to identification with the Moslem saint Khidr,⁴ whereas Mamas has no Moslem affinities.

¹ See below, p. 757, n. 1.

² A notice of this sanctuary is given by Ashby in *Liverpool Ann. Arch.* iv, 26-9. Some seventeenth- and eighteenth-century accounts of it are reprinted below, pp. 755-9.

³ Einsler, in *Z.D.P.V.* xvii, 49; Baldensperger, in *P.E.F.*, Q.S for 1893, p. 208; cf. Chaplin, *ibid.* 1894, p. 36, n., and Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*, p. 52. Cf. the similar phenomenon in the churches of S. George at Lydda (Fabri, *Evagat.* i, 219), Rama (Pococke, *Voyages*, iii, 15), Homs (La Roque, *Voyage de Syrie*, i, 191-2): in the chapel of the Ascension at Jerusalem (Pococke, *Voyages*, iii, 82), in the Cenaculum at Jerusalem (Robinson, *Palestine*, i, 356), and in the church of S. John at Sebaste (Thévenot, *Voyages*, ii, 683).

⁴ See below, pp. 326 ff.

TRANSFERENCE OF RURAL SANCTUARIES

WE have now to consider the case of churches outside towns, where there is *a priori* no reason for Mohammedan intrusion, since there is no congregation at hand to worship in the converted church. The occupation of such churches, *i. e.* monasteries or country chapels, was generally effected by the dervish orders, and seems usually actuated by the actual sanctity of the spot,¹ especially as manifested by healing miracles. In certain of the cases cited below Christians, retaining their tradition, continue to frequent the converted sanctuaries and to participate in the cult.

I set first a group of apparent or reputed instances of the imposition of Mohammedan on Christian cults, in which there is a considerable amount of evidence, historical, archæological, or traditional, for the change of religion, and in a few cases suggestions of the manner in which it came about.

I. ELWAN CHELEBI, a village fifteen miles east of Chorum (Paphlagonia), is named after a Turkish saint buried there in a now decayed *tekke*. The village has been identified with the medieval Euchaita,² which seems to have owed its whole importance to its being the burial-place of S. Theodore.³ The church of S.

¹ We are for the present ignoring as of minor importance for our inquiry the practical considerations of site, &c., including the appropriateness of buildings. A round or octagonal plan, for instance, inevitably suggests the *turbe* of a Mohammedan saint, *cf.* chap. ii, no. 7.

² So Anderson (*Stud. Pont.* i, 9 ff., *cf.* iii, 207 ff.), who is responsible for the discovery of the 'survival'.

³ Originally S. Theodore Stratelates, later S. Theodore Tiron. For the SS. Theodore, see Delehaye, *Légendes des SS. Militaires*, pp. 11 ff.;

Theodore, who was said to have slain a dragon in the neighbourhood, was celebrated as a miracle-working shrine in the eleventh century. Euchaita is now placed at Avghat,¹ but Elwan Chelebi is well within the area of S. Theodore's popularity, and may represent, if not the great shrine, at least a subsidiary one of importance, perhaps the scene of the dragon-slaying.²

In the middle of the sixteenth century Busbecq³ and Dernschwam⁴ passed through the place, then called Tekke Keui, on their journey to Amasia. They found there a *tekke* of dervishes devoted to the cult of Khidr, a Mohammedan saint generally identified with S. George, whose horse and dragon-legend he shares.⁵ The dervishes showed their visitors some traces of the dragon, a hoof-mark and spring made by Khidr's horse, and the tomb not of the saint himself (who found the Water of Life and became immortal)⁶ but of his groom and of his sister's son, who accompanied him on his dragon-slaying expedition. Cures were performed at the site by the use of earth and scrapings of the wall which surrounded the place of the dragon. Finally, Haji Khalfa (1648) notices in this district the pilgrimage to the tomb of Sheikh Elwan;⁷ the sheikh was an historical personage who died in the reign of Orkhan (1326-60)

W. Hengstenberg in *Oriens Christianus*, N.S. ii (1912), pp. 78 ff., 241 ff., and review by Ehrhard in *Byz. Zeit.* xxii, 179 ff. For another tomb of S. Theodore Tiron shown at Benderegli (Herakleia Pontica) see below, pp. 88-9. The tradition placing the passion of S. Theodore at Benderegli is early (*Synaxaria*, Feb. 8; Conybeare, *Monuments of Early Christianity*, p. 224), but seems no longer current there (*cf.* P. Makris, *Ἡρακλεία τοῦ Πόντου* pp. 115 ff.).

¹ Grégoire in *Byz. Zeit.* xix, 59-61; *cf.* Jerphanion, *ibid.* xx, 492.

² So in the local dragon-legend of Kruya in Albania, Kruya itself is regarded as the slaying-place, but Alessio is introduced as the place where the dragon fell (see my article in *B.S.A.* xix, 208, below, p. 436, n. 1).

³ *Lettres*, i, 166 ff.

⁴ 1553-5. See Kiepert in *Globus*, lii, 186 ff., 202 ff., 214 ff., 230 ff.

⁵ See below, pp. 321 ff.

⁶ Le Strange, *E. Caliphate*, p. 175.

⁷ Tr. Armain, p. 681.

and is chiefly known as the translator of a Persian mystic poem.¹

From these indications we may reconstruct the history of the sanctuary somewhat as follows. The site of the church of S. Theodore was at some time taken over by the Mohammedans, who identified the saint on the ground of his *eikon*-type² (he is generally represented on horseback) and dragon-legend, possibly helped by his name, with their own Khidr. After the transference the interment of Sheikh Elwan on the site gave it a new and more concrete sanctity.³

2. KIRKLAR TEKKE, ZILE. At three-quarters of an hour from Zile (Zela) in Pontus is the village of Tekke, formerly called Kirkklar Tekke or Convent of the Forty.

¹ Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 211; Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, i, 178.

² The 'nephew' of Khidr does not belong to the original Khidr story, and may be introduced here to explain an *eikon* depicting both S. Theodore Stratelates and S. Theodore Tiron. The importance of eikonography can scarcely be exaggerated. By it our ideas of the devil, fairies, and even saints are made precise. Carroll made the word 'Jabberwock' and Tenniel *drew* the idea: but for the drawing, 'Jabberwock' would convey no precise mental idea. The lack of images is one reason of the fluidity of Turkish saints. Turks generally arrive only at the rough classification, warriors, dervishes, &c., whereas the Greeks, with their *eikons*, not only use this kind of classification but have their appropriate distinguishing marks. In the case of SS. George and Demetrius, for instance, S. George has a white horse and conquers a dragon, S. Demetrius has a red horse and conquers a pagan. Turks can in Khidr fuse the aged ascete Elias and the young soldier George, Greeks could scarcely do so. J. C. Lawson never could persuade a Greek child to draw his conception of a Kallikantzaros and so prove or disprove his Centaur theory: this is because there is no eikonography of Kallikantzari. For the curious similarity between the influence of oral literature on folk-lore and the influence of eikonography on popular hagiology see Hasluck, *Letters*, pp. 169-70.

³ There seems no reason to doubt the authenticity of the tomb of Sheikh Elwan. It was shown already, as Dernschwam's plan of the *tekke* (Kiepert in *Globus*, lii, 232) makes clear, in Busbecq's time. But the tomb of Khidr's companions occupies the place of honour right of the entrance.

The religious centre of the village is a *tekke* containing the mausoleum (*turbe*) of Sheikh Nusr-ed-din Evliya, a fourteenth-century saint of Bokhara. The *turbe* is of some antiquity and contains Byzantine fragments: parts of it seem to be of Byzantine construction. In it repose the sheikh and his children: a crypt beneath is looked upon as specially holy and is visited by Greek and Armenian as well as Turkish pilgrims. The site of Kirklar Tekke checks exactly with what we know of Sarin, the burial place of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste (Sivas).¹ The name *Kirklar* ('the Forty') is indeed common in the district, but this is not to be wondered at, considering the vogue of the Forty Martyrs in their own country.² In the case of the 'Convent of the Forty' the name could easily be explained to Mohammedans by supposing a convent originally containing forty dervishes or dedicated to one of the Mohammedan groups of forty saints.³

Both at Kirklar Tekke and at Sheikh Elwan it is to be noted that the transference from Christianity to Islam is made by way of an intermediate stage, in which the cult is directed to rather shadowy and non-committal personages comparable to 'Plato' in Chapter II, no. 4, above.

3. KIRKLAR TEKKE near NICOSIA, Cyprus. This Cypriote *tekke*⁴ seems to be an example of a similar Moslem encroachment, though Mr. H. C. Luke informs me that he has had the local archives searched in vain for evidence of the time or process of the transference:

¹ Grégoire, in *B.C.H.* 1909, pp. 25 ff. and *Stud. Pont.* iii, 243; Jerphanion, in *Mél. Fac. Or.* 1911, p. xxxviii. The latter considers the identification Sarin-Kirklar Tekke possible, but does not think it was the chief burial-place of the Forty Martyrs.

² Grégoire and Jerphanion, *loc. cit.*

³ For the Forty in Near Eastern folk-lore and religion see below, pp. 391-402; at Zile, p. 574.

⁴ About ten miles ESE. of Nicosia.

there is no dervish establishment on the spot. The sanctuary is frequented not only by Mohammedans but by Christians, who recognize in the Moslem 'Kirkklar' their own 'Forty Saints'.¹

4. KIRKLAR TEKKE, KIRK KILISE. The precedents afforded by the Mohammedan 'Convents of the Forty' in Pontus and Cyprus go far towards substantiating the Christian origin of the outwardly modern Convent of the Forty (Kirkklar Tekke) at Kirk Kilise in Thrace.² The Christian cult of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste³ flourishes in Thrace, and Kirk Kilise itself has a modern church of that dedication. The town may well take its name from the original church or monastery.⁴

5. KALIAKRA, BULGARIA. A cave at Kaliakra, near Varna, was in the seventeenth century exploited by Bektashi dervishes as the tomb of a saint called Kilgra Sultan, identified with Sari Saltik⁵ and the scene of his victory over a dragon. The Bektashi identified their saint with S. Nicolas, to whom probably the Kaliakra site was dedicated in Christian times.⁶ At the present day the site forms part of a Christian kingdom, but the population is still mixed. The 'tomb' was till recently visited by Christians as that of S. Nicolas and by Mohammedans as that of a saint called Haji Baba.⁷

¹ Hackett, *Church of Cyprus*, p. 421; Luke and Jardine, *Handbook of Cyprus* (1913), p. 47. On the significance of the number 'Forty' see the references given below, p. 393, n. 3.

² F. W. H. The *tekke* is mentioned by M. Christodoulos, '*Ἡ Θράκη*', p. 245.

³ At an earlier date the saints were probably identified with the local (Adrianople) group celebrated on 1 Sept.

⁴ This is one of the explanations put forward by Christodoulos (*op. cit.*, pp. 196, 245). See further below, p. 397.

⁵ On Sari Saltik and his legend-cycle see below, pp. 429 ff.

⁶ For this see below, p. 578.

⁷ Jireček in *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* 1886, p. 189. Professor Skorpil informs me (1913) that the *tekke* of Kaliakra no longer exists. The cave, which seems to be the seat of the present cult is mentioned by H. C. Barkley, *Bulgaria before the War*, p. 321.

6. At HAIDAR-ES-SULTAN, a 'Kizilbash' village south-east of Angora, Crowfoot found a *tekke* containing the tombs of the eponymous Haidar and his family, together with a well emitting sulphurous fumes and used as an oracle.¹ He was informed by the sheikh that the *tekke* occupied the site of a Christian monastery. In spite of a slight discrepancy as to position, the well is probably to be identified with the 'Madmen's Well' near Angora mentioned as a 'kill-or-cure' remedy for lunatics by Haji Khalfa (1648): the latter says nothing of a *tekke* but remarks that there was a ruined Christian church near the well.²

The legends of the buried saint as told to Crowfoot belong evidently to two *strata*: (a) Haidar is apparently identified with the father of Shah Ismail of Persia and the founder of the Haidari sect of Shias. But, in fact, this Haidar neither was, as Crowfoot was told, son of the King of Persia, nor did he die in Asia Minor. The real Haidar³ is probably a local hero or tribal ancestor of a Shia clan and elsewhere unknown to fame. (b) Whoever the buried Haidar may be, he is locally identified with the sheikh Khoja Ahmed of Yasi in Turkestan. In local legend Khoja Ahmed is regarded as one of Haji Bektash's disciples,⁴ who, having married a Christian woman of Cæsarea named Mene, settled at the

¹ In *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xxx (1900), pp. 305-20.

² Tr. Armain, p. 703 ('east of Angora on this side of the Kyzyl Irmak'). Madmen were made to look into the well and either recovered or died of this treatment. Sane people only noticed a sulphurous smell. Near the well was a cemetery where unsuccessful patients were buried. A well, where exactly similar cures are practised at the present day, is cited by Halliday (in *Folk-Lore*, xxiii, 220) at Sipan Dere in the Taurus. The parallelism is so exact that the two wells can hardly be without connexion.

³ Haidar (*lion*) is a name specially connected with Ali, the 'lion of God'. *Haidarli* is the name of a tribe of Kizilbash Kurds in the Der-sim (Molyneux-Seel in *Geog. Journ.* xlv, 1914, p. 68). On such tribal heroes see below, chap. xxi.

⁴ This seems a local error: see below, p. 404, n. 2.

village of Haidar-es-Sultan. The apocryphal connexion between Khoja Ahmed and Haji Bektash, discussed below,¹ was confirmed by the sheikh of Hasan Dede, a neighbouring 'Kizilbash' village, and is acknowledged also by the Bektashi dervishes to whose influence the identification is probably due. The marriage of Khoja Ahmed with a Christian woman Mene may, as Crowfoot remarks, point to a connexion between this cult and a Christian predecessor.² But the only evidence for the latter is (a) the local and Moslem tradition of a monastery on the site, backed by (b) the somewhat equivocal testimony of Haji Khalfa and (c) the antecedent probability of the sulphurous well having been adopted by Christianity.

It is probable that in most of the cases cited above the transference of holy places to Islam was actuated to a greater or less degree by religious or superstitious, as opposed to political or politico-religious motives. Though all religions may share the blessings of a holy place, its actual servants may be regarded as having a special claim on the good offices of its patron, and the revenues to be obtained by discreet exploitation of him must not be ignored as a contributory stimulus.

7. S. NERSES, RUMKALE. It is in this spirit, as appears from Christian evidence, that the ancient Armenian church of S. Nerses at Rumkale³ on the Upper Euphrates was forcibly occupied by Mohammedans in the latter part of the seventeenth century.⁴

8. A well-documented modern instance of Moslem

¹ Pp. 403 f. ² S. Menas? See below, p. 403, n. 3.

³ The church is mentioned as a place of Christian pilgrimage by Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, II, i, 157. Rumkale was the seat of the Armenian patriarchs from 1147 to 1298 (J. A. de Saint-Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, i, 196; ii, 443), and was the birth-place of the patriarch Nerses IV Klaietsi. He died there in 1173.

⁴ Febvre, *Théâtre de la Turquie*, pp. 45-6: 'il y a environ dix ans qu'ils prirent aux Arméniens l'Église d'Ouromcala, dite Saint Nerses, qui est fort ancienne, illustre en miracles, & fameuse par la quantité des

intrusion on a Christian monastery is afforded by the case of DOMUZ DERE TEKKE (near Keshan in Thrace). This (Bektashi) *tekke* occupies the site and buildings of a small Greek monastery of S. George. The usurpation by the Bektashi is said to have taken place 'about sixty years ago', the depopulation of the neighbouring Christian village by an epidemic of plague¹ giving the dervishes an opportunity to intrude themselves without opposition. At the present day a *panegyris* takes place at the *tekke* yearly on S. George's day and is frequented by Turks and Greeks. The original monastery church has been divided by the dervishes into several compartments, including living-rooms and a tomb-chamber for the burial of their deceased abbots. The sanctuary end of the church still retains to some extent its original character: the upper part of the screen (*templon*) is preserved, and on the north wall of the church is hung an ancient *eikon* of S. George flanked by lighted lamps.² It need hardly be pointed out that this example of a usurped Christian monastery throws important light on the circumstances in which other such sites were, or may have been, usurped.³

9. To a similar process may tentatively be assigned the transference to Islam of the *tekke* near ESKI BABA (Thrace), which offers a similar example of an ambiguous cult. Eski Baba ('S. Old') is mentioned under that name, thus implying the existence of the Turkish cult, as early as 1553.⁴ The *tekke* itself is said by several authors to have been formerly a church of S. Nicolas⁵ pelerins qui y venoient de toutes parts, afin de donner à entendre par là qu'ils reverent les Saints, & que celui auquel cette Église est dédiée, estoit de leur party, & Musulman comme eux'. Here one is inclined to suspect dervish, especially Bektashi, influence.

¹ For this see below, p. 520.

² See further below, p. 521.

³ See especially the case of Eski Baba, below, no. 9.

⁴ Verantius, *ap. Jireček, Heerstrasse*, p. 167.

⁵ Gerlach, Bargrave, and Covell (quoted below): *cf. Pococke, Descr. of the East*, II, ii, 140.

and the saint buried in it was held by the Turks to be S. Nicolas himself, of whom sundry apocryphal relics were shown.¹

The cult seems certainly to have been administered by Bektashi dervishes, who identify their own saint Sari Saltik with S. Nicolas.² The 'Baba' of Eski Baba was thus one of the usual Bektashi ambiguous saints.³ The *tekke* was evidently an important pilgrimage in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and in 1667 provoked the remonstrances of the strict Sunni preacher Vani Efendi, who would have abolished the cult as superstitious.⁴ It continued, however, in spite of opposition, as is seen by Covel's account in 1675,⁵ and at the present day is admittedly frequented by Christians as well as Turks.⁶ It is a nice question whether S. Nicolas has come to his own through these vicissitudes, or whether he is a pure invention of the Bektashi occupants of the sanctuary, devised to attract local Christians of the humbler classes. The building seems quite certainly to have been a church originally, since my

¹ Gerlach, quoted below, p. 761.

² See below, p. 430.

³ Below, pp. 564 ff.

⁴ Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xi, 250. The saint is here spoken of as *Kanbur Dede* ('S. Humpback'), but the identification seems certain from the location of the cult near Khavsa, which is half a day's journey from Eski Baba.

⁵ Quoted below, p. 257: *cf.* also the account of the Serbian patriarch Arsenij Černojevič (A. D. 1683), in *Glasnik*, xxxiii, 189, quoted by Bury, *E. Roman Empire*, p. 345 ('the tomb of a certain Nicolas, a warrior who had accompanied the fatal expedition of Nicephorus [809] and seen a strange warning dream. The Turks had shrouded the head of the corpse with a turban').

⁶ M. Christodoulos, *Περιγραφή Σαράντα Ἐκκλησιῶν*, p. 47 (quoted in full below, p. 578, n. 6): the fact was confirmed to me in 1907, when I was told that Christians incubated in the church, and that a round stone on which patients sat gave oracles by turning under them, right for recovery and left for death. The *tekke*-church has not yet fallen into ruin, and down to the Balkan war was more or less occupied by dervishes, according to one of my informants.

informants insist on the existence in it of frescoes of saints (*ἀγιογραφίες*).

10. S. CHARITON, KONIA. A possible case of the 'arrested transference' of a rural sanctuary¹ is to be found at the monastery of S. Chariton, an hour north of Konia, where a small rock-cut mosque has been excavated beside the churches of S. Chariton, S. Amphilochius, S. Sabbas, and the Virgin, inside the monastery enclosure.² The mosque is of the simplest possible form, a small rectangular chamber with a plain rock-cut prayer-niche. Legend has it that the son of Jelal-ed-din, the first 'Chelebi', or General, of the Mevlevi dervishes, falling from the cliff above the monastery, was saved from injury by a mysterious old man, afterwards identified from the *eikon* as S. Chariton himself. This is the explanation given of the existence of the mosque and of the still friendly relations between the monastery and the *tekke* of the Mevlevi at Konia.³ There is no hint in the legend of aggression on the part of the Mevlevi, nor do the local Christians of to-day appear to resent so apparently unorthodox an intrusion. The legends of the Mevlevi themselves speak of a great friendship between the abbot of the 'Monastery of Plato' (evidently by the description that of S. Chariton) and their own founder, who convinced the abbot of his sainthood by his miracles.⁴ In the Christian version, therefore, the Moslem is half converted to Christianity, in that of the Mevlevi the converse is the case.

For the presence of a mosque within the monastery enclosure some approach to a parallel may be found at

¹ For another see chap. vi, no. 15 (S. Naum near Okhrida).

² It should be remarked that this enclosure is recent, dating from the middle of the last century: but the monastery is much older, as is shown by inscriptions of 1068 and 1290 (repairs) published by the Archbishop Cyril: see below, pp 379-83.

³ See below, p. 374.

⁴ Redhouse, *Mesnevi*, pp. 72, 87; cf. chap. vii, below, p. 86.

the monastery of S. Catherine on Sinai,¹ where a mosque was built at an early date as a concession to Mohammedans. A somewhat similar concession was made by the Templars at Jerusalem, who voluntarily made over to the use of a Saracen *emir* a chapel of the mosque El Aksa.²

In the above examples it will be noted (*a*) that the transference of cults and holy places of the 'rural' class is very often accomplished, not by the representatives of the official religion, but by the dervish orders. Dervishes are not only the natural successors to monks, but are undoubtedly in Turkey the element in Islam least hostile and most conciliatory to Christianity. As in Pagan-Christian transferences,³ nomenclature sometimes aids the identification, 'Thekla' becoming 'Toklu',⁴ Amphilotheos 'Eflatun',⁵ and so on.

It will further be noted (*b*) that the transference, if it is more than a mere matter of occupation, seems generally effected by means of a rough identification of the Christian saint with his Moslem successor, often a remote or ambiguous figure (like Khidr, Plato, 'the Forty') who tends in turn to be supplanted by an actual buried saint.⁶ In the same way S. Polycarp at Smyrna, while his alleged tomb was in Turkish hands, seems to have been frankly accepted as 'an Evangelist

¹ The mosque at Sinai, said by a Russian pilgrim of 1560 to have been a chapel of S. Basil (Khitrovo, *Itin. Russes*, p. 303), existed at least as early as 1381, though traditionally attributed to the reign of Selim I (1512-20); see R. Weil, *Sinai*, p. 242; Burckhardt, *Syria*, pp. 543-4, *cf.* pp. 546-7; Fabri, *Evagat.* ii, 501; Ludolf, on the contrary, who returned from his travels in 1341, does not mention the mosque (*De Itinere*, p. 65), but says (p. 66) that the monastery was already favoured by the 'soldan', 'qui dare consuevit eis maximas eleemosynas'.

² Arnold, *Preaching of Islam*, p. 77: but the orthodoxy of the Templars may well be called in question.

³ M. Hamilton, *Greek Saints*, chap. ii; Saintyves, *Saints Successeurs des Dieux*, pp. 303 ff.

⁴ Chap. ii, no. 6.

⁵ See below, p. 368, n. 4.

⁶ Chap. v, nos. 1, 2; *cf.* no. 5.

of God and a friend of the Prophet';¹ but we do not know what hazy identification underlies this statement.

As to the process by which sites of this class were transferred from one religion to another, it is obviously impossible to generalize, but, broadly speaking, there are three possible processes:

- (a) Occupation by force;
- (b) Gradual and peaceful intrusion;
- (c) Re-occupation of an abandoned site.

(a) *Forcible occupation* may be said to be regular in the case of town churches, so often converted into mosques,² but exceptional in the case of rural sanctuaries. The church of S. Nerses at Rumkale³ and the tomb of S. Polycarp at Smyrna⁴ are our only proved instances.

(b) *Gradual and peaceful intrusion* seems rather the rule than the exception in transferences of the 'rural' type of sanctuary, to judge from the evidence of tradition in the cases cited. The form of the transference is not as in ancient mythology, 'reception',⁵ but rather identification of the supplanter with the old occupier: this is rendered particularly easy by vaguely current ideas of metempsychosis. The mystic teaching, as well as the religious tolerance, of the dervish orders should be borne in mind throughout. The normal stages of a peaceful intrusion may perhaps be tabulated hypothetically as follows:

(i) Mohammedans frequent a Christian holy place and are convinced by miracles of its sanctity and efficacy.⁶

(ii) The Christian saint is in consequence identified by his new *clientèle* with a Mohammedan saint: or considered to have been a crypto-Mussulman.⁷ Under

¹ Pacifique, *Voyage de Perse*, p. 12 (quoted below, p. 407); cf. Stochove, *Voyage*, p. 18; and for a full treatment of the subject see below, pp. 406 ff.

² Above, chap. ii.

³ Above, p. 53. ⁴ Below, pp. 411-12. ⁵ See below, pp. 59-60.

⁶ See below, chap. vi, *ad init.* ⁷ See below, pp. 442 ff.

favourable conditions a *tekke*, *turbe*, or mosque may be built in the neighbourhood.¹

(iii) The Mohammedan establishment ousts the Christians entirely, owing less, probably, to Mohammedan intolerance than to accidental reasons such as disappearance (by conversion or otherwise) of the local Christian population or reluctance of a Christian minority to mix with Turks at festivals, either from instinctive social reasons² or from fear of tampering with black magic and incurring the wrath of the Church.

When the process is complete, tradition and, possibly, the internal evidence of building or continued frequentation by Christians, would be the only traces of the original religion of the site.

A comparative examination of the legends which relate to similar clashing of religions in ancient times and in the Pagan-Christian transition period shows that such legends fall into two main groups. The first includes the legends of violent collision, implying a determined resistance of the old god to the newcomer. This resistance might result in the victory or the defeat and displacement of the old god. In myth it takes the form of a physical struggle (*e. g.* Apollo and Python, Apollo and Herakles, S. George and the Dragon), or of a competition (Poseidon and Athena, Thekla and Sarpedon,³ *cf.* Elijah and the Prophets of Baal); the story is of course told from the winner's side. The second group of legends records compromise between the original god and the newcomer, a compromise which the ancients generally allegorize as the 'reception' of the new god by the old

¹ *Cf.* chap. v, no. 9.

² An interesting example of the potency of such motives as this is afforded by a cult of Samson at Bethshemesh, which has been deserted by its Moslem *clientèle* on account of its adoption by the inhabitants of a recently settled Jewish village (Vincent, in *P.E.F.*, *Q.S.* for 1911, p. 147).

³ M. Hamilton, *Incubation*, p. 136.

(e. g. Asklepios by Amynos).¹ This scheme is in the nature of things not overtly admissible in the Pagan-Christian transition legends, owing to the exclusiveness of Christianity : the limit of Christian concession is the ante-dating type of legend.² In Pagan-Christian transitions, therefore, the occupation was generally peaceful.

In the legend-cycle of the Christian-Mohammedan transition allegories representing the victory of Islam after struggle or competition are hard to find,³ except in the late and sophisticated legend of Sari Saltik, which I have treated separately elsewhere.⁴ There are a certain number of 'drawn battles' commemorated in such stories as those of the miraculous preservation of the church of Sylata from Ala-ed-din,⁵ of the monastery of S. Panteleïmon at Nicomedia from Sultan Murad,⁶ and of the monastery of Sumela from Selim I ;⁷ in these the hostile princes are so far converted that they desist from their hostility and become benefactors of the churches in question. Our 'arrested transferences' in Chapter IV, nos. 1 to 5, where neither religion can claim a complete victory, fall into a similar category.

(c) *Re-occupation of an abandoned site* seems to be exemplified in Chapter V, nos. 6 and 8. In many cases, probably, wholly deserted Christian sites were thus occupied either for practical reasons such as site, suitable

¹ A. Koerte in *Ath. Mitth.* xxi, 307 ff. ; Kutsch, *Attische Heilgötter und Heroen*, pp. 12 ff.

² As in the well-known legend of Ara Coeli and in that of the Cyzicene Dindymon, where the dedication of a temple to the 'Mother of the Gods' is regarded as a mistake for 'Mother of God' (Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, p. 161).

³ For a possible case in Asia Minor see Cumont, *Stud. Pont.* ii, 261 (Niksar).

⁴ Below, pp. 429 ff.

⁵ Pharasopoulos, *Tà Σύλατα*, p. 132 ; cf. above, chap. iv, no. 8.

⁶ Kleonymos and Papadopoulos, *Βιβυνικά*, p. 68 ; M. Walker, *Old Tracks*, pp. 34 f. (Murad IV is probably meant ; cf. below, p. 603).

⁷ Ioannides, *Ἱστορία Τραπεζοῦντος*, p. 127 ; Palgrave, *Ulysses*, p. 40, cf. p. 33, where a similar legend is related of Murad IV.

buildings, &c.,¹ or on account of 'revelations', but these can hardly be reckoned as more than 'material' transferences, since the new cult is spiritually independent of its predecessor. To simple and devout minds the discovery of ruins, especially if accompanied by dreams² or other accidental phenomena (*cf.* Chapter IV, no. 10), suggests the previous existence of a holy place, generally of the finder's religion, and anything remotely resembling a sacred building,³ a tomb,⁴ or a cultus-object⁵ readily evokes a suitable legend and saint. So the recently 'revealed' church of S. Charalambos in Pontus,⁶ though it actually occupies the site

¹ The Khalveti order in Egypt systematically occupied the deserted Christian monasteries (Sell, *Relig. Orders of Islam*, p. 55).

² It is impossible to estimate the purely accidental influence of dreams and visions on all departments of Oriental life, though its importance cannot be denied. This influence, as also the fantastic and arbitrary methods of interpreting dreams, is exemplified by the following story, told me of himself by a Cypriote friend. Having been long ill and under medical treatment, he was visited by an apparition which bade him abstain from doctors' stuff. He was convinced that the apparition was Dr. D. G. Hogarth. His daughter, however, assured him that it was S. Panteleëmon, *as it had no beard*, and to S. Panteleëmon he went successfully for cure. But to himself the vision is still Dr. Hogarth. A similar story from an ancient source would undoubtedly be accepted as evidence that in Cyprus the hero Hogarth was identified with the god Panteleëmon. A confirmatory vision proved the genuineness of the tradition that Hasan's head was in the mosque of Hasaneyn in Cairo (Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, i, 270).

³ See the unvarnished account by Hobhouse (an eyewitness) of the discovery by a dream of a 'church of S. Nicolas' at Athens (*Albania*, ii, 530).

⁴ The cult of Hulfet Ghazi at Amasia (Cumont, *Stud. Pont.* ii, 169) is probably based on no more than the discovery of the (ancient) sarcophagus in which the hero is said to rest: similarly, in Karpathos two ancient sarcophagi are supposed to be those of Digenes Akritas and his wife (Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 122).

⁵ The acceptance by Greeks at Koron of a Hellenistic terra-cotta as S. Luke (Wace, in *Liverpool Ann. Arch.* iii, 24) is an extreme case.

⁶ Th. Reinach, in *Rev. Arch.* xxi (1913), p. 42. The Moslem cult occupying a site formerly sacred to Zeus Stratios in Pontus (Cumont,

of a temple of Apollo, has no more than an accidental connexion with the ancient cult ; nor have the cults, Christian and Moslem, at pre-historic buildings in Cyprus¹ any proved connexion with the ancient religious past of those buildings till the *lacunae* in their history are satisfactorily bridged.

Stud. Pont. ii, 172) is probably another case of accidental superposition.

¹ See below, p. 704.

VI

CHRISTIAN SANCTUARIES FREQUENTED BY MOSLEMS

IN the preceding chapters we have touched incidentally on several points illustrating the popular Turkish attitude towards the ' magic ' side of Christianity, and we have reached the following conclusions:

(1) Christian ritual is looked on as capable of setting in motion a supernatural world which is harmful to Mohammedans. For instance, a Christian building may be rendered antagonistic to Moslems by Christian spells, and the cross is a piece of pro-Christian magic, the hostile potency of which must be taken into account by Mohammedans.

(2) The supernatural powers set in motion by Christian ritual may, however, be conciliated by Mohammedan: for instance, baptism may be regarded as giving an additional security to Mohammedan children, or Christian charms may be worn with salutary effect by Mohammedans. Similarly, an outraged Christian church-spirit, if properly approached, may become beneficent, or at least neutral, in its action towards Mohammedans.

We have next to consider the attitude of Turkish peasants towards the God and the saints of the Christians.

In the face of a common disaster, such as a prolonged drought or an epidemic, Christian and Moslem will combine in supplication and even share the same procession. Such a combination of Mohammedans, Christians, and Jews is recorded at Aleppo during a plague of locusts.¹ At Athens, in Turkish times, a continued

¹ Bousquet, *Actes des Apôtres Modernes*, ii, 95; cf. Rycaut, *Greek and Armenian Churches*, pp. 375 ff., where there is a description of the

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drought occasioned a public supplication of Christians and Turks together, which, failing of its effect, was followed by a second of Turks alone. This likewise proving without result, the negro quarter prayed and obtained rain at once. The frank comment of Athenians, Christian and Moslem, was, 'Why, the negroes have more faith than we have!' ¹ A similar occurrence is reported by a Jesuit missionary from Chios. At a time of prolonged drought the Turks and Greeks in turn made prayer for rain without success. Finally, the Catholics organized a procession, in which an image of the Virgin was carried, and were rewarded by a copious shower. The Turks attributed the miracle directly to the Catholic Virgin.² One explanation of the friendliness of the fanatical sultan, Selim I, to Christians is that at a time of plague their intercessions had been successful, when the Turks had prayed in vain.³ In the same way the heads of all religions at Cairo, including Catholics, Copts, Greeks, and Jews, meet at the mosque of Amr to implore the mercy of God whenever an insufficient inundation of the Nile is feared.⁴ The mosque of the prophet Daniel at Alexandria is similarly venerated for the same reason by Jews, Christians, and Moslems.⁵

proceedings too long for insertion here, yet heartily recommended to the curious.

¹ ' *Βρέ, οἱ Ἀραπάδες ἔχουν πῶς πίστι ἀπὸ μᾶς* ' (Kambouroglous, *Μνημεῖα*, i, 312). At the tomb of the Virgin in Jerusalem, Greeks, Armenians, Copts, and Abyssinians have each a chapel, while the Turks have a *mibrab* (d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 180). During a drought at Saida, Greeks, Latins, and Jews prayed without result for rain, which was, however, obtained by a Mussulman procession, ending in a ritual ploughing by the Pasha (La Roque, *Voyage de Syrie*, i, 7 ff.).

² ' *Les Turcs disoient que la Meriem des papas francs étoit la plus puissante* ' (Carayon, *Rel. Inéd. de la Compagnie de Jésus*, p. 23).

³ Schepper, *Missions Diplomatiques*, p. 181. A similar story is related of the caliph Mamun (d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, i, 220).

⁴ De Vaujany, *Caire*, p. 297.

⁵ De Vaujany, *Alexandrie*, p. 112. In Savary de Brèves (*Voyages*,

A story still more remarkable than the above was related to me in 1916 by a Greek native of Urgub in Cappadocia. This town possesses the mummified body of an Orthodox neo-saint, S. John 'the Russian', who is supposed to have lived and died in the eighteenth century.¹ The body enjoys considerable respect both from Christians and Mussulmans. On the occasion of an epidemic of cholera in 1908 among the children of the Turks, the latter begged and obtained as a favour from the Greeks that the saint should be paraded through their quarters. During the procession the Turkish women threw costly embroidered handkerchiefs on the bier as offerings to the saint, who in answer to their faith immediately put an end to the epidemic. In a strongly Moslem village in Albania Miss Durham saw two men and four women, all Moham-medans, and three of the women with ailing infants, crawl under the altar during mass and stay there until it was over. Afterwards the priest blessed them: 'Moslem charms had not succeeded, so they were trying Christian ones' for their sickness.²

Again, the frequentation of Christian healing-shrines

pp. 246 ff.) there is an interesting account of the inundation and attendant ceremonies. In August and September the daily increase is cried by small boys, inciting the people to praise God. Maillot (*Descr. de l'Égypte*, i, 78-9) records the miraculous prediction of the height of the Nile by means of a well, *Bir-el-jernus*, in a Coptic church in Upper Egypt. On the night of the Drop the governor goes to this church, a mass is celebrated on an altar placed over this well, and a cord is hung and left to soak in the well: the prediction is made according to the length of cord wetted during the mass (*cf.* also i, 81 for another such church). Chastel (*Hist. du Paganisme*, p. 90) says paganism was unusually tenacious in Egypt on account of the importance of the Nile flood; Constantine removed to a Christian church the measure of the flood kept in a temple at Memphis (*ibid.*, p. 73), Julian replaced it (*ibid.*, p. 134). Analogous is the story of Omar's letter to the Nile (Savary, *Lettres sur l'Égypte*, i, 86-7; Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, ii, 230). See also Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 57.

¹ See below, pp. 440-1.

² *High Albania*, p. 316.

by Turks is so common a phenomenon at the present day that it would deserve no more than a passing mention here but for the fact that it may have been an important stage in the transference of many holy places from Christianity to Islam. We therefore give a selection of cases showing that the practice was of early date and common to the whole Turkish area from Bosnia to Trebizond and Egypt.

(A) GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCHES.

1. 'NOTRE DAME DU PLOMB' (KURSHUNLU JAMI), SARAJEVO. This church, possessing a miracle-working picture of the Virgin, was frequented for cures by Greeks, Latins, and Turks.¹

2 and 3. The churches of S. MICHAEL at SYKI² and TEPEJIK³ in Bithynia, both famous for cures of madness, are frequented by Turks as well as Greeks.

4. S. PHOTINE, SMYRNA. The holy well in the church is frequented for the cure of eye-diseases by Turks.⁴

5. VIRGIN OF SUMELA, TREBIZOND. The picture, painted by S. Luke, has special virtue against locusts and is visited by the surrounding population, irrespective of religion, for relief from all kinds of misfortune.⁵

6. ASSUMPTION, ADRIANOPLE (MARASH). Turks and Jews participate in the mud-bath cure for rheumatism associated with the Greek Church and Festival of the Assumption.⁶

¹ Des Hayes, *Voilage*, p. 57.

² MacFarlane, *Turkey and its Destiny*, ii, 87.

³ Covel, cited by M. Hamilton, *Incubation*, p. 222. Both here and at Syki there are cells for raving patients, an unusual feature of such places (Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, p. 62).

⁴ M. Hamilton, *Greek Saints*, p. 64; *cf.* below, p. 409, n. 2.

⁵ Fallmerayer, *Fragments*, p. 121.

⁶ Covel, *Diaries*, p. 247; *cf.* below, p. 680, n. 1; for Jewish participation see Danon in *Onzième Congrès d'Orientalistes*, Paris, 1897, sect. vii, p. 264. Similarly, Turks assisted at the yearly miracle of the Sealed Earth at Lemnos, connected with the Festival of Transfiguration (see below, p. 675; *cf.* Busbecq, cited above, p. 32, n. 2).

7. ANNUNCIATION, TENOS. Turks have come even here successfully for cure, though the cult dates only from 1821, is strongly pervaded by Greek national ideals, and is comparatively inconveniently situated for Turkish pilgrims.¹

8. S. GEORGE, CAIRO. Turks, having a great veneration for S. George, frequently say their prayers on Friday in this church, where mad people are cured with certainty if detained three days in the church.²

(B) ARMENIAN CHURCHES.

9. A church at ANGORA, possessing a miracle-working cross of transparent marble, was a Turkish pilgrimage at least as early as the fifteenth century.³

10. The same is true of the church of S. JOHN THE BAPTIST at CÆSAREA in Cappadocia, which is famous for its cures of animals.⁴

11. The church of S. CHRYSOSTOM, BEZIRIEH (PONTUS)⁵ is frequented by Turks as by Christians of all three rites.

12. So also is the MONASTERY OF ARMASHA near ISMID, which is a comparatively modern holy place, its foundation dating only from 1608.⁶

(C) A LATIN SAINT.

13. An instance of a Latin saint revered by Turks is to be found in S. ANTHONY OF PADUA, CHIOS. A picture of the saint in this church was famous for its miracles and venerated both by Latin and Greek Christians. A Turkish *bey*, who was anxious for news of a ship long overdue, abstracted the picture, placed it in

¹ M. Hamilton, *Incubation*, p. 200.

² Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, i, 28; cf. Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, i, 100; Thévenot, *Voyages*, ii, 439; Vaujany, *Caire*, pp. 293 f.

³ Schiltberger, *Reise*, ed. Penzel, p. 85 (ed. Hakluyt, p. 40). For the church and miracles see Lucas, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, i, 111; Tournefort, *Voyage*, Letter xxi; Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, ii, ii, 89; Walker, *Old Tracks*, p. 71, cf. p. 65.

⁴ Carnoy and Nicolaidès, *Trad. Pop. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 203.

⁵ Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 735.

⁶ *Ibid.* iv, 365.

his house, and placated it with flowers and candles, hoping by this means to bring his ship safely to port. This treatment proving unsuccessful, he took away the candles and flowers, beating the picture and threatening the 'infamous Christian' who dared to 'mock a Mus-sulman' that he would cut him to pieces (*i. e.* the picture), if he did not 'give up' the ship. At this juncture the ship came to port, and the picture was returned to the church with a gift of a hundred piastres.¹

The above instances suffice to show that throughout Turkey the frequentation of Christian holy places by Moslems is not conditional on the antiquity of the sanctuary in question or on any particular form of Christianity being professed in it. Nor is it to be put off by any cult practices theoretically repugnant to Moslems, such, *e. g.* as involve the use of the cross or of pictures. Practically any of the religions of Turkey may share the use of a sanctuary administered by another, if this sanctuary has a sufficient reputation for beneficent

¹ Dumont, *Nouv. Voyage*, pp. 221 ff. Moslems used to reverence the tomb of the Sieur de Chateuil in the Lebanon (d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 418). The *naïveté* of threatening an inanimate representation of a saint can be paralleled in the West: Sébillot (*Folk-Lore de France*, iv, 166) gives examples from France. Lucius (*Anfänge des Heiligenk.*, p. 287) gives others from early Christian times: for instance, S. Domitius' lamps were broken by a Syrian crowd because he had healed a Jew and left a Christian unhealed. Gregory of Tours (*De Glor. Conf.*, cap. lxxi, cited also by Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, ii, 202) records that a bishop of Aix, indignant at having one of his villages stolen, cut off the candles offered to S. Mitre of Aix until the village should be restored, which it eventually was. The image of S. George of Villeneuve was thrown into the Seine because frost on his day damaged vines (Collin de Plancy, *op. cit.* i, 430); the same fate threatened S. Peter in Navarre (*ibid.* ii, 434). His own monks threatened S. Étienne de Grandmont with dismemberment if he did not cease to work the miracles for whose sake pilgrims crowded to his tomb and so disturbed the repose of the monks (*ibid.* iii, 225). A Jew entrusted his house to an image of S. Nicolas, but the house was robbed notwithstanding, so the Jew beat the image, whereupon S. Nicolas at once ordered the robbers to return the spoil (*ibid.* ii, 217).

miracles,¹ among which miracles of healing play a predominant part.

14. RUINED CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA (ALASHEHR). Particularly curious is the frequentation by Turks of a ruined and abandoned Christian church at Philadelphia (Alashehr), which was, moreover, reputed to be haunted by Christian ghosts.² The explanation is the usual one: a candle lighted in the ruins ensured relief from toothache.

The tendency to participation is of course strongest where the level of culture is lowest and all sects meet on a common basis of secular superstition. Consequently, we may be fairly sure that what is true of to-day is true also of the period of Turkish conquest. It is further important to remark that this frequentation of Christian sanctuaries by Moslems does not seem to imply any desire on the part of the Moslem population to usurp the administration of the sanctuary in question. Participation is in normal circumstances sufficient for them, and they are perfectly content to leave Christian saints in the hands of Christian priests. Usurpation comes from the organized priesthood or the dervish orders, who, in the event of successful aggression, stand to gain both in prestige and materially. Where, as in many

¹ Montet (*Culte des Saints Musulmans*, p. 24) gives a case where Jewish women frequent a Moslem saint for sterility. Moors frequented the synagogue of Bona at prayer-time on Friday evening 'pour obtenir la guérison de leurs maladies, la fécondité, ou la réussite de leurs projets' (Poiret, *Voyage en Barbarie*, i, 132). A miracle, acknowledged by both Moslems and Jews, justified this faith: when the Jews were building the synagogue, the Book of the Law was seen floating on the waves: no Moslem could seize it, but it came readily to a Jew, who deposited it in the synagogue. This miracle is noteworthy as being the favourite Christian theme of a picture or image cast up by the sea, but transferred to the sacred book, the 'Book of the Law' taking the place in the estimation of Jews which images hold in the imagination of Christians.

² C. B. Elliott, *Travels*, ii, 90. The ruins are now built up among Turkish houses (Lambakis, 'Ἐπὶ Ἀστέρες', p. 375).

rustic chapels, there was no permanent Christian organization or endowment, the intrusion of a dervish guardian need make little or no immediate difference to Christian worshippers. But in many cases such sanctuaries were doubtless left throughout their history without this administration and took their religious colouring simply from the population which happened to use them.

In the following instance, probably not isolated, Moslem pilgrimage to a Christian church seems to have been attracted, not only by the material benefits of healing to be obtained from it, but also by the direct stimulus offered by a Mohammedan sect.

15. S. NAUM, OKHRIDA. The tomb of the saint, one of the 'Seven Apostles of the Slavs', has curative powers especially for lunatics.¹ It is frequented by Bektashi Mohammedans from the surrounding district, who identify the saint with their own Sari Saltik.² Even the orthodox Sunni recognize the saint as one of their own, alleging (*a*) that he lived before the rise of the Bektashi heresy and (*b*) that the Christians usurped his tomb.³

I have endeavoured in another place⁴ to show that the cult of S. Naum by Bektashi Mohammedans dates from the propagation of their faith under, and with the secret connivance of, Ali Pasha of Yannina, and is in all probability to be regarded as a preliminary, checked by the opportune revival of Christianity, to the occupation of the church as a *tekke* by Bektashi dervishes. It is in fact an arrested transference somewhat similar to our examples in Chapter III.

All these Christian holy places, and numberless others, are frequented by Moslems primarily on account of the

¹ Spencer, *Travels* (1851), ii, 76; von Hahn, *Drin und Wardar*, p. 108. Walsh (*Constantinople*, ii, 376) says the Turks claim S. Naum as a holy man of their religion.

² From information collected on the spot: for Sari Saltik see below, pp. 429 ff. ³ From an orthodox Mohammedan at Okhrida.

⁴ See below, pp. 586 ff.

acknowledged power of the saints or relics in question as manifested by beneficent miracles. There are also cases where Turks have been led to believe in the power of the Christian saints by the manifestation of their hostility. Cantimir cites that of a Turkish *bey* in the Dobruja who revered S. Phocas and kept his feast as a holiday, since he had been convinced by a disaster to his crops that neglect of this precaution brought upon him the anger of the saint.¹ Similarly, Ali Pasha of Yannina, having seized a plot of ground belonging to a church of S. John, was visited by the saint in a dream; he promptly restored the land and contributed to the church.²

In the same category of hostile manifestations by Christian saints, often admitted (at least tacitly) by Turks, may be ranged the protection of churches by these patrons against Turkish aggression³ and the miraculous working of transformed churches against their new owners.⁴ It is clear that in the Turkish popular mind Christian saints, like Christian magic, have power and may be offended or placated. The sentiment with which they are regarded depends simply on the nature, beneficent or maleficent, of their manifestations, but, as we have seen from the case of S. James at Nicosia,⁵ a manifestation of hostile power implies the possibility of beneficence. A saint who has power to avenge an insult has power also to reward an act of homage.

¹ *Hist. Emp. Oth.* i, 237. The reason given in some parts of Bosnia for the observance of S. Procopius' day by local Moslems is identical (Ugljen, in *Wiss. Mitth. Bosnien*, i, 488).

² Aravantinos, *'Αλή Πασά*, p. 418. Similarly, and probably for similar reasons, the Moslems of Albania, many of whom are of course converts of comparatively recent date, are said to reverence S. George and S. Nicolas (Hecquard, *Haute Albanie*, pp. 153, 200). It is said that a Catholic bishop of Skutari was desired from Rome to give less prominence to the Feast of S. Nicolas, but he replied that he was powerless in the matter, as the bulk of the people who attended the festival were not his own parishioners but Moslems.

³ Chap. v, *ad fin.*

⁴ Chap. iii, *ad init.*

⁵ Chap. iv, no. 9.

This is an extremely simple rustic point of view, little if at all removed from that which instigates the placation of *jinn*s and *peris*: it would probably be reprobated as a vulgar error by most instructed Mussulmans.¹ A higher reading of the phenomena of miraculous healings and other supernatural manifestations by alien saints is quite easy for those imbued with the teaching of the dervish orders, and is not impossible for orthodox Mussulmans. By the latitudinarian Bektashi, for instance, the religion professed during his lifetime by a dead saint is a matter of indifference; 'a saint', as I have heard it put, 'is for all the world'. In an aphoristic story in the (Mevlevi) *Acts of the Adepts* 'one of the greatest of God's cherished saints' is recognized in a poor Frank, who had been insulted by a Mussulman.² Identifications of Christian with Moslem saints are, again, rendered possible by the theory of metempsychosis, which is current even in stricter circles: and thoroughly orthodox Moslem divines have considered Khidr and Elias, for example, as the same person reincarnated at different periods. Further, certain prominent Christian saints, of whom the type is Christ Himself,³ are regarded as pre-Islamic Mussulmans, just as certain pre-Christian pagans, like 'Hermogenes the Wise Man',⁴ Plato,⁵ Aristotle,⁶ and Virgil, were con-

¹ Cf. Einsler in *Z.D.P.V.* xvii, 69, where a distinguished, sheikh asked how it came about that Moslems who made vows to Khidr often paid them in churches of S. George, did not dispute the fact, but was of opinion that only very ignorant Moslems could so act.

² In Redhouse's *Mesnevi*, p. 34.

³ Also S. John: cf. the eighteenth-century pilgrim's book (Menasik-el-Haj, *Kitab*, tr. Bianchi, in *Rec. de Voyages*, ii, 116) and Thévenot, *Voyages*, ii, 445.

⁴ Mandeville, ed. Wright, p. 135: this is probably an error for 'Hermes Trismegistus'. Gregory the Great got Trajan salvation in consideration of his virtues (Hare, *Walks in Rome*, i, 135).

⁵ Cf. Cousin, *Hist. de l'Église*, i, x, 203. Michael Psellos (in Rambaud, *Ét. Byz.*, p. 145) interprets Homer in a Christian sense and calls Plato a precursor of Christianity. ⁶ Cf. Comparetti, *Virgilio*, i, 287.

sidered by medieval Christendom to have been to some extent Christians born out of due time. On some such footing the tomb of 'Hazret Shimun' (S. Simeon) at Antioch of Syria takes a place among the official pilgrimages for Moslems,¹ as did also 'S. John Polycarp' at Smyrna.²

More than this, it is held that even since the revelation of Mohammed certain persons among the Christians were recognized by Allah as of His Elect,³ and after their death were transported from their graves among the Christians to the cemeteries of the Mussulmans⁴ by 72,000 camels set apart for the purpose. This tradition is only a slightly wider and more liberal version of others current in our own day. Two stories using the theme were recently told to Gervais-Courtellemont at Mecca itself. In one, the mysterious camels were seen at their work in the famous Meccan cemetery of El Maala; in the other, the body of a Christian (Rumi) princess,⁵ who, being in love with an enslaved Moorish prince, had made the Profession of Faith in secret,⁶ was substituted by the agency of the camels for that of a professing but reprobate Mussulman buried in the same cemetery.⁷

¹ See above, p. 25, n. 5.

² See above, p. 58; below, p. 408.

³ See below, p. 443.

⁴ De Brèves, *Voyages*, pp. 24 f. (quoted in full below, pp. 446-7).

⁵ Is this a story of North African origin connected with the 'tomb of the Christian Woman' near Algiers (Berbrugger, *Tombeau de la Chrétienne*)?

⁶ Cf. below, p. 448.

⁷ Gervais-Courtellemont, *Voyage à la Mecque*, pp. 105 ff.; the writer's informant was a sheikh of the strict Hanifite sect. Lady Duff-Gordon heard a similar story told in Egypt as an actual occurrence of Mohammed Ali's time (*Letters from Egypt*, pp. 198 ff.). At Monastir the favourite place for praying for rain in times of drought is a *turbe* said to cover the remains of a non-Mohammedan princess, which were miraculously substituted for those of a *khoja*; see further below, p. 360.

The same theory of secret believers¹ is used in the following :

16. CHAPEL AT ADALIA. De Brèves found at Adalia a cave-chapel, still retaining traces of Christian frescoes, in which was shown the tomb of a Christian hermit. The latter, according to the Turks, had on his deathbed confessed himself a Mussulman, and on this account received from Believers the honour due to one of their own saints.² This is an exact Moslem counterpart to the Christian legend of Shems-ed-din at Konia.³

¹ For the similar secret conversion of a Christian princess of Genoa see Lane, *Thousand and One Nights*, p. 202.

² De Brèves, *Voyages*, p. 23 : 'Comme nous estions là, vn renié nous mena voir vne grotte, qui est au pied des murailles de ce chasteau, sur le bord d'vn haut et noir precipice, que la fente du roc fait en cest endroit : Il y a dedans vn tombeau de pierre éleué enuiron de deux pieds, où on dit qu'est inhumé le saint homme qui y residoit. Ceste grotte seruoit de Chapelle, du temps des Chrestiens, & s'y void encore la peinture de la Vierge Marie, demy effacée : aujourd'huy les Turcs s'en seruent de Mosquée, font voeu au Saint, en leurs maladies, prient Dieu sur son tombeau, & y bruslent de l'encens, disans auoir eu reuelation qu'encore qu'il eust vescu en la Religion des Iaours, qu'ils appellent, ou Infidelles, (ainsi nōment-ils les Chrestiens) il estoit neantmoins en son ame bon Musulman, & qu'en mourant il s'estoit déclaré tel.'

³ Below, chap. vii, no. 6.

VII

MOHAMMEDAN SANCTUARIES FREQUENTED BY CHRISTIANS

IT seems then, in default of historical evidence, impossible to distinguish between the three classes of occupation. The material evidence of building is common to all three and we are thus thrown back on (1) tradition, which is more or less circumstantial but generally ambiguous and unreliable, and (2) the inference we may draw from the frequentation by Christians of outwardly Mohammedan holy places. The latter is a fairly constant phenomenon in the better-documented transferred cults¹ and at first sight appears to be the last vestige and the most tangible evidence of previous Christian occupation. May we then, in default of other evidence, regard the frequentation of a Mohammedan sanctuary by Christians as proof that the sanctuary in question was originally Christian? It is true that the orthodox Christian peasant theoretically regards the Mohammedan religion as unclean, whereas the Turk has no such prejudice against Christianity: even if Sunni and learned, he considers it less as bad in itself than as imperfect,² as being based on an earlier revelation than Islam, and degenerate as regards the worship of 'idols'.³ An outward expression of this point of view is the fact that in the reconquered coun-

¹ Such as S. Sophia, Constantinople; the Parthenon, Athens; S. Demetrius, Salonica; Elwan Chelebi; Kirklar Tekke, Zile.

² When a Christian marries a Jewess, Moslem law says the children must be brought up in the Christian as 'the better faith' (Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, i, 123.)

³ On this subject see the answer given by the strict Sunni preacher

tries a mosque, unless it has been (or is thought to have been) a church is rarely, if ever, taken over as a church by the Orthodox.¹ On the other hand, when we come to consider the popular Christian attitude towards Moslem saints in Turkey, as manifested practically, *i. e.* in the frequentation of Mohammedan sanctuaries by Christians, we shall find that it is little if at all different from the Mohammedan attitude towards Christian saints.

Of Syria it is said that Christian holy places are less frequented by Mohammedans than Mohammedan by Christians.² In Turkey, probably owing to the superior education of the Christian element, the reverse seems to be the case at the present day. On the other hand, despite the strong theoretical prejudices of Christians, the popular religious thought, and still more the ritual practice, of Oriental Christendom have much in common with those of Islam. In the case of saints the attraction of healing miracles goes far to overcome all scruples, and Greek no less than Turk admits the idea Vani Efendi to Sir Thomas Baines (J. Covel, *Diaries*, p. 270). As to the personal uncleanness of Christians, the Turks hold, and not without reason, very decided views (*cf.* Pacifique, *Voyage de Perse*, p. 21).

¹ I know of no instance. The beautiful disused mosque at Sofia, like those at Athens, Nauplia, Chalkis, and Monemvasia, is turned to civil uses. At Nauplia one mosque is adapted as a church, but by Latins. In the later Venetian period one mosque at Athens became a Catholic and another a Lutheran church (Philadelphus, *Ἱστορία Ἀθηνῶν*, p. 178). A mosque at Theodosia (Kaffa) in the Crimea was taken over as a church by the Armenians (Demidoff, *Southern Russia*, ii, 205). Doutté, *Marabouts*, p. 70, states that the Catholic cathedral of Algiers was formerly a mosque. The resources of the community concerned would naturally count for much in such things. [This no doubt explains the most exceptional conversion into a Greek church of the mosque at Balchik in Thessaly, one hour from Mavrochor station and two from Tempe, though the villagers do not pretend that the mosque was originally a church. I owe its discovery to the accident of being trapped in Thessaly in the winter of 1922 by the flooded Peneios. M. M. H.]

² Einsler in *Z.D.P.V.* xvii, 42; d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 21.

that, if his own saints fail him, an alien may be invoked. This unorthodox theory was enunciated to me in so many words by a Cappadocian Greek, and is, as we shall see, borne out in practice. An amusing instance of the actual conversion of a Christian Albanian to Islam on these lines is related by the renegade Ibrahim Manzur Efendi. The Albanian in question, finding himself, as he believed, pursued by a run of ill-luck, solicited in vain the help of Christ, the Virgin, and S. Nicolas. As these did nothing for him, he turned to Mohammed with satisfactory results, especially, as he naïvely remarks, to his pocket, and on the strength of his experience he became a Mohammedan.¹

‘If a common Turk hath a horse sick,’ says an acute and experienced observer, Sir Dudley North, ‘he will have the Alcoran read over it, and, rather than fail, the law of Moses or the Gospel of Christ. And there are poor Christians that will get a holy man, though a Turk, to read over a sick child; and the poor Jews the like. It is the *reading over* that they value, together with the venerable phiz of the holy man that performs, without much distinction what it is he reads.’²

Scarlatos Byzantios, writing in the fifties, says frankly that in his own time Christians, and frequently even priests, when ill, invited *emirs* and dervishes to ‘read over’ them, while Turks frequented Christian priests for the same purpose.³ Exorcism by ‘reading over’ being largely considered as a specific against witchcraft,

¹ *Mémoires*, p. xxii.

² R. North, *Lives of the Norths*, ii, 146; Père Pacifique, *Voyage de Perse*, p. 31.

³ *Κωνσταντινούπολις* (1869), iii, 583. Cf. also Biliotti and Cottret, p. 634; Pears, *Turkey*, p. 78; Dorys, *Femme Turque*, p. 76; Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, i, 297. Selim III being seriously ill, his mother called in Procopius, the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem and much respected for his goodness: bringing his deacons and apparatus, he came and prayed successfully for the sultan’s recovery (Dorys, *Femme Turque*, p. 78: he gives no authority but great detail).

'overlooking', &c., it is easy to understand that, just as the Turkish soldiers 'in aciem prodituri' wore Christian charms to render Christian weapons ineffectual,¹ so Christians, when they suspected the hostile working against them of black arts, possibly or probably put in motion by Moslems, resorted to Moslem incantations to avert or overcome them. So in a Greek folk-story of a priest whose wife was bewitched, the priest 'began with prayers and readings, but when he found that was no good, he went off to a Turkish witch', who was eventually successful in removing the (Turkish) spell.²

The following story is given on the excellent authority of a French missionary priest working among the Uniate Bulgarians of Thrace.³ In one of their villages an epidemic of measles made its appearance. A child of Bulgar-Uniate parentage, apparently healthy in the first instance, was placed as a prophylactic measure in an oven, a fire being lighted at the mouth.⁴ The child

¹ See above, chap. iii, *ad fin.*

² Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 839: ὁ παπᾶς τὴν ἄρχισε μὲ ταῖς εὐχαῖς καὶ τὰ διαβάσματα, ἀλλὰ σὺν εἶδε πῶς δὲν ἔκανε τίποτα, ἔτρεξε σὲ μιὰ τούρκισσα μάγισσα; cf. Durham, *High Albania*, p. 88.

³ They occupy a small group of hill-villages above Kirk Kilise.

⁴ The practice of putting children in ovens to cure fever is condemned as superstitious by Bede and others (see J. B. Thiers, *Traité des Superstitions*, p. 433). The oven motif recurs in the *Évang. de l'Enfance* (in Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, i, 997), where a child protégé of the Virgin is placed in an oven by his wicked stepmother, but escapes unharmed. Migne (note *ad loc.*) says a similar tale was told by the Arabs of Moses, who was hidden from the emissaries of Pharaoh in an oven by his mother: though a fire was inadvertently lit underneath, the child was unhurt: the story is also told by Spiro, *Hist. de Joseph*, p. 61. Cf. the tale of the Imam Bakir (Molyneux-Seel in *Geog. Journ.* xlv (1914), p. 65; below, p. 147, where there is a play on the word *bakir* (Tk. = *copper*) and a cauldron is substituted for the oven. The same motif is found in a tale told by Greg. Turon. (*de Glor. Mart.* i, x) after Evagr. iv, 36, and Niceph. xvii, 25. A Jewish child, who had taken the sacrament with his Christian playmates, was put in an oven

was so frightened that it became epileptic. This was put down to the evil eye, and a cousin was called in to treat it: the treatment consisted in burning a lock of the child's hair and a candle before an *eikon* with appropriate incantation. This proving unsuccessful, a *khoja* was consulted, who prescribed a written amulet. This in turn failing, the parents, against the priest's advice, took the child secretly to a Greek Orthodox church of the Archangels for a course of forty days' incubation.¹

Another story, illustrating a slightly more sophisticated point of view, is told of Constantinople Greeks by N. Basileiadou.² This, though put into literary form, rings so true that one can hardly doubt its essential authenticity. The theme is the dilemma of a Christian mother who had tried in vain all the resources of Christian pilgrimages for the cure of her sick daughter, and was at length, against the advice of her own confessor, induced by a (Christian) neighbour to go to the Turkish sanctuary of Eyyub as a last resort.³ In the course of the ceremony, which consisted in a 'reading over' by the *khoja* of the mosque, the patient and her mother suffered so severely from nervous strain that the former died within three months and the latter lost her reason. The comments of the neighbours on the double tragedy are characteristic. Some said the guilty pair had been punished for their sin against God: others that the devil was irritated by their half-heartedness in seeking his aid and then repenting: others that the whole affair was due to witchcraft: and others, again, that you should not mix religion and the black art, but by his father as a punishment, but was preserved by the Virgin who appeared to him in a vision: the same miracle is said to have taken place at Bourges.

¹ Marcelle Tinayre, *Notes d'une Voyageuse*, pp. 148 ff.

² *Ημερολ. Φ. Σκόκου*, 1913, pp. 288-95.

³ The neighbours' words are: 'Όλα τῆς θρησκείας μας τὰ ἔκαμες. Τώρα θὰ κάμουμε ἐξωτικά. 'Ο κουντουρντισμένος [*i.e.* the devil, *lit.* 'the mad one'], ἄς εἶνε καὶ ἐξω ἀπ' ἐδῶ, παντοῦ φθάνει.

keep to one or the other.¹ All thus agreed that Turkish miracles were sorcery and nothing more.

From one point of view Christian priest and Mohammedan *khoja* are medicine-men differentiated for their respective sects; side by side with them certain laymen practise magic, black or white, for all indiscriminately. Experience has shown that the help of the religious, as of the lay, medicine-man can be enlisted on behalf of a client of whatever religion he may be by the use of a very concrete argument.² The saints are in popular thought similar intermediaries, though of a higher grade, and are treated in exactly the same way. It must further be remarked that the actual procedure at a Mohammedan healing-shrine is familiar to Christians through 'folk-lore' usages common to the whole population if not shared or countenanced by their own religion as are knotting rags, driving nails, incubation, contact with relics, propitiatory sacrifice (*kurban*),³ the offering of votive candles, and exorcism by 'reading over'. Even ritual practices generally considered quite exceptional, such as 'walking over' ailing children by the Rifai dervishes,⁴ are paralleled in the Orthodox

¹ 'Καλέ, ἡ ἁμαρτία τοὺς εὖρε. Τοὺς τῶπε κ' ὁ πνευματικός.'

'Καλέ, τοὺς ἐβλαψε ὁ ἕξω ἀπ' ἐδῶ [*i.e.* the devil]. Πήγαν στὰ πόδια του καὶ τὸ μετάνοισαν.'

'Τίποτε. Τὰ μάγια ἔχουν τέτοιο θάνατο.'

'Ἀπὸ τ' ἁγιάσματα στὰ ξωτικά. Αὐτὰ θὰ πάθουν. "Ἡ τὸ ἓνα ἢ τὸ ἄλλο.'

Εἰς ἓνα μόνον συμφωνοῦσαν ὄλες, ποῦ ἔφτυναν τὸν κόρφο τους.

² This is true even where great opposition exists officially between the two religions; *cf.* Saint Clair and Brophy, *Residence in Bulgaria*, p. 68.

³ For this practice among Anatolian Christians see White, in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xxxix (1907), p. 154; *cf.* Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 196 (sacrifice of cocks by Armenians); Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 503 (sacrifice to S. George near Kalamata); Miller, *Greek Life*, p. 196 (sacrifice of cock at Athens). For a sacrifice of bulls in Thrace, at which an Orthodox priest presides, see G. Megas in *Λαογραφία*, iii, 148-71.

⁴ W. Turner, *Tour in the Levant*, iii, 367.

Church¹ as is the ceremony, apparently common among the Shia Mussulmans,² of the 'selling' of them to the saint.³

The difference between a Mohammedan and a Christian saint thus reduces itself largely to a matter of names. The instances cited below of outwardly Mohammedan holy places frequented by Christians exemplify this point of view and tend to show that the alleged Christian origin of such 'mixed cults', unless supported by more tangible evidence, must be regarded as 'not proven', just as a tradition that a certain mosque was once a church must not be accepted without scrutiny, though churches have been changed into mosques often enough.

Our first instance of a Moslem sanctuary frequented by both religions has no vestige of a tradition linking it with Christianity. It is an example of the thesis we have put forward above that religious prejudice succumbs to the desire of healing.⁴

I. IMAM BAGHEVI, KONIA. Outside the humble *turbe* of the Imam Baghevi in the station suburb at Konia are two stones, popularly supposed to represent the horses of the Imam turned to stone: the idea is easily explained by their rough resemblance to pack-saddles.⁵

¹ At the Tenos festival. A similar ritual existed formerly in the Latin church at Andros (La Mottraye, *Travels*, i, 277).

² Haji Khan and Sparroy, *With the Pilgrims to Mecca*, p. 273 (children so sold are called 'dogs of Abbas'); cf. the Yuruk ceremonies on Ida (Leaf in *Geog. Journ.* xl (1912), p. 37). For the same custom in Syria see Curtiss, *Prim. Semitic Relig.*, p. 167.

³ It is done by the Orthodox at Balukli (Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constant.*, p. 64), Selymbria (Prodikos, in *Θρακική Έπετηρίς*, i, 67), and elsewhere (M. Hamilton, *Greek Saints*, pp. 56 f.).

⁴ This example is selected only for its detail. 'Folk-lore' practices by Christians (especially women) at Mohammedan shrines could probably be found in any mixed town. In Rumeli at Lule Burgas a *dede* named Tendem Baba is similarly frequented by Christians and placated with candles, though he has no *turbe* or establishment whatever (F. W. H.).

⁵ See further below, p. 196.

Cures are worked in two ways. If the patient is a child who cannot walk or a woman who cannot conceive, he or she sits astride the stones as if they were a horse. Persons afflicted with pains in the belly prostrate themselves over the stones so as to touch them with the afflicted part.¹ The cure is used by Christian and Turkish women indifferently.

A similar women's cult is that of :

2. ESEF DAİ, THYATIRA (AKHISAR). The tomb of Esef (Eshref?) Daï is visited by Christian as well as Moslem women, who light candles in his honour. The adjoining mosque is held by the Christians to replace a church of S. John, of which, however, no trace now remains.²

3. MOSQUE OF EYYUB, CONSTANTINOPLE. This historic mosque has Christian traditions, but they are demonstrably of small value. The mosque owes its sanctity for Moslems to the supposed grave of the Arab warrior Eyyub, which was discovered on the site shortly after the conquest.³ But the reputation for healing of its sacred well attracted to it a Greek *clientèle* who explained its virtues by the assumption that the Moslem saint Eyyub, buried in the mosque, was identical with the Job of the Old Testament⁴ or with Samuel!⁵ A third identification of the site with that of an earlier

¹ The first procedure is evidently suggested by the form of the saddle-like stones. The cure of belly-pains (*baghersak* = bowels) is attributed to the Imam on account of his name, really the ethnic from Bagthur in Khorasan (see d'Herbelot, *s.v. Bagavi*). I suspect that the modesty of my informant or a misunderstanding of my own prevented me while on the spot from realizing that the second cure was really for 'binding' (*bagb*), for which see Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*, pp. 171, 232, 234; [Blunt], *People of Turkey*, ii, 236; d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, ii, 314, &c.

² Lambakis, *Ἐπιτὰ Ἀστέρες*, pp. 317-18. Such cases could probably be multiplied indefinitely. ³ See below, pp. 714-16.

⁴ Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, pp. 187, 341.

⁵ Canaye, *Voyage* (1573), p. 110. At a later date Gyllius' hypothesis also was current among learned Greeks (below, p. 83).

church of S. Mamas, current slightly earlier, is due to the archaeologist Gyllius : though more scientific than the others, it has been completely disposed of by Pargoire.¹ There is thus no reason to believe that the sanctity of Eyyub is pre-Turkish.

Two of the most important dervish *tekkes*, at Haji Bektash near Kirshehr in Cappadocia, and at Konia, containing the tombs of the founders of the Bektashi and Mevlevi orders respectively, have also their Christian traditions.

4. HAJI BEKTASH TEKKE, near KIRSHEHR. The *tekke* of Haji Bektash is frequented not only by (Moslem) adherents of the Bektashi order,² of which it is the head-quarters, but also by Christians, who, on entering the *turbe* of the founder, make the sign of the cross.³ Levides, a local authority, holds that the present cells of the dervishes formed part of a Christian monastery and, like most of his compatriots, claims the site for S. Charalambos.⁴ The connexion of the site with this saint is so general that the founder's tomb itself is supposed by some Christians to be that of S. Charalambos,⁵ but without much probability as the local connexions

¹ *Proc. Russ. Arch. Inst.* (Constantinople), ix (1904), pp. 261 ff.

² Sunni Moslems are not welcomed, the Bektashi order being now confessedly Shia : the mosque, forced upon the dervishes by Mahmud II, is served by a resident Nakshbandi sheikh (F. W. H.).

³ Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 341. The *tekke* has been visited also by P. Lucas (*Voyage dans la Grèce*, i, 124), Naumann (*Vom Goldenen Horn*, 193 ff.), and recently by Professor White of Marsovan (see *Contemp. Rev.*, Nov. 1913, pp. 690 ff.).

⁴ *Μοναὶ τῆς Καππαδοκίας*, pp. 97 f.: 'Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ὀχραῖς (τανῶν Χαδζῆ-Πεκτᾶς) ἦν τὸ περίφημον Μοναστήριον τοῦ ἁγίου Χαραλάμπους, ὃπερ περιῆλθε νῦν εἰς χεῖρας τῶν ἀσκητῶν τοῦ Δερβίσου Χαδζῆ Πεκτάση-Βελί, σῶζον καὶ οἰκήματα διὰ τοὺς προσκυνητὰς καὶ κελλῖα διὰ τοὺς ἀσκητὰς, καὶ βρῦσιν καὶ ἀμπελῶνας.

⁵ Cuinet, *loc. cit.*, confirmed to me by Mr. Sirinides of Talas. The Bektashi dervishes seem rather to encourage the identification. It is said that they will kill any Mussulman who blasphemes Christ or S. Charalambos : see further below, pp. 571-2.

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of this saint are with Magnesia ; he is, however, much revered all over Orthodox Christendom,¹ especially as an averter of plague,² and there is nothing irrational in supposing that a monastery in Cappadocia was dedicated to him.³ On the other hand, it is quite possible that a healing or prophylactic miracle of Haji Bektash during an epidemic has led to the identification,⁴ and that the idea, once in the air, has been promoted by the Bektashi. It is so far accepted that the well-known story of Haji Bektash, which tells how he outdid Ahmed Rifai, who rode on a lion, by riding on a wall,⁵ was related to Mr. Dawkins by Greeks in Asia Minor of S. Charalambos and Mohammed.

But the identification of Haji Bektash with S. Charalambos does not seem to be of great antiquity.⁶ A hundred years ago the archbishop Cyril claims both *tekke* and saint for S. Eustathius,⁷ who is connected in the *Synaxaria*⁸ with Rome, not Anatolia, and is by no means an important saint in the Eastern Church.⁹

¹ Cf. the recent 'revelation' of a church of his near Niksar (Reinach, in *Rev. Arch.* xxi (1913), p. 42).

² See Polites in *Δελτίον Ἱστορ. Ἐταιρείας*, i, 22, and cf. his *Παράδοσεις*, no. 908 ; also M. Hamilton, *Greek Saints*, p. 71. The saint is popularly called *Καράλωβος* as from (Turkish) *Kara* ('black') and *λώβη*.

³ Similarly, I have heard S. Charalambos identified with S. Roch by a Greek priest.

⁴ The neighbouring village of Mujur was still largely Christian in the seventeenth century (Tavernier, *Travels*, p. 39 : 'abundance of Greeks, which they constrain ever and anon to turn Turks').

⁵ Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 229, &c. ; below, p. 289.

⁶ It has, however, taken firm hold, and appears to be believed in Macedonia.

⁷ *Περιγραφή*, p. 11 : Χατζῆ Πεκτάς, ὅπου τεκές, ἦτοι μοναστήριον πεκτάσιδων δερβίσιδων, παρωνομασμένον ἀπὸ τὸν Ἅγιον Εὐστάθιον, Χ. Πεκτάς λεγόμενον παρ' αὐτῶν, τὸν ὁποῖον θέλουσιν ἀρχηγὸν τοῦ τάγματος αὐτῶν. For the author of this rare work see below, p. 379.

⁸ 20 Sept.

⁹ Churches are, however, dedicated to him by the Orthodox, e.g. at Konia (Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 377).

His link with Haji Bektash is probably to be found in the incident, regularly figured in his *eikons* and common to the legend of S. Hubert of Liége, of his conversion while hunting by the apparition of a stag with a cross between its horns, which cried out with a human voice: ¹ 'Why pursuest thou me? I am Jesus Christ.' This story is paralleled by another told of Kaigusuz,² an eminent saint of the Bektashi order. In his youth, while out hunting, he wounded a stag, which turned into a dervish. Stricken with remorse, he retired to a convent, where, cutting wood one day for the brotherhood, he heard a tree he was cutting cry out, 'Why smitest thou me?' This incident was the cause of his recognition as a saint.³ In another story Haji Bektash himself converts an unbeliever by exhibiting on his own person the wounds inflicted by the latter on a stag.⁴ Further, Haji Bektash's reputed master was Karaja Ahmed,⁵ literally, *Stag Ahmed*. The identification of Haji Bektash with S. Eustathius was probably made on the ground of some similar story.

5. MEVLEVI TEKKE, KONIA. At the great *tekke* of the Mevlevi dervishes in Konia Lucas was told by an Armenian that a Christian bishop Efsepi (Eusebius?)⁶ was buried beside Jelal-ed-din, the founder of the

¹ Talking animals are elsewhere recorded; cf. Spiro, *Hist. de Joseph*, p. 39.

² For this saint see further, below, pp. 290 f.

³ Told by an Anatolian to Mr. W. H. Peckham, formerly H. B. M.'s consul at Uskub. It is to be noted that in the Christian legend of S. Eustathius the stag episode is merely picturesque. In the Moslem version it falls into place; the stag which becomes a dervish, and the tree which cries out, alike symbolize the unity of nature, full comprehension of which is one aim of the dervish's life of contemplation. Both Christian and Mohammedan legends probably come ultimately from a Buddhist source. On the connexion of deer with dervishes see further, below, pp. 460 ff.

⁴ F. W. H.

⁵ Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 21; cf. ii, 215.

⁶ No such bishop occurs in the Greek lists of Iconium bishops which have come down to us.

Mevlevi order, at the latter's special request. The legend explaining this anomaly tells how the 'Chelebi' Jelal-ed-din, going on pilgrimage, charged his great friend the bishop with the care of his household and the government of the city during his absence. The bishop gave into his hands at his departure a small box, bidding him keep it closed till his return, and accepted the charge on this condition. On the return of Jelal-ed-din his wives and household slaves accused the bishop of evil conduct towards them, and the 'Chelebi' in a fit of anger ordered his instant execution. The unfortunate bishop implored as a last favour an interview with the 'Chelebi', in the course of which he called on him to open the mysterious box committed to his charge. It was found of course to contain indisputable proof of the bishop's innocence. The 'Chelebi' in his remorse insisted that, when the good bishop died, he should be buried beside his own tomb as a mark of their indissoluble friendship.¹

This story was told me with the omission of the bishop's name by Prodomos Petrides of Konia in 1913. In a variant story told by Levides² and, a hundred years ago, by the archbishop Cyril,³ the hero is the abbot of S. Chariton. The Mevlevi dervishes themselves acknowledge that there is truth in the legend, but in their version of it the 'bishop' or 'abbot' becomes a monk, who came from Constantinople and was converted by Jelal-ed-din to the Mevlevi doctrines.

6. **TEKKE OF SHEMS-ED-DIN, KONIA.** Another instance from Konia of a similar ambiguous cult is given by Schiltberger (c. 1400).

¹ Lucas, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, i, 151 ff.

² *Μοναὶ τῆς Καππαδοκίας*, p. 156; cf. N. Rizos, *Καππαδοκικά*, p. 130, and above, chap. v, no. 10.

³ *Περιγραφή*, p. 42 (quoted below, p. 375, n. 2). The 'tomb of the monk' is mentioned in general terms by Macarius of Antioch (*Travels* (c. 1650), i, 8) and by Miss Pardoe (*City of the Sultans*, i, 52).

‘ There is also,’ says he, ‘ in this country [Karaman] a city called Konia, in which lies the saint, Schenisis, who was first an Infidel priest, and was secretly baptised ; and when his end approached, received from an Armenian priest the body of God in an apple. He has worked great miracles.’¹

This early legend refers of course to the tomb of Shems-ed-din of Tabriz, the friend and instructor of Jelal-ed-din, which is situated in Konia, but at some distance from the great *tekke* of the Mevlevi. It is naturally a tomb much revered by that order as being that of their founder’s master. The story is remarkable as the converse of the Mevlevi version of the ‘ Eusebius ’ legend ; here a Mohammedan is converted to Christianity, there a Christian to Islam. In each case the sanctuary in question is made accessible to both religions.²

7. S. ARAB, LARNAKA (CYPRUS). This is another ambiguous cult first mentioned by Mariti (eighteenth century).³ At the present day this sanctuary is still frequented both by Turks and Greeks. By the former it is known as Turabi Tekke, by the latter as S. Therapon.⁴ Turabi is the name of a wandering dervish from Kastamuni in northern Anatolia, who lived in the reign of Mohammed II and was noted for his liberal views as to religions outside Islam.⁵ S. Therapon is a well-known saint and healer in Cyprus, where he has several churches ; he is not, however, specially connected with Larnaka.⁶ As to the origins of a cult of this sort, it is impossible to be dogmatic. From the evidence we have it seems probable that it began as a secular cult of an

¹ Hakluyt society’s edition (ed. Telfer), p. 40.

² See below, p. 377.

³ *Travels*, tr. Cobham, p. 41 (quoted in full below, p. 735).

⁴ Hackett, *Church of Cyprus*, p. 421 ; Luke and Jardine, *Handbook of Cyprus* (1913), p. 47 : there is now, Mr. Luke tells me, no dervish establishment attached to the tomb.

⁵ Von Hammer, *Osman. Dichtkunst*, i, 214.

⁶ For the S. Therapon of Cyprus see Delehaye in *Anal. Boll.* xxvi, 247 ff.

'Arab' *jinn*,¹ later identified with Turabi (perhaps through the Greek τοῦ Ἀράβη ὁ τεκκές, ἡ σπηλιά), from which it is an easy step to the Christian Therapon. If this theory is correct, we have here a cult now shared by both religions, whose origins were neither Christian nor Mohammedan, but secular.²

8. 'TOMB OF S. THEODORE,' BENDEREGLI (HERAKLEIA PONTICA). Herakleia on the south coast of the Black Sea has been celebrated for many centuries as the place of martyrdom of S. Theodore Stratelates ('the General'), who, according to legend, suffered under Licinius and was buried at Euchaita, the scene of his conquest of a dragon which infested the country. His tomb at Euchaita was a famous pilgrimage in the early Middle Ages.³ It is possibly owing to his connexion with other localities besides Euchaita (Amasia and Herakleia) that his rather shadowy twin, S. Theodore Tiron ('the recruit'),⁴ came into existence. In 1389, when the whole coast was already in Turkish hands, we hear from a Russian pilgrim of a church and tomb of S. Theodore Tiron at Herakleia.⁵ Halfway through the seventeenth century a reference to the martyrdom of a S. Theodore (this time the 'general') at Herakleia in the *Travels of Macarius*⁶ shows that the tradition was not forgotten. At the present day a *turbe* in a cemetery on a hill above Arapli a few miles west of the town is visited yearly by

¹ For the 'Arab' in folk-lore and cult see below, pp. 730-5. The cult of a 'S. Arab' could be reconciled to Greeks by the assumption of their conversion. Cf. the case of 'S. Barbarus' at Iveron on Athos (Smyrnakes, *Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, p. 471; Tozer, *Highlands of Turkey*, i, 83; Hasluck, *Athos*, p. 165, n. 1) and that of 'S. Schenisis' above, p. 87.

² *Synaxaria*, 9 Feb.

³ For the legends of S. Theodore and their development see references above, p. 47, n. 3.

⁴ *Synaxaria*, 17 Feb.

⁵ Ignatius of Smolensk in Khitrovo, *Itin. Russes*, p. 134: 'il y a là [viz. à Pandoraklia] l'église de saint Théodore Tiron, bâtie sur le lieu même de son martyre & contenant son tombeau'.

⁶ Tr. Belfour, ii, 424.

Christians as containing the tomb of S. Theodore 'the general'.¹ The *turbe* seems to be no more than a wooden hut, and contains two outwardly Turkish tombs,² attributed by the Greeks to S. Theodore and his disciple Varro, and by the Turks to a warrior-saint named Ghazi Shahid Mustafa and his son. These are tended by a Turkish woman, who receives offerings from pilgrims of both religions in money or candles.

In view of this graduated series of compromises between the competing religions it seems clear that, while some of the Moslem sanctuaries claimed by Christians as originally Christian may really be so, the development indicated above in Chapter V from Christianity to Islam is paralleled by a converse development from Islam towards Christianity, the stages being :

(i) A Moslem sanctuary attracts by its miracles a *clientèle* of Christians (Chapter VII, no. 6).³

(ii) These justify their participation in the cult by the assumption that the site, building, or saint in question was originally Christian ⁴ and by the fabrication of a suitable legend ⁵ (Chapter VII, no. 4).

¹ P. Makris, 'Ηρακλεία τοῦ Πόντου, pp. 115 ff.

² See below, p. 575, n. 2.

³ So a Turkish pasha, buried at Drivasto in Albania, works miracles for Christians, *when he sees that their hearts are secretly inclined to Islam* (Hecquard, *Haute Albanie*, p. 326) : the latter clause of course 'saves the face' of the saint in case of failure.

⁴ There is at least a possibility that a similar process of thought underlay the recognition by the Christians of the Holy Sepulchre *beneath the temple of Venus*, if we assume that, as is not unlikely in Syria (*cf.* especially Frazer, *Adonis*, i, 13 ff.; Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche*, i, 197 ff.), the death, burial, and resurrection of Adonis were there celebrated.

⁵ An extremely interesting illustration of the 'white' or 'black' interpretation of Moslem saints is afforded by two folk-stories from Greece cited by Polites (*Παραδόσεις*, nos. 209, 446), in which (1) a Turkish saint called Delikli Baba ('Old Man of the Hole') at Pylos is accepted as originally Christian, while (2) his namesake at Nauplia becomes a specialized form of the 'guardian Arab' demon common in Greco-Turkish folk-lore. In all probability both 'saints' were Turkish

(iii) It is quite possible to imagine a Christian political and ecclesiastical ascendancy completing the process of conversion by the formal recognition as Christian of such indeterminate sanctuaries, for instance, as those of Haji Bektash and S. Mamas.¹

9. At the TEKKE OF AKYAZILI BABA (HAFIZ KHALIL BABA near BALCHIK (now in Rumania) a transformation on the lines indicated seems in a fair way to be completed. Of this sanctuary we have luckily three independent accounts written before and after the liberation of Bulgaria.

(1) Kanitz, writing in 1872, describes the *tekke* as one of the most celebrated Mohammedan shrines in the Euxine district, in point of size probably unsurpassed in European Turkey, and still sheltering twenty-six dervishes. The magnificent *turbe* was built by Suleiman II² and contained various relics of the saint, including a Moslem pilgrim's staff, a pair of shoes, besides a tomb of orthodox Mohammedan form. The *tekke* was burnt by the Russians in 1829, which looks as if the Orthodox at that date held it in no particular reverence.³

(2) Jireček, writing apparently of the eighties, gives interesting particulars of the development of the cult in his day. The saint was then known as Akyazili Baba.⁴

'pierced stone' or cave cults anthropomorphized; one of them, and not the other, performed miracles for Christians. Cf. below, p. 223.

¹ Professor White of Marsovan declares he has 'seen shrines now Christian once Mohammedan, and, conversely, shrines now Mohammedan which were once in Christian keeping' (*Trans. Vict. Inst.* xxxix (1907), p. 156). For the transition to Islam from Christianity in Syria see Curtiss, *Prim. Semitic Relig.*, pp. 239 ff.

² It appears to have been dated: Jireček's account supports the idea that the *turbe* was purely Turkish.

³ Kanitz, *Donau-Bulgarien*, iii, 211 ff. (in the French translation, pp. 474 ff.): the passage in Haji Khalfa (*Rumeli und Bosna*, tr. von Hammer, p. 27), cited by Kanitz as mentioning this *tekke*, really refers to that of Kilgra (see below, p. 431).

⁴ This may be designed to facilitate the identification with Athanasius.

His main function was the recovery of stolen cattle,¹ but his powers, down to the period of the Crimean War, were available only for his co-religionists. After this, evidently under the pressure of a change in population, he began to exert himself in favour of Christians also as *S. Athanasius*. In 1883 (*i. e.* after the foundation of the Bulgarian principality) his two personalities were recognized. The gifts made by Moslems to Akyazili Baba were kept separate from those made by Christians to *S. Athanasius*, and the latter contributed to a Christian school, then in building at Balchik. The Moslem side of the saint was evidently on the wane. We now hear first of the development of the medical side of the cult (doubtless, however, older), fever patients making the circuit of the tomb in the saint's slippers. A copy of the Koran was still kept on the tomb.²

(3) Nikolaos,³ a local Greek author of the 'nineties, speaks of the *tekke* as an undoubted Christian church, though tended by dervishes, and standing in a village of Circassian refugees. It holds festival on 2 May, the day of *S. Athanasius of Alexandria*, whose tomb it contains. Miracles of healing are frequently wrought at the place. Patients incubate all night, locked in the 'church', inserting the ailing part, if possible, in a hole near the tomb of 'Athanasius'; on the tomb are placed a gospel, lamps, and a *pair of shoes* which the saint wears when he appears to patients.⁴ The

¹ A refugee of 1878 from Varna, now resident at Beikoz, informed me that the herds of the saint went out and returned from pasture untended and unharmed, whereas strange animals sent out with them did not return.

² Jireček, *Bulgarien* (1891), p. 533; also in *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.*, 1886, p. 182. The former passage is given in full on p. 763 below.

³ J. Nikolaos, 'Ὀδησσός', pp. 248-50, quoted below, p. 764, at length.

⁴ Cf. the somewhat similar Christian superstition with regard to *S. Michael* at Syki (Bithynia) in *B.S.A.* xiii, 297 (Hasluck), and Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 200, with notes.

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incubation seems still to be supervised entirely by a dervish.¹

According to information gleaned in 1914 from a resident of Varna, the village by the *tekke* is now inhabited by Bulgarians, and a transference of the sanctuary to Christianity, such as has been suggested above, actually took place during the late Balkan War, when the Bulgarian priest of the village erected a cross on the *turbe*. The crescent was, however, shortly afterwards replaced by the invading Rumanian army. In such cases as this it is impossible to prove, except by the argument *a silentio*, that the Moslem cult had not ultimately a Christian predecessor. But at Balchik especially we have at least a strong presumption in favour of Moslem origin, since (1) there is no natural feature of the site which renders an antecedent cult probable; (2) the buildings seem to be entirely Turkish; (3) the tomb of Athanasius is obviously unauthentic; (4) 2 May is only a secondary festival of S. Athanasius, his great day being 18 January. It is possible that the coincidence of the original feast-day (*mevlud*) of Hafiz Khalil with 2 May has determined his Christian pseudonym.

10. TEKKE KEUI, near USKUB. The case of Balchik has an exact parallel in Serbian Macedonia. Before the Balkan War Evans found at Tekke Keui near Uskub a purely Mohammedan (Bektashi) sanctuary, with the grave of a Mohammedan saint, to which Christians also resorted on S. George's day.² A local Mohammedan informed me in 1914 that the place was now formally claimed for S. George by the erection of a cross, though the dervish in charge was not (as yet) evicted.³

11. TURBALI TEKKE, near PHARSALA. The last re-

¹ Professor Skorpil informs me (1913), through Mr. Gilliat Smith, H. B. M.'s consul at Varna, that the *tekke* is now ruined, only part of a kitchen of Turkish construction remaining besides the tomb.

² In *J.H.S.* xxi, 202, and in *Archaeologia*, xlix, 110: cf. below, pp. 274-7 ff.

³ [He had gone by 1923. M. M. H.]

maining Bektashi convent in Thessaly, near the village of Aivali in the district of Pharsala, seems to be a similar case. The mausoleum of the saint Turbe Ali, which is purely Turkish in form like all the buildings of the *tekke*, and probably dates from the sixteenth century, is visited by Christians as a sanctuary of S. George, and a 'tradition' is current that the *tekke* was once a monastery dedicated to that saint. When the Bektashi community follows the example of its once numerous neighbours and abandons the site, a church, as a local Christian admitted as a matter of course, will probably take its place on the strength of the tradition.¹

12. SERSEM ALI TEKKE, KALKANDELEN. Similarly, in Serbian Macedonia the once flourishing Bektashi *tekke* just outside Kalkandelen, founded by a certain Riza Pasha less than a hundred and fifty years ago and now doomed to extinction under the pressure of Serbian taxation, is quite likely to be replaced by a church of S. Elias, with whom the Bektashi saint buried there (Sersem Ali) is identified by the local Christians. For this identification there seems to be no other warrant than the likeness between the names Ali and Elias: ² the site is not an eminence, as are most of those dedicated by the Orthodox to Elias, and the buildings are perfectly in keeping with the date given on the founder's tombstone (A.H. 1238).³

It thus seems clear that a certain number of Moslem holy places manage to perpetuate their sanctity through a period of Christian conquest and even Moslem emi-

¹ F. W. H. See further details below, pp. 531-2.

² A Christian from Premet, where the Bektashi sect is influential, told me, independently of the above example, that Ali and Elias were commonly identified in Bektashism. In Bosnia the Mohammedan (Bektashi ?) festival of S. Elias is known as Alijun (Lilek in *Wiss. Mitth. Bosnien*, viii, 273). It should be noted that the Albanian for S. Elias is Shen Li. It may be that the saint Abbas Ali, who haunts Mount Tomor in S. Albania, is also equated locally to S. Elias, see below, p. 548, n. 2.

³ Further below, pp. 524-5.

gration : this at first sight bears out the view that the religious traditions of a locality cannot be extinguished. But it is equally clear that such of these holy places as have come under our view owe their survival not to well-authenticated traditions of previous Christian sanctity but to adroit management (aided by good luck) on the part of their dervish administrators. We thus arrive at the negative result that, in default of more cogent evidence, it is not safe to accept that of 'tradition' backed by Christian frequentation, as proof of the antecedent occupation by Christians of a sanctuary now outwardly Mohammedan.

In several of the ambiguous cults cited above the Christian version of the local religious legend is not only accepted but welcomed, and even, to judge by Gerlach's account of the church-*tekke* of Eski Baba, promoted (for Christian consumption) by the Mohammedans in charge of the sanctuary in question. This tendency is specially prominent in the case of ambiguous sanctuaries administered by or connected with the Bektashi¹ order. The two following sanctuaries, which are insufficiently known, are recommended for investigation on these lines.

13. SHAMASPUR TEKKE,² ALAJA (in Paphlagonia). This is a half-ruined sanctuary under Bektashi administration. Sir Charles Wilson calls it a cruciform church,³ but Hamilton's description makes it clear that it was a *tekke*, probably of Seljuk date, planned like the Konia *medresehs* as a cross inscribed in a square.⁴ It is signifi-

¹ See below, pp. 564 ff.

² See below, pp. 710 f.

³ In Murray's *Asia Minor*, p. 36.

⁴ Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, i, 402 f. : 'The building is square . . . on the east side is a handsome marble entrance in Saraceno-Gothic style, while within it is built in the form of a Greek cross, having one of the four recesses facing the east'. H. J. Ross (*Letters from the East*, p. 243) recognized the building as Mohammedan, as did Perrot (*Souvenirs d'un Voyage*, p. 418), who found two or three Bektashi dervishes there in 1861.

cant that the *Turks* of Alaja 'said the building was an old Greek monastery'.¹ The saint buried at this *tekke* is Husain, the father of Sidi Battal. Its name, however, connects it with Shamas, the Christian governor of a castle near Kirshehr, who was converted after being defeated in single combat by Sidi Battal himself.² It seems likely that the tomb of the converted Shamas was shown beside that of the Moslem hero, just as that of the Christian princess was shown beside the grave of Sidi Battal,³ and that of the Christian monk beside Jelal-ed-din's at Konia,⁴ as an attraction to Christian pilgrims.

14. The skeleton of a similar double legend is probably to be recognized⁵ in two notices of a building called MEJID TASH, outside Changri (Gangra) in Paphlagonia. Ainsworth speaks of this as a Mohammedan monument, apparently a Seljuk *turbe*, containing several tombs, which the local Christians vehemently claimed as those of their own saints; ⁶ Cuinet in his description of Changri notices 'un *turbé* ou chapelle funéraire musulmane, autrefois couvent grec orthodoxe dédié à S. Mamas'.⁷

15. PAMBUK BABA,⁸ OSMANJIK. My account of the

¹ Hamilton, *loc. cit.*

² See below, p. 711, n. 3.

³ See below, pp. 705-8.

⁴ See above, p. 86.

⁵ The suggestion here made is, of course, subject to correction, and is designed to stimulate further inquiry.

⁶ *Travels*, i, 110: the monument was dated by an Arabic inscription referring it to the reign of John Laskaris. Cf. Wilson (in Murray's *Asia Minor*, p. 10), who says it is the 'reported site of a massacre of Christians'.

⁷ *Turquie d'Asie*, iv, 553. But S. Mamas, born at Gangra, was buried at Caesarea (Theodosius, *De Situ Terrae Sanctae*, ed. Geyer, p. 144, who mentions S. Galenicus at Gangra): see above, p. 44.

⁸ Pambuk Baba ('Cotton Saint') seems to have succeeded, or to be identical with, the Bektashi saint Koyun Baba ('Sheep saint'), whose convent at Osmanjik is mentioned by Evliya (*Travels*, ii, 96). The convent is still of importance, though it seems to have passed into other hands.

cult is derived from a single source, a Greek native of Urgub, and is given for what it is worth. Pambuk Baba is reputed the builder of the stone bridge¹ across the river Halys which divides the two quarters of the town. My informant told me that the saintly architect, 'being unwilling to use the oxen of unbelievers' for the transport of material, had cursed the townspeople, and to this day the inhabitants of one quarter were one-eyed and those of the other afflicted with ringworm. He added that the stones for the bridge were eventually brought by stags.

This outline has certainly to be filled in somewhat as follows. Former bridges had been swept away by the river; the saint, not yet recognized as such, promised to build a substantial structure if the inhabitants would lend their draught animals: they, doubting his ability and laughing at him for pretending to know about bridges, refused: he then cursed them, manifesting his supernatural power, not only by building the present wonderful bridge, but by pressing wild deer (the favourite animals or familiars of dervishes)² into his service for the transport of the stone required.

So far, we have no more than a naïve piece of local mythology. The special interest of Pambuk Baba for us is that he is said to have been a converted Christian named S. Gerasimos. This may be read as an admission that the site of Pambuk Baba's convent was once Christian and so dedicated: but (1) Osmanjik is a town of purely Turkish origin and has probably never had a Christian church;³ and (2) if it had, S. Gerasimos is a very unlikely dedication. The latter consideration renders it equally difficult to assume that the tradition is one of those devised to attract Christians like that of

¹ A photograph of this bridge, really the work of Bayezid II, is given by Anderson, *Stud. Pont.* i, 103. ² See below, pp. 460 f.

³ It is, however, in a Kizilbash district: cf. v. Flottwell, *Stromgebiet des Qyzyl-Yrmaq*, p. 11.

Shems-ed-din at Konia.¹ In the Greek Church the Palestinian monk, S. Gerasimos, has no wide vogue, and the importance of the neo-saint Gerasimos of Zante, though great locally, is confined to that island and its neighbourhood. On the other hand, in Russia S. Gerasimos of Palestine is widely revered and Gerasimos is a common name among the laity. We know that after the Russo-Turkish war of 1807-8 Russian prisoners were brought into this district as slaves, many of whom turned Turk and settled in the country.² Is S. Gerasimos a reminiscence of one of these Russian renegades turned dervish? ³

¹ Above, p. 86-7.

² Kinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor*, p. 88: 'During my stay [1813] at Ooscat [Yuzgat] I was frequently visited by several Russians . . . who had been taken in the wars and brought here by this Pasha. They had changed their religion, married Mahomedan women, and, following their respective professions, enjoyed, as they said, a much happier life than they had ever done before' (*cf.* Oberhammer and Zimmerer, *Durch Syrien*, p. 211, note, for Russian renegades at Urgub). Are these the real ancestors of the fair-haired 'survivals of the Galatians' seen by several over-sanguine travellers in this district? See further below, p. 441, n. 6.

³ Some confirmation of this still hazardous theory exists in the prestige enjoyed by renegade marabouts. The saint of Mogador, for example, is Sidi Mogdul, Mogador being a Portuguese distortion of Mogdul, but the saint's real name was MacDonald (? MacDougall): see Montet, *Culte des Saints Musulmans*, p. 15.

VIII

TRANSFERENCE OF NATURAL SANCTUARIES—MOUNTAINS

WHEN we turn to consider the transference of cults at holy places chosen primarily for their physical peculiarities, that is, 'natural' as opposed to 'artificial' sanctuaries, we are confronted by serious difficulties, material and psychological. The rustic nature of these cults often deprives us of the evidence afforded by buildings,¹ and, further, the idea of the sanctity of mountains and springs (to choose the commonest forms of 'natural' holy places) is very widespread among primitive peoples. Both mountains and springs are held sacred by the nomad Yuruks, who can hardly have been greatly influenced, like town-dwellers, by the beliefs of their Christian neighbours. Hence, even where one religion is demonstrably superseded by another, it must remain doubtful whether a site has been chosen by the new-comers on account of its inherited sanctity or independently, merely because it struck them as an appropriate place for worship. Still less, where, as in the majority of cases, no proof of pre-Mohammedan religious occupation is obtainable, must the primitive type of the cultus be held to prove its chronologically ancient, and therefore inherited, origin.² In dealing with mountain cults, then, we have not only to consider their inheritance of sanctity, proved or possible, but also to take into account certain ideas predisposing men

¹ Among the ancients also temples were rarely built on mountains, a precinct and altar being held more appropriate.

² For more adequate illustration I have admitted in this section several cases of 'natural' cults of which Christian origins have not been suspected.

in general, and especially Moslems, to their selection. These include :

(a) The widespread idea of primitive humanity that the god controlling the weather, and especially rainfall, is best propitiated on mountain-tops where clouds gather.¹

(b) The secondary aspect of mountains, common to Islam and Christianity, as the abode of ascetics. The Bithynian Olympus, for example, was not only a resort of Christian monks, but in the early Ottoman period the abode of Moslem anchorites. Mountain hermits are often weather-prophets and rain-makers.²

(c) Quite independent of this is the secular, 'folklore' conception of a mountain or a mountain-top as the grave of a giant, conceived of originally as a 'black' figure, but liable, under the religious influences of the associations suggested in (a) and (b), to become a saint of superhuman proportions.³ The presence on a mountain-top of anything resembling or suggesting a grave, such as a cairn, a rough stone enclosure, or even a tree or trees,⁴ may be accepted as the grave of the saint, and welcomed as a tangible, yet not idolatrous, object of veneration.⁵

The following examples illustrate the various stages :

I. KAPU DAGH (DINDYMON). One of the bare summits of the Cyzicene Dindymon is named Dede Baïr, which can be roughly translated 'Saint's Hill', or perhaps better, less literally, 'Sacred Hill' :⁶ there is, so

¹ For the 'high places' which are regularly devoted still by Sunnis to the rain prayer outside Turkish towns see below, p. 102, n. 4.

² Cf. R. Walsh, *Constantinople*, i, 294.

³ The 'tomb of the prophet Joshua' on the Bosphorus is, as I have shown elsewhere (below, p. 305), an instance.

⁴ Cumont, *Stud. Pont.* ii, 211, records a case where two prominent trees standing on a mountain are so accepted.

⁵ This process of development seems to be world-wide : cf. Halliday, in *B.S.A.* xvii, 182 ff.

⁶ For the vague use of *dede* for a holy place or *numen* see Ramsay, *Pauline Studies*, p. 172.

far as I know, no cult. The classical traditions of Dindymon are well known. There is an important Christian pilgrimage-church, not on the hill, but in one of the valleys beneath it.¹

2. **IDA.** The double summit of the Trojan Ida is held by the Yuruks to represent the graves of a nameless 'Baba' (*lit.* 'father', but generally with the meaning 'saint') and his (nameless) daughter Sari Kiz ('Yellow Girl'). But *at the same time* the peaks represent stones sifted by the daughter.² A trace of a previous Christian cult may be seen by the eye of faith in the fact that the Yuruks hold festival here on 15 August (Assumption of the Virgin), and the fact that the daughter, despite her sex, seems the more important figure of the two. But certain dates in the Turkish year, *e. g.* S. George (Khidrelles), which are reckoned by the Syrian calendar, seem to be older than Christianity and not derived from it: of these 15 August appears to be one.³

3. The **HASAN DAGH**, near **CAESAREA**, has on its summit (1) a ruined Christian chapel and (2) a *turbe* associated with the sheikh Tur Hasan Veli,⁴ who can boast a respectable cycle of tradition.⁵ He represents, in all

¹ Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, p. 161: the church is connected by a medieval tradition with the Jasonian temple of Dindymene.

² Leaf in *Geog. Journ.* xl (1912), p. 37.

³ August 15 is said to be kept as a feast by the Bektashi at Kruya (Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 234), and I have been told by Christians that this is the 'great Bairam' of the sect, though Bektashi deny it. A Bektashi festival might in any case be derived from Christianity, but the same date is chosen for the assembly of witches in Georgia (N. W. Thomas, in *Man*, 1901, p. 57); *cf.* also below, no. 4, and, further, p. 132. Lucius (*Anfänge des Heiligenk.* p. 521) says the date of the Assumption appears first in Syria and as 'Obitus Deiparae pro Vitibus'; see further Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 95.

⁴ Ramsay and Bell, *Thousand and One Churches*, p. 256, where it is said that the *mevlud* (anniversary festival) is still kept.

⁵ Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, pp. 212 ff.

probability, a tribal eponymous hero,¹ and may even be historical.²

4. The YILDIZ DAGH ('Star Mountain'), near Sivas, exhibits the same combination of Christian and Mohammedan sanctuaries, here not superimposed, but on separate peaks. There is a Mohammedan festival on the mountain in August.³ A sanguine interpreter of these facts may here make out a good case for a survival, starting from the equation *yildiz* = *star* = *ἀστήρ*. A Christian saint Asterios is celebrated in the Greek calendar on 7 August,⁴ and a bishop of Amasia bore the name about A.D. 400.⁵ Did the pious bishop re-dedicate the hitherto pagan mountain to his name-saint? On the other hand, the district of which the 'Star Mountain' forms part bears officially the name of Yildizili ('Land of Yildiz').⁶ Yildiz is a not uncommon personal name among the Turks,⁷ and in particular it was borne by one of the six sons of Oguz, a semi-mythical Turkoman chieftain; each of these six sons was the founder of a tribe.⁸ So that here, as at the Hasan Dag, there is a good case for supposing the saint to be tribal and Turkish. As regards the August festival, it seems probable that the Kizilbash keep one on the fifteenth of the month.⁹

5. The ALI DAGH, near CAESAREA, is said by Moham-

¹ There is a village bearing the (tribal ?) name, Dur Hasanlu, near Kirshehr: see below, p. 339.

² A local chief in this region named Hasan is mentioned in the eleventh century (Anna Comnena, xiv, 1: cf. the crusading writer quoted in full by Tomaschek, in *Sitzb. Wien. Akad., Ph.-Hist. Cl.*, cxxiv (1891), viii, 85).

³ Wilson, in Murray's *Asia Minor*, p. 42; Cumont, *Stud. Pont.* ii, 233.

⁴ Ὁσῖος Ἀστέριος συγκλητικὸς καὶ θαυματουργός

⁵ Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, i, 526.

⁶ Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 698.

⁷ For Oguz and his sons see d'Herbelot, *s. v.*, and Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 6 ff.

⁸ See d'Herbelot, *s. v. Ildiz*, and Hammer-Hellert, xviii, 52.

⁹ Above, p. 100, n. 3.

medans to have been made by Ali, who, while helping the Prophet to make Argaeus, let fall a mass of earth through the breaking of a sieve.¹ The Christians associate the mountain with S. Basil, who is said to have resorted to it to pray.² On one of the two conspicuous summits are remains of a Christian church, on the other the Moslems have built a place of prayer.³

The development thus seems to be as follows, leaving inheritances from Christianity for the moment out of sight :

(i) An eminence is chosen by a neighbouring population as a place for propitiating the weather-god.⁴

(ii) Its existence or peculiarities are attributed to a miracle.

(iii) The peak itself⁵ or any existing building on it is accepted as the grave (tumulus or *turbe*, as the case may be) of a saint, often the author of the miracle. Subsequently, additions (a built grave, *turbe*, or *tekke*) may be made and a name found for the saint : but in primitive communities he often remains nameless. The

¹ Thompson, in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* 1910, p. 292 ; Scott-Stevenson, *Ride through Asia Minor*, p. 206.

² Carnoy and Nicolaïdes, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, pp. 191 f. ; Texier, *Asie Mineure*, ii, 61 ; Levides, *Μοναὶ τῆς Καππαδοκίας*, p. 56 ; Rizos, *Καππαδοκικά*, p. 138.

³ Levides, *loc. cit.* : οἱ Ὀθωμανοὶ ἔκτισαν ἐπὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς κορυφῆς προσκύνημα, Ταχταλή καλούμενον· σώζεται . . . καὶ φρέαρ μεταγενέστερον καλούμενον φρέαρ Χαδζή Παιράμ. Skene (*Anadol*, pp. 144 ff.) says the Ali Dagh has *three* peaks, occupied respectively by a ruined church, a mosque, and a Moslem cemetery connected with the famous hero Sidi Ghazi, for whom see below, pp. 705 ff.

⁴ The practice survives among the orthodox populations of towns. Most Turkish towns choose an eminence on the outskirts as a place for the rain-prayer.

⁵ Or even the whole mountain : a popular legend relates that the site of the 'Giant's Mountain' on the Bosphorus was once a plain on which a giant was buried : each mourner threw a handful of soil on the grave, thus making the mountain (Grosvenor, *Constantinople*, i, 214).

chances of an authentic saint being buried seem to me, in the case of mountains, remote :¹ saints' names or titles, however, account for a large proportion of the mountain nomenclature of Asia Minor : many are probably of tribal *eponymi* associated by the local worshippers with their praying-place.

The preference for mountain-tops as sanctuaries extends also to minor heights, natural and artificial. Examples are :

6. MURAD BAİR, a conical promontory in the Cyzicene peninsula, called by the Greeks S. Simeon : on its summit are remains of a rude chapel, with a roughly built Turkish tomb, probably a cenotaph, inside it.²

7. BABA SULTAN TEKKE. An artificial mound outside Yeni Shehr in Bithynia is occupied by the *turbe* and *tekke* of a saint variously called Baba Sultan,³ Emir Sultan,⁴ and Postin Push.⁵

8. TULUM BUNAR. A conspicuous conical mound (tumulus or signal-station ?) near Tulum Bunar station on the Kasaba line is crowned by the *turbe* of Jafer Ghazi. The tomb is probably not authentic⁶ and the *turbe* of recent construction.

9. The so-called 'TOMB OF HANNIBAL' near Gebze in Bithynia is a similar example. Here again an already existing tumulus has been used as a burial-place or accepted as such. The saint, real or imaginary, is supposed to be a *ghazi* of the early Ottoman period.⁷

10. 'TOMB OF ACHILLES' (TROAD). At the Trojan tumulus known by this name 'the summit of the cone

¹ Cf. however, below, p. 104, n. 3.

² Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, p. 18.

³ Wilson in Murray's *Constantinople*, p. 133.

⁴ F. W. H. I believe the mound to be artificial, but not (as Wilson) a tumulus.

⁵ Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 229.

⁶ See below, p. 508.

⁷ Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, 11, ii, 98; Lechevalier, *Propontide*, p. 39; Siderides, in *Φιλολ. Σύλλογος*, KZ', 280. For the real site of Hannibal's tomb see Leake, *Asia Minor*, p. 9, and a paper by Wiegand in *Ath. Mitth.* 1902, pp. 321 ff.

has been smoothed off, and contains a small mud building erected by a Mahometan Dervish, who, by a whimsical singularity of disposition, has converted the tomb of Achilles into a repository for his own ashes'.¹ This gives an important sidelight on the cases, apparently fairly frequent, of Turkish burials on ancient tumuli.² In such cases the modern selection of the site is probably due less to its antecedent sanctity than to its conspicuousness.

ὡς κεν τηλεφανῆς . . . ἀνδράσιν·εἶη
τοῖς οἱ νῦν γεγάασι καὶ οἱ μετόπισθεν ἔσονται.³

But, even in what would appear to be most favourable conditions, the choice of ancient tumuli for saints' tombs is quite arbitrary. At Haji Bektash in Cappadocia, for instance, a huge artificial mound near by has not been selected either for the site of the *tekke* or the burial-place of a saint.⁴

¹ W. Francklin, *Remarks on the Plain of Troy*, p. 46. For the Christians of the Troad the tumulus called Ujek Tepe is sacred to S. Elias (Schliemann, *Ilios*, English edition, p. 658) and another to S. Demetrius (*ibid.*, p. 669; Walpole, *Memoirs*, p. 372).

² In Thrace (Covel's *Diaries*, p. 187) and Rumeli generally (Ranke, *Servia*, p. 464; Jireček in *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* 1886, p. 63); also near Damascus (Rogers in *P.E.F.*, *Q.S.* for 1869, p. 44).

³ Homer, *Od.* xxiv, 82. Beduin sheikhs are by preference buried on mountain-tops (Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 612). Von Schwieger-Lerchenfeld (*Armenien*, p. 3) notes the presence of Moslem graves on the Lesser Ararat, as on Hor and Sinai, 'denn möglichst hoch begraben zu werden, war und ist im mohammedanischen Oriente allezeit ein brennender Wunsch'.

⁴ White in *Contemp. Rev.*, Nov. 1913, p. 695.

IX

TRANSFERENCE OF NATURAL SANCTUARIES—SPRINGS

TURNING to spring-cults, we find all the stages of an analogous development.

(a) The Yuruks, who are still in the primitive stage, reverence springs not remarkable to the outside observer.¹ These cults are, of course, ill-known psychologically, and their seats indicated externally only by the rags attached to neighbouring trees: they are thus indistinguishable from the obscurer Christian *ἀγιάσματα*.

(b) The spring is attributed to the miraculous agency of a saint.²

(c) Among more developed populations some degree of anthropomorphism is sometimes added to the antecedent sanctity of the spring by the burial, real or supposed, of a saint in the neighbourhood. Examples are:

I. AVJILAR, TROAD. The hot springs (*ilija*) near this village are not only used medicinally, but regarded superstitiously, rags being knotted to the surrounding bushes;³ but the cult seems not to be organized or affiliated to either of the prevailing religions. Such springs could be found by hundreds in Asia Minor.

¹ This I have from Dr. Chasseaud of Smyrna, whose profession has brought him into contact with the nomad tribes of the Aidin *vilayet*: below, p. 129-32.

² No. 2 below. For other examples of springs which are supposed to owe their origin to the action of a saint see von Hammer, *Brussa*, p. 14 (Emir Sultan); Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 244 (Zem Zem Baba); Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 226 (Sheikh Shami). The holy man usually makes water spring forth with his staff, which may be made to account for the frequent combination of tree and spring.

³ Schliemann, *Ilios*, English ed., p. 325.

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2. The spring at IVRIZ : this is attributed by legend to a miracle performed by Osman, a ' companion of the Prophet ', but the cult seems to have remained in the primitive stage.¹

3. A mineral spring in ESKISHEHR adjoins a *turbe* containing the tombs of the (nameless) ' Seven ' (*Yediler*).²

4. The ESKİ KAPLUJA bath at Brusa, supplied by a natural hot spring, is used by women as a cure for sterility *in conjunction with a pilgrimage to the adjacent turbe of Murad I*, the only Turkish sultan who earned the title of ' Martyr '.³ It is customary for women to take and eat grains of wheat placed on the tomb. Wilson⁴ records that the same sanctified wheat, when mixed with seed-corn, is supposed to ensure a good crop. The earliest mention of the wheat on the tomb is Luke's : ' a Plow and a Vessell of Wheat is then placed to keep in mind the encouragement he [Murad] gave to husbandry,'⁵ and this would be a perfectly satisfactory explanation to simple pilgrims, for whom any object placed in contact with the tombs of the sainted dead may have miraculous power. It is interesting to remark that a model plough is, as all who know the Egyptian bazaar at Constantinople will bear out, a recognized talisman. As to the wheat, it was probably intended in the first instance as an offering of first-fruits to the dead to bring good luck to the coming crop.⁶ The transference from agricultural to human fertility

¹ Davis, *Asiatic Turkey*, p. 251 ; V. de Bunsen, *Soul of a Turk*, p. 175 ; cf. Haji Khalifa, tr. Armain, p. 671 ; Ramsay, *Pauline Stud.*, p. 173.

² F. W. H.

³ Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, iv, 36.

⁴ In Murray's *Constantinople*, p. 129.

⁵ *Voyage to Constantinople*, B.M. Sloane MS. 2720, f. 28 : cf. Pardoe, *City of the Sultans*, ii, 54.

⁶ So plaited wheat-ears of new corn are shown suspended on the walls of a Macedonian *tekke* by Evans (*J.H.S.* xxi, 203) and to an *eikon* of the Virgin by Kanitz (*Bulgarie*, p. 409). I noticed at the mausoleum of Jehangir near Lahore in India a pile of wheat on the tomb, possibly used in a similar way.

is an easy one. The whole is a combination of a cult of the dead with the half-religious, half-practical use of medicinal springs.¹ As to ‘survival’, we have no evidence for a Christian cult at these *thermae*, and the grave of Murad is of course authentic; but in the same city we have a hot spring with a long religious pedigree.

5. Between the ĒSKI and YENI KUKURTLU baths the Greeks celebrate S. Patricius, bishop of Brusa, who was, according to tradition, martyred at these baths, the site of which was then occupied by a temple of Asklepios.² The Turks, independently of Christian tradition, or otherwise, have built between the two baths a *turbe* containing the tomb of Akchi Baba.³

6. Spring of ABU ISHAK, ERZERUM. This cult, centring in a spring before the Tabriz gate of the city, is ambiguous. The spring is connected by Armenians with the martyrdom (A.D. 796) of the Christian saints Eusebius and Isaac,⁴ by the Turks with a Moslem named Abu Ishak.

7. The famous hot springs at KURI YALOVA in Bithynia have a similar history. In ancient times, as their name, Πύθια Θερμά, implies, they were dedicated to Apollo, from whom the Christian S. Michael inherited them.⁵ For the Turks the place is sanctified by the burial there of an ‘abdal’ dervish.⁶ Here, as at

¹ In Syria the power of fertilizing women is attributed directly (and anthropomorphically) to the *velis* of hot springs (Curtiss, *Prim. Semitic Relig.*, pp. 116–17).

² *Acta SS.* (April 28) mentions the temple of Asklepios, which, however, does not figure in the *Synax. Cp.* (May 19): the healing god is of course appropriate at such a site. For the modern cult of S. Patricius see Kandis, *Προῦσα*, pp. 132 and 200. The bath known as Bekiar Hammam is by the Greeks considered sacred to S. John (*ibid.*, p. 82).

³ F. W. H. I could not discover whether the *turbe* was, as in no. 4, connected with cures at the baths.

⁴ Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 185; Lynch, *Armenia*, ii, 212; Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 27; cf. Haji Khalfa, tr. Armain, p. 652.

⁵ Procopius, *De Aedif.*, v, 3.

⁶ Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 114.

Brusa, the Mohammedan development is the weak link in the pedigree, the connexion between the baths and the 'abdal' not being made out.¹

8. At the hot springs of ARMUDLU in Bithynia a very similar development appears to have taken place in the cult. Here we have a strong presumption of an ancient nymph cult, a well-developed medieval and modern Christian saint cult, and the materials for a Mohammedan *dede* cult. As no printed study of this site is available, I have discussed it in some detail later on.² But the cult of a *dede* is not an inseparable accompaniment of a hot spring for Turks.³

9. At BUYUK TEPE KEUI on the Upper Granicus is such a spring, shown by an inscription to have been sacred to Artemis in Roman times.⁴ The bath-house, into which the inscription is built, is still largely Roman. The Greeks still consider the hot spring an *ayasma* of S. Constantine.⁵ There is no evidence, however, for a corresponding Turkish cult.⁶

It may be here noted that the collocation of natural

¹ In 1610 the French ambassador, de Gontaut Biron, found a mosque served by two 'santons' (probably the *turbe* of the 'abdal') within a hundred yards of the baths (*Ambassade*, in *Arch. Hist. Gascogne*, xvi (1888), p. 126). But the pious Evliya Efendi, who visited the baths in 1640 (*Travels*, ii, 40), does not mention the saint's tomb as a pilgrimage.

² Pp. 466 ff.

³ It is to me very significant that Evliya, the seventeenth-century Pausanias of Turkey, in spite of his excessive reverence for saints, betrays no superstitious view of the curative powers of the hot springs of Brusa, though he describes them at length (*Travels*, ii, 10).

⁴ *C.I.G.* 3695 e.

⁵ F. W. H.

⁶ The cult of the *ayasma* of Yasi Euren (Tymandos) cited by Ramsay (*Pauline Studies*, p. 184, *cf. Hist. Geog.*, p. 402; also Murray's *Asia Minor*, p. 147) as a survival from antiquity would be a parallel case, were there any evidence to connect the *ayasma* with the dedication to Hercules Restitutor (*C.I.L.*, iii, *Supp.* 6867) in the neighbouring village: but there is no such evidence, and *a priori* the coldness of the spring is against its dedication to Herakles (*cf. Aristophanes, Nubes*, 1051: *ποῦ ψυχρὰ δῆτα πάπορ' εἶδες Ἡράκλεια λουτρὰ*; and Athenaeus, xii, 6).

hot baths and mosques (as, *e.g.*, in two cases in the Kutahia district cited by Haji Khalfa)¹ does not necessarily imply a sacred site, since mosque, caravanserai, and bath are regarded as the first necessities at any frequented halting-place: but a mosque at a hot spring may also be regarded as a precaution against unorthodox superstition.

10. KAINARJA, BRUSA. An extremely interesting case of a cure which took place at these (sulphurous) baths is related by Lady Blunt.² It shows that superstition, unaided by religion, may go far towards establishing a cult with elaborate ritual. Lady Blunt tells her story as follows:

The patient, a woman crippled by rheumatism, incubated, armed with a petition to the *peris*,³ by whom the bath was known to be haunted, for a whole night in the inner bath-chamber, which smells strongly of sulphur. Her account, *verbatim*, reads exactly like the text of an Epidaurian *stèle* not yet edited by the priests. She first became unconscious; then, coming to herself, she felt 'invisible beings' (it was quite dark) chafing her limbs. Next a pail of cold water was thrown over her, and the shock and fright made her stand on her feet and walk a few steps towards the door, calling for help. The departure of the *peris*, marked by the banging of a door, was immediately followed by the arrival of her friends. In the morning the patient retained the use of her limbs, and in recognition of the cure a sheep was sacrificed, which, we may well imagine, was eaten by the *peris* concerned.

Here we have a well-developed ritual and effective

¹ Tr. Armain, p. 688.

² *People of Turkey*, by a Consul's Daughter [F. Blunt], ii, 226-9; the bath has long been considered miraculous: *cf.* J. Pardoe, *City of the Sultans*, ii, 58.

³ For this rather uncommon method of communication *cf.* Carnoy and Nicolaidis, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 160.

organization joined to a cult which has never reached the stage of religion. Obviously, the *peris* of Kainarja only need conversion to Islam and a *turbe* for their home to rank amongst the most orthodox pilgrimages. Obviously, too, no Christian precedent is needed for such a cult, though for all we know one may have existed at Kainarja before the Turkish conquest.

It is important to note here that the conception of the 'manifestation of the god' by natural hot springs, which is the usually accepted explanation of superstitious usages in connexion with them, is not a necessary factor in the development of this cult. Baths in general, owing doubtless to their dim atmosphere¹ and echoing vaults, together with the necessity of exposing the person during their use, are well known to be dangerous haunts of *peris* and *jinns*.² In spite of this somewhat sinister reputation a bath, like a spring, may become superstitiously associated with the name of a holy man,³ like that of the Bektashi saint, Piri Dede, at Marsovan, associated by Christians with S. Barbara, in whose

¹ For a well infested by *jinns* see Hume Griffith, *Behind the Veil in Persia*, p. 166. Deriving from the same conception is the idea in Moslem eschatology that the souls of the just remain in the Well of Souls till the Day of Judgement.

² Palgrave, *Ulysses*, pp. 58 f.; [Blunt], *People of Turkey*, ii, 226; Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, ii, 37; E. Sykes, *Persia and its People*, p. 331; Burton, *Arabian Nights*, v, 54; Carnoy and Nicolaidis, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 111. Jewish women in Turkey propitiate the spirits of baths when nursing children (Danon in *Onzième Congrès d'Orientalistes*, Paris, 1897, Sect. vii, 264); the reason is probably that their breasts are exposed while bathing; cf. also on this point a story in Legrand's *Contes Populaires Grecs*, p. 48. Specific instances of haunted baths are cited by Palgrave (*loc. cit.*: at Trebizond); J. Nikolaos ('*Οδησός*', p. 245: at Varna); Evliya (*Travels*, ii, 13: at Brusa); and Polites (*Παραδόσεις*, no. 674: at Athens, where the *peris* are called Nereids); cf. also *Synaxaria*, Sep. 26. L. Einsler in *Z.D.P.V.*, x, 160-81, gives an excellent account of superstitions connected with baths.

³ Schumacher in *P.E.F.*, Q.S. for 1888, p. 151, gives a case where patients bathe in certain hot baths and then proceed to visit the tomb of a holy man in the neighbourhood.

legend a bath figures.¹ Similarly, the baths constructed by Mohammed II at the mosque of Eyyub have, on account of their position, acquired a reputation for curative powers.²

An exactly similar development in the case of mills may here be noted. Both water- and wind-mills are in Greece reputed the haunt of evil spirits (*καλλικάντζαροι*),³ and no doubt the same is true of the other side of the Aegean. The next step is the conception of the mill-spirits as beneficent. Near Monastir Lady Blunt found a mill which was deliberately selected as a suitable spot for working magic cures in 'the seven weeks following Easter'.⁴ Finally, in Asia Minor a water-mill is selected as a place of incubation on the ground that a saint named Haji Bekir performed the miracle for its owner and, consequently (or inconsequently), haunts the building.⁵

These notes on the two most important classes of 'natural' sanctuaries lead us to the conclusion that Turk and Christian are equally prone to mountain and spring cults, which are natural to almost any primitive religion on account of their close connexion with agriculture. When these cults are developed, anthropomorphism becomes more or less prominent, though,

¹ Above, chap. iv, no. 3. Similarly, the bath figuring in the legend of the Forty Martyrs is shown at Sivas (below, p. 393). Is the Mithraeum in the baths of Caracalla a classical parallel? The waters of Alexandria Troas owe their virtue to the protection of a 'santon' (Bussierre, *Lettres*, i, 189). Cf. also Kitchener in *P.E.F.*, *Q.S.* for 1877, p. 121.

² Carnoy and Nicolaidis, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 156.

³ Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, nos. 624-6, 628-37, and note on no. 624 (p. 1341); cf. also nos. 848, 849, for the tradition that the invention or perfecting of windmills was due to devils.

⁴ *People of Turkey*, ii, 236.

⁵ Carnoy and Nicolaidis, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, pp. 210, 335. Cf. a sanctuary of S. Mamas in a cellar with a winepress mentioned by the same authors, p. 195.

owing to the 'popular' origin of Turkish saints, as opposed to the ecclesiastical canonization required for sainthood by the Christian Churches, it reaches a completer stage among the Turks than among the Christians. The Turk is quite at liberty to choose or even invent the patron of a mountain or spring and build his tomb, whereas the Christian's choice is restricted to the existing calendar, and, though he may bolster up the connexion between cult and saint by more or less probable legends, this rarely gets so far as to warrant a tomb.

As to the question of 'survivals' in mountain and spring cults, we have seen in some of the cases cited above that there is a tradition or even material evidence of previous Christian occupation. But the 'spiritual' inheritance is so impalpable that reasonable people will content themselves with saying that these cults, whether actually initiated by Moslem, Christian, or Pagan, belong to the same primitive phase of religious thought and are developed along similar lines. It is the phase of thought, and not every one, or even most, of its manifestations, which is the immortal element and the true survival.

X

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

FROM our inquiry as a whole we have arrived at the conclusion that, while Islam in Turkey can be proved in many instances to have succeeded to a material inheritance from Christendom, a corresponding 'spiritual' inheritance is seldom proved and generally unprovable. In the few cases where it can be authenticated, the inherited sanctity seems due less to any vague awe attaching to particular localities than to the desire to continue the practical benefits, especially healing, derived from the cult of the dead.

A wider survey of the history of Moslem sanctuaries in Turkey would probably bring into further prominence the purely human conditions governing the vogue of important holy places. We may note here that these are generally towns,¹ whose sanctity consists ultimately in an accumulation of saints' tombs due to the long importance of the town in question as a centre of population. The continuance of their vogue as religious centres depends directly on the continuance of their population and is materially aided by the establishment in them of the religious orders and consequent organization. An isolated sanctuary, if on a frequented route, especially the great pilgrim road to Mecca, stands a greater chance of wide popularity than one remote from it: if the road becomes less populous, the sanctuary suffers with it. The decline of the *tekke* of Sidi Battal with the disuse of the pilgrim road is a case in point.² Of the converse an illustration is offered by

¹ Konia, Brusa, formerly Isnik, and probably Kirshehr, are instances.

² See below, p. 705. A good Christian parallel is S. Nicolas at Myra, which is no longer of religious importance, since the pilgrims, travelling

Musa Tekke, a healing sanctuary near Kachanik (on the Mitrovitza line in Serbian Macedonia). Here the immediate proximity of the sanctuary to the railway secures it offerings thrown from the windows of every passing train and a publicity which it could hardly hope for if it were in a more remote situation.

The popularity of country sanctuaries without these adventitious aids tends to be either strictly local (exceptionally, as in the case of the tomb of Ertoghrlu at Sugut, national) or sectarian, corresponding respectively to tribal and religious divisions of the population. Of the sectarian type, the convent of Haji Bektash,¹ with its dependent villages inhabited by affiliated laymen, is a notable instance, recalling, but in no way dependent on, or surviving from, the ancient Anatolian religious polities.

'Natural' sanctuaries are of purely local religious importance, though curative springs, some of which fall into this category, attract for practical reasons a wider *clientèle*.

As to the larger question of the inheritance of religious tradition in Asia Minor irrespective of period, it must be admitted that the theory 'once a holy place, always a holy place' does not in fact hold good. It is truer in Syria,² where (1) the bulk of the population has always been of the same (Semitic) stock, and (2) many saints and sites of the Old Testament cycle and some others are venerated alike in Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan tradition.

by steamer, have neither need to hug the Karamanian coast nor practical reasons for putting in there. ¹ See below, pp. 502 ff.

² Compare, *e.g.*, the perpetuated holiness of such places as Jerusalem (city), Carmel and Sinai (mountains), and Hierapolis-Membij (spring); for the general question of 'survivals' of religious practice in Syria see S. I. Curtiss, *Prim. Semitic Relig., passim*. In Albania, which was converted but recently, and has largely kept its population unmixed, investigation would probably disclose similar phenomena: see above, p. 71, n. 2.

In Turkey and especially Asia Minor we should expect, and indeed find, more connexion of this kind between paganism and Christianity than between Christianity and Islam, since the coming of Islam coincided with a social cataclysm and a great displacement of population.

While it is always hard to demonstrate that an existing Moslem holy place does not inherit an ancient religious site or tradition, the burden of proof must rest with the other side. The holiest place for Moslems in Constantinople to-day, the mosque of Eyyub, had, so far as we know, no Christian predecessor.¹

On the other hand, it is apparent that many sites of extraordinary sanctity both in ancient and in Christian times have at the present day lost all tradition of that sanctity. Ephesus, a place of the greatest religious importance during both periods, owes its remaining Christian sanctity to its proximity to Smyrna and the Greek coast-towns, and it seems never to have passed on its religious tradition to Islam. The existence of the fine mosque of Isa Bey, considered by Ramsay as proof that the city was a holy place for medieval Turks,² seems to me only to mark the fact that it was once an important centre of Turkish population. Any one of the still existing *turbes* at Ephesus might, indeed, under favourable conditions, especially endowment, organization, and permanent Moslem population, have become and remained a popular Mohammedan pilgrimage. Failing these advantages, they have fallen with the great mosque into neglect and ruin. The Asklepieion of Pergamon, under the administration of the ancients one of the most frequented healing shrines of the known world, has bequeathed to the town no religious tradition. Christian Pergamon, again, has inherited from

¹ Above, chap. vii, no. 3.

² In *Geog. Journ.* xx (1902), p. 274, see above, p. 19.

the Apocalyptic Church no special Christian sanctity,¹ and to Islam the town has no religious significance whatever. The temple at Olba, once the seat of hereditary priest-kings and of great local religious importance, shows traces of having been transformed into a church, but none of Mohammedan occupation.² At Athens the Erechtheum, which, if a comparatively recent building, at least inherited the most venerable traditions of the city, became a church under the Byzantines, but a dwelling-house under the Turks.

Of 'natural' sanctuaries two instances in particular, the Corycian cave in Cilicia and the 'Chimera' flame in Lycia, seem to afford striking confirmation of the thesis that there was much less 'survival' in the Christian-Moslem than in the Pagan-Christian transition period. At the Corycian cave, a naturally impressive place regarded with great religious awe in ancient times, a Christian church was built on the very site of the pagan temple. The nomad Turks who now inhabit the district use the cave itself as a stable for camels³ and scout the idea of anything supernatural about it.⁴ The 'Chimera' (*Yanar*) in Lycia, a natural flame issuing from the ground, was naturally connected in ancient times with Hephaestus;⁵ ruins of a Christian church were found near it.⁶ But the mysterious flame is used by the prosaic modern inhabitants (nomads) for culinary purposes.⁷

¹ The 'grave of Antipas' now held sacred by local Christians (near the reputed church of S. John: see Lambakis, *Ἐπιτὰ Ἀστέρες*, p. 284) is a recent discovery. In the thirties his tomb was in the mosque known as S. Sophia (C. B. Elliott, *Travels*, ii, 127).

² Bent in *J.H.S.* xii, 206 ff.

³ Bent in *J.H.S.* xii, 212-14.

⁴ Bent in *P.R.G.S.* 1890, p. 457.

⁵ Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* *Hephaistion* (1).

⁶ Petersen in von Luschan's *Lykien*, ii, 138 ff.

⁷ Beaufort, *Karamania*, p. 46; Spratt and Forbes, *Lycia*, ii, 182. The flame, however, is so far superstitiously regarded that it is said not to cook stolen food, and its soot is good for sore eyes (Colnaghi in New-

The religious awe attaching to ancient places of worship thus dwindles or dies where it is not continuously reinforced by organization. It is human organization in the end which was responsible for the fame of all the widely reputed sanctuaries of antiquity. All owed their extended vogue either to the external organization of politics or commerce, or to the internal organization of an astute, or even learned, priestly caste dealing in cures, oracles, or mysteries. Both classes alike were dependent on facility of communication, again largely a human consideration, for the continuance of their prosperity.

The traditions of Moslem shrines are mortal likewise. The *tekke* of Sidi Battal, whether a Christian holy place by origin or not,¹ is doomed. It owes a precarious survival principally to its endowment and hereditary sheikhs,² who have preserved the continuity of its traditions despite the fall of the Bektashi order and the desertion of the pilgrims' road. But what proportion of Turkish *tekkes* can claim as much? For every dying cult like that of Sidi Ghazi one could point to a hundred dead: and new ones daily grow up to take their place and satisfy the religious needs of a varying population.³

In Europe, where Islam gives back, the stages are ton, *Travels and Discoveries*, i, 345; cf. Cockerell, *Travels*, p. 170). The Greeks connect the mysterious flame with the Wandering Jew (Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, ii, 788), who is called *Κουρητής* in Lesbos (Georgakis and Pineau, *Folk-Lore de Lesbos*, p. 345). The word occurs in Zotos's *Λεξικὸν τῶν Ἁγίων Πάντων* in the meaning merely of 'silly old fool'. For the Wandering Jew as a shepherd who offended Moses see Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*, p. 42: for the story as a whole see G. Paris's *Légendes du Moyen Âge*, pp. 149-221.

¹ See below, pp. 705-10.

² Ouvré, *Un Moïse en Phrygie*, p. 87; Radet, in *Arch. des Miss.* vi (1895), pp. 446-7.

³ For a good instance see L. Ross's account of the discovery of a Moslem saint in 1845 at Larnaka in Cyprus (*Reisen nach Kos*, pp. 198 f.); also the extraordinary history of the canonization of an Egyptian

clear. The story of Hasan Baba,¹ the erstwhile saint of Tempe, is typical. Under the Crescent the intercessions of Hasan and the touch of his ancient weapons cured all human ills, and many halted at his *tekke*. Forty years ago (1882) Thessaly fell to Greece. A traveller passed through Tempe the year before the cession and found the *tekke* intact and the dervish guardian at his post, but on the point of departure. The arms of Hasan Baba had lost their virtue—'God has now withdrawn His strength from them'—and did mighty works no longer.² To-day nothing remains of the sanctuary save a minaret without a mosque, a *turbe* with plundered graves, and a few roofless walls. The withdrawal of the Moslem population from Thessaly due to the change of frontier has here been sufficient to blot out spiritually and materially a sanctuary of some local importance. The inference is that changes in political and social conditions, especially change of population, of which Asia Minor has seen so much, can and do obliterate the most ancient local religious traditions, and, consequently, that our pretensions to accuracy in delineating local religious history must largely depend on our knowledge of these changes. Without this knowledge, which we seldom or never have, the assumption too often made on the ground of some accidental similarity that one half-known cult has supplanted another is picturesque but unprofitable guesswork.

mummy at the Seven Towers of Constantinople in the early years of the eighteenth century (below, pp. 352-4).

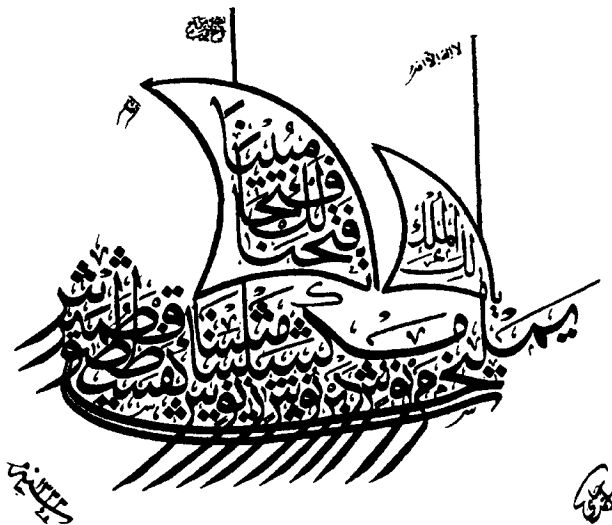
¹ For full references see below, p. 357, n. 1.

² V. Chirol, *Twixt Greek and Turk*, p. 116.

PART II

STUDIES IN TURKISH POPULAR HISTORY
AND RELIGION ¹

¹ [Certain chapters are missing here, such as 'The Religions of Asia Minor' (following chap. xi), 'Arab Saints and Turkish Ghazis' (following the present chap. xxi); in others, sections only have been written. Thus, chap. xiii is all that remains of a projected treatment of the 'History of the Shia Faith in Asia Minor', the scattered accounts of the Bektashi alone represent a chapter on 'The Mevlevi and the Bektashi', in chap. xiv the sections on Mountain and Spring Cults are lacking, and chap. xxii ends abruptly.—M. M. H.]



THE SEVEN SLEEPERS

(For a discussion of their legend see pages 309-19.)

INTRODUCTION

THE results of this first collection, mainly from printed sources, of material relating to the popular religion of Turkey will come as a surprise to many. The field as such has been touched by few articles and fewer books, yet the stray references to local cults and legends contained in works of travel, reinforced in some cases by personal inquiries, eke out this meagre supply of information to such an extent that the outlines of the subject as a whole and even glimpses of the individual development of certain popular cults can be attempted. That the whole should be imperfect and incomplete is almost inevitable in all such first attempts to arrange and systematize scattered information : professed orientalists in particular will find much to censure and to correct. Yet I have preferred to run this risk rather than to omit an opportunity of stimulating students and travellers in the Near East to further research in a fruitful and to a large extent virgin field. Such a compilation as this, whatever its defects, may afford them at least a collection of data, possibly a quickened interest in rustic religious phenomena too often dismissed in default of background as mere isolated curiosities.

The interest of Turkish religious folk-lore as such is possibly small, since it is influenced to an overwhelming extent by Persian, Semitic, and even North African ideas. The purely Turkish element is difficult to recognize and probably small. It can be disentangled only when we are better informed as to the religious practice of the pre-Islamic Turks, including the still half-pagan 'Yuruk' Turks of Asia Minor and western Persia. Mecca, Jerusalem, Kerbela, to some extent also Con-

stantinople and Cairo, are exchanges and clearing-houses of the religious ideas of the Moslem world, and it is inevitable that they should affect by various agencies (notably returned pilgrims and vagrant holy men) the current of ideas even in the remotest villages of the Empire.

Yet the same is true to some extent of all religions but the most primitive, and for the history of religion in general no people's beliefs can be left out of sight. From the comparative point of view, and especially for the study of the religions of the ancient world in the area now occupied by the Turkish Empire, the interest of the subject seems to me considerable, as disclosing, not, as might be expected, picturesque 'survivals' from antiquity, but as bringing into prominence certain points which have been unconsciously kept in the background by the in some ways over-logical methods pursued by recent research.

Credulity and an almost entire lack of logic as regards religious matters are not peculiar to the Turkish peasant. Religious practice is not immutable, though it seems to develop within certain broad lines. Apparently primitive features may be in reality of recent origin, secondary phenomena may become primary. Secular magic may influence and pervert religious ritual, secular folklore figures may under propitious influences take their place among the saints.

Religious legend springs not only from allegory and actual religious history but from idle or interested gossip or from purely accidental occurrences such as the successful predictions of holy men and the dreams and fancies of laymen arbitrarily interpreted. Irreconcilable legends may circulate at the same time in the same place; it occurs only to a small class to unify the whole cycle of current legend, and this class, though not necessarily dishonest or interested, is still credulous and uncritical. Analogies in ritual and legend, however ap-

parently exact, seldom or never amount to proof of common origin, entirely different origins leading through various development to identical results. The two creative forces—the popular and the learned (which are often equivalent to the lay and the priestly)—have been at work in some form on religion as far back as we can see. In Turkey they can still be seen at work. It is this which gives to these Turkish studies a more than local interest.

HETERODOX TRIBES OF ASIA MINOR

§ I. INTRODUCTORY

PROFESSOR VON LUSCHAN, in his Huxley lecture on *Early Inhabitants of Asia Minor*,¹ has done much to bring order into our ideas of the still insufficiently known ethnological and religious divisions of that country. His studies are based mainly on his personal observations, and his point of view is for the most part that of a physical anthropologist. His predecessors in field work, dealing generally with narrower areas, have produced a great mass of literature, scattered or in some cases difficult of access, and no serious attempt has been made to approach the problems involved from the historical side. It therefore seems worth while at this stage to bring together the scattered material of explorers and collate with it such historical information as may be gleaned from printed sources, with the object of presenting in one view a summary of the facts at our disposal and the problems they suggest for the investigation of future explorers in the history, and particularly the religious history, of Anatolia.

European travellers in Asia Minor, mainly classical archaeologists and very seldom orientalists, are generally better acquainted with Christianity than with Islam. Consequently, the divisions of the Christians are more obvious to them than those of the Mohammedan populations. By most the latter are regarded as a single whole, and any divergence they may notice from orthodox Sunni practice suggests to them that the population

¹ In this chapter pp. 124-58 have already appeared in the *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* li (1921), pp. 310 ff.; pp. 159-66 in the *B.S.A.* xx, pp. 95 ff.

² *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xli, 221 ff.

in question has been affected by Christianity, that is, that it represents an originally Christian population half-converted to Islam. This archaeologically attractive theory is especially dangerous in so far as it touches anthropological questions, since the supposed converted Christians are naturally assumed to be a pre-Turkish, and, in default of evidence to the contrary (which is never forthcoming), an aboriginal population.

The archaeologists, then, mainly on the evidence afforded by religion, hold that (1) the heterodox tribes are converted Christians, and they gladly accept the theory of the anthropologists, based mainly on craniology, that (2) the heterodox tribes are aboriginal. The orientalist, headed by Vambéry, deny both these statements, holding that the peoples concerned are mainly of Turkish blood and comparatively recent immigrants from western Persia or beyond.

As far as religion is concerned, the main purpose of the present essay is to emphasize the fact that, though crypto-Christians exist in Asia Minor,¹ many, if not most, of the unorthodox practices obtaining amongst tribes supposed to have been originally Christian, are in fact to be referred either (1) to the primitive stratum of religion, which survives in superstitious practice among Christians no less than Mohammedans, or (2) to the Shia branch of the Mohammedan faith, which, though orthodox in Persia, is to the Sunni Turks quite as much outside the pale as the Christianity of the Armenian is to the Greek or vice versa.

It is probable that many Turkish tribes, passing through northern Persia on their way westwards, first met with Islam in the Shia form, so that the Shia religion may be considered to some extent as the link between paganism and Sunni Mohammedanism. We can certainly point to a period during which a Shia, or at least a Persianizing, form of Islam was prevalent,

¹ See below, pp. 469 ff.

together with a culture derived almost exclusively from Persia, in central Asia Minor.¹

Very considerable confusion has also arisen with regard to the heterodox tribes of Asia Minor owing to a vague and inaccurate use of tribal and other names. It has been more or less assumed that, whatever their original significance, the names Yuruk, Turkoman, Kizilbash, Takhtaji, Bektash, &c., are on the same footing and have ethnological significance. An examination of what has been written on the tribes in question leads to the conclusion that some of these names denote, not ethnological, but religious and other divisions. Thus, of the names cited above, Yuruk² in itself denotes no more than the nomadic life of the tribes so designated, while Turkoman is a tribal name wrongly used to cover a much larger division of the population. Takhtaji ('woodcutter') is essentially a caste-name, Kizilbash ('red-head') is a nickname for a widely distributed religious sect, while Bektash designates members of a religious organization within that sect.³ So far from these categories being mutually exclusive, it would be possible for a single person to come under all of them.

§ 2. THE YURUKS

The term Yuruk has long been recognized by ethnologists as of very wide and vague application: in itself, as we have said, it signifies no more than 'nomadic'. Dr. Tsakyrogious of Smyrna, whose profession has given him unusual opportunities for intimacy with the Yuruks of his *vilayet*, is the only writer who has dealt with the Anatolian Yuruks as a whole.⁴ He enumerates no less

¹ See below, pp. 167 ff.

² Tk. *yurumek* = to walk. The word 'Yuruk' is first used, as far as I can discover, by Rycaut (*Hist. of the Turks*, ii, 138; cf. Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, ii, ii, 108) of the nomads of the Troad.

³ See below, pp. 159 ff.

⁴ *Περὶ Γιουρούκων* (pp. 40), Athens, 1891. There is also a French

than eighty-eight tribes of them, varying greatly in size and importance and distributed over all parts of Asia Minor.¹ His list, however, does not profess to be complete, though, if we except the short list of tribes in the Aidin *vilayet* given by Vambéry,² it is the only attempt to collect Anatolian tribal names. As the pamphlet containing this list is inaccessible, the list is given in full below,³ together with some tribal names collected by Langlois in Cilicia, and, for comparison, a list of Turkoman tribes given to Niebuhr by Patrick Russell of Aleppo, together with Burckhardt's list.

The Yuruk tribes (*ashiret*) bear for the most part personal names, presumably of ancestral chiefs, with or without the adjectival suffix *-li*. Examples are Durgut, Ahmedli, Gueuk Musali, Sheikhli. It is significant that the chief of the latter tribe bears the surname Sheikhli Baba Zade ('Son of Father Sheikhli'). Other tribes bear names apparently denoting their *habitat*, as Akdaghli ('of the White Mountain'), and Rumli, or characteristics as Kachar ('runners'), Tash-evli ('stone-house men'), Boïni Injeli ('slim-figured men'), Sari-Kechili ('men with yellow goats'). Traces of early divisions of originally united tribes are probably to be seen in the numerous tribal names running in pairs, such as Selge- and Keles-Kachar,⁴ Kara- and Sari-Tek-

translation printed at Smyrna. [Another in German is said to exist in *Globus*, but I have failed to trace the reference.—M. M. H.]

¹ Tsakyrogous, *op. cit.*, pp. 13 ff. and 22 : in view of theories regarding the origin of the Zebeks, I note on the latter page the name *Zeibekli* : the significance of the name seems to be somewhat similar to that of *Παλληκάρι* in Greek (*cf.* von Diest, *Reisen und Forschungen*, i, 27).

² *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 606 (the names which do not figure in Tsakyrogous's list are marked by an asterisk) : Selge Kachar*, Keles Kachar, Kara Tekkeli, Sari Tekkeli, Sachi Karali, Eski Yuruk, Farsak, Kizil Kechili, Kara Kechili*, Khorgun, Burkhan, Yel Aldi, Karin Karali*, Karagachli*, Kirtish, Akdaghli, Narinjali, Jabar*, Tash Evli, Chepni.

³ Pp. 475 ff.

⁴ Vambéry, *op. cit.*, p. 606 ; but according to Tsakyrogous (p. 17)

keli, Kizil- and Kara-Kechili. Colour-epithets, such as *Kara* ('black'), *Ak* ('white'), *Kizil* ('red'), *Sari* ('yellow'), and *Gueuk* ('blue') are probably in all cases taken from the natural colour or distinctive markings of the flocks of two divisions of the same tribe; this seems clear from the occurrence of such names as *Ak-koyunlu* (*white sheep* tribe), *Alaja-koyunlu* (*spotted sheep* tribe), *Kizil-kechili* (*red goat* tribe), &c. Some of the Anatolian tribe-names occur also farther east, as *Odemish* in Merv¹ and *Kengerlu* in Transcaucasia.² From the Kachar tribe, which is still to be found in Transcaucasia, was descended the late dynasty of Persia.³ Nadir Shah was of the Afshar tribe of Khorasan, with which the Anatolian Afshars claim kinship.⁴ Of the Yuruk tribes in the *Aidin vilayet* enumerated by Vambéry, the *Burkhan*, *Narinjali*, and *Kirtish* still exist among the central Asian Turkomans. *Bayandir* is a subdivision of the *Göklen* tribe.⁵ A very large proportion of the tribal names can be found also on the map of Asia Minor as village names, presumably denoting places where tribes or portions of tribes have settled. Examples are *Baindir* [*Bayandir*], *Ushak*, *Odemish*, *Kenger*, *Durgutlu*, and many others.

Though most of these tribes are pastoral, some are addicted to other callings: the Kachar and Farsak are camel-men, many of the Yuruks of Mount Ida are woodcutters, the *Abdal*, whom von Luschan identifies with the gypsies, a beggar caste.⁶ Other tribes are distinguished by their skill in certain crafts, as the *Turkmen*, *Harmandali*, and *Zili* in carpet-weaving, and the *Kenger* of *Adala* (near *Kula* in *Lydia*) in massage.⁷ *Kula Kachar*, *Keles Kachar*, and *Ova Kachar* are subdivisions (*maballas*) of the same tribe.

² Vambéry, p. 572.

⁴ Vambéry, p. 607.

⁶ Tsakyroglous, *op. cit.*, p. 19. Vambéry (p. 391) found a subdivision of a central Asian Turkoman tribe so named.

⁷ Tsakyroglous, p. 21.

¹ Tsakyroglous, p. 21.

³ Vambéry, pp. 572, 577.

⁵ Vambéry, p. 394.

The head of the tribe is called *bey* or *sheikh*.¹ The tribe is subdivided into *kabilehs* ('clans') or *maballas* ('quarters', 'wards'), the latter a word in common use as a division of a town among the settled populations. Divisions of the same tribe are found in widely separated districts in Asia Minor: evidence of such splitting up is to be found in the occurrence of certain tribal names all over the map. On the other hand, some tribes have a well defined area within which their settlements are thickly planted. Of this the Afshar tribe of the Taurus affords a notable instance.² Similarly, the original home of the Farsak tribe in Asia Minor seems to have been the mountainous region north-west of Selefke which bears their name.³ But scattered units of both tribes, to judge by the evidence of the map, wandered far.

The languages current among the Yuruks are varied. They are mostly rough dialects of Turkish, among which those of Azerbaijan and Jaghatai have been recognized.⁴ Dr. Chasseaud of Smyrna tells me he has found that Yuruks from different parts (presumably of the Aidin *vilayet*), even when they acknowledge kinship, are unable to understand each other. Tsakyroglous says, further, that some tribes speak Kurdish, *i. e.* probably, that some nomads are Kurds, and that the Abdal speak a language of their own.⁵

As to the religion of the Yuruks, on which subject they are extremely reticent, very varied accounts have been given. Humann speaks of them in western Asia Minor as entirely without religion.⁶ Drs. Tsakyroglous

¹ Tsakyroglous, p. 17.

² Grothe, *Vorderasiensexpedition*, ii, 135 and map. See also Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey*, pp. 108 ff.; Tschihatscheff, *Reisen*, p. 14; Skene, *Anadol*, p. 184; van Lennep, *Travels in Asia Minor*, ii, 96.

³ Haji Khalfa, tr. Armain, p. 665.

⁴ Tsakyroglous, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁵ Tsakyroglous, p. 26, where samples are given.

⁶ *Verb. Ges. f. Erdkunde*, 1880, p. 248.

and Chasseaud, with their more intimate knowledge, concur in considering them (negatively) heretical. Some nomad tribes are certainly Shia,¹ while the Yuruks of Lycia are reported by Bent to be good Sunni Moham-medans.² These discrepant accounts are intelligible only when we realize that the Yuruks are not a homogeneous race, but a collection of tribes and sub-tribes which, originally pagan, have fallen to a greater or less degree under various missionary influences.

It is generally reported of Yuruks that circumcision is not usually practised among them, and that, when the operation is performed from motives of policy, they prefer that it should not be done by a Sunni in orthodox fashion. A similar prejudice is implied by the story quoted by Tsakyroglous³ from the Turkish newspaper *Hakikat* to the effect that a Jew from the Dardanelles is habitually invited by the Yuruks of Mount Ida to perform for them some ritual act *at marriages*. This is probably a confusion, the same word (*duyun*) being commonly used by the Turks both for marriage and circumcision (properly *sunnet*).⁴ Dr. Chasseaud tells me that, when he has operated on Yuruks, the feast was made several days after, and a *khoja* duly invited. It was then explained to the latter that the operation had been already performed, and his scruples silenced by a present of money. The object of this manœuvre is probably to ensure the proper disposal of the part amputated in order that it may not come into the

¹ C. B. Elliott, *Travels*, ii, 107 (Turkomans near Akhisar); Haji Khalfa, tr. Armain, p. 656 (Turkomans near Trebizond); *ibid.* p. 683 (*liya* of Bozuk = Kirshehr). The Afshars are Sunni (Karolidès, *Tà Kómava*, p. 42) but do not veil women.

² *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xx, 274; cf. von Luschan, *Lykien*, ii, 216.

³ *Περὶ Γιουρούκων*, p. 33.

⁴ So apparently in India the Persian word for marriage (*shadi*) is used for both ceremonies (Hastings, *Encycl. of Religion*, s.v. *Circumcision*, p. 678). For the performance of the operation by non-Mussulmans, see the same article, p. 677.

wrong hands.¹ Similarly, Dr. Chasseaud tells me both Yuruk women and Turkish midwives in towns are exceedingly scrupulous that the *placenta* should be properly disposed of.² Some Cappadocian Greeks hide the umbilical cord of new-born children in a chink in the wall of church or school, which ensures that the child grows up devout or learned.³ It is natural to compare the similar superstitions about nail-parings and extracted teeth.⁴

¹ Hastings (*Encycl. of Religion, s.v. Circumcision*, p. 678) says 'the *exuviae* seem generally to be burned or buried, sometimes in a mosque'. At an imperial circumcision in 1582 the part amputated was presented in a golden box to the Queen Mother (de Vigenère, *Illustr. sur Chalcandile*, p. 271, in de Mezeray's *Hist. des Turcs*, ii). In the seventeenth century the Turks burnt it (Aaron Hill, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 47). Among Persians of the same date *aut gallinis edendum dabatur aut a feminis sterilibus spe progeniei consumebatur* (Raphael du Mans, *Estat de Perse*, ed. Schefer, p. 77). Byzantios in the middle of the last century writes: *Τὸ ἀποτμηθὲν μέρος θάπτεται ἢ φέρεται ὡς φυλακτήριον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ νεοφωτίστου* (*Κωνσταντινούπολις*, iii, 485). Osman Bey states that the part amputated is presented to the parents on a plate, where they in return place the customary gifts (*Les Imans et les Derviches*, p. 121). The magic power of the part in question is thus proved: it might be used actively as a charm or merely put out of harm's way. The modern Turks in towns are said to be very careless in the matter, doubtless regarding the superstitions concerned as old wives' tales: hence possibly the scruples of the Yuruks, who are still punctilious in the matter.

² On the importance attached to the *placenta* in Egypt and elsewhere, see Seligman and Murray in *Man*, 1911, p. 168, and in *Ridgeway Essays*, p. 451. For Turkey, cf. Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*, p. 123.

³ Pharasopoulos, *Τὰ Σύλατα*, p. 41.

⁴ Frazer (*Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 267 ff.) shows that superstitious care in the disposal of nails and teeth is world-wide, the original idea being to prevent their malicious use by sorcerers. In Bosnia nail-parings are placed where contact with unclean things is not likely, in fountains, in the earth, or in a mosque (*Wiss. Mitth. Bosnien*, vii, 279). For the superstition in Asia Minor, see White, *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xxxix (1907), p. 159; de Bunsen, *Soul of a Turk*, p. 147; Aucher-Eloy, *Voyages*, p. 71 (hole in mosque wall at Angora used for extracted teeth and toothache so cured); in Macedonia, Abbott, *Macedonian*

When a Sunni preacher visits the Yuruk villages of Mount Ida during Ramazan, he is lodged in the best tent and royally entertained, but induced by a present of money to abstain from meddling with the Yuruks' ceremonies and from preaching and teaching.¹

All this merely shows that the tribes in question are not Sunni. Little has been extracted from them as to the positive side of their religion. According to Dr. Chasseaud, the Yuruks have an initiation ceremony corresponding to circumcision at which he has himself been present, though he was unable to see what took place. Further, their holy places—called, as all over Turkey, *dedes*—are frequently trees or bushes, not remarkable to the outside observer, which they hang with rags; certain springs, also not outwardly remarkable, are held sacred. On two occasions Dr. Chasseaud, when in the company of Yuruks, was prevented by them from drawing water at such springs, though the *tabu* did not extend to the Yuruks themselves. A Yuruk mountain-cult with a festival on 15 August on the summit of Ida and vaguely connected with two giants (male and female), to whom small offerings of money are made, has come under my own observation.² These hints, so far as they go, point to a primitive animistic religion slightly touched with anthropomorphism.

The Lycian Yuruks (as opposed to the heretical Takhtaji) are regarded by both Bent³ and von Luschan⁴ as good Sunni Mohammedans: they have *khojas*, the Koran, and circumcision, say their five prayers, eschew pork and wine, and make pilgrimage to Mecca.

Folklore, p. 214; in Lesbos, Georgeakis and Pineau, *Folk-Lore de Lesbos*, p. 331.

¹ *Hakikat*, ap. Tsakyroglous, p. 33; cf. for Persian nomads Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia*, ii, 433.

² Cf. Leaf, in *Geog. Journ.* xl, 1912, p. 37. The date seems at first sight to be a link with Christianity, but see above, p. 100, n. 3.

³ *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xx, 274.

⁴ *Lykien*, ii, 216.

In villages they assimilate themselves to the settled population, though intermarriage is rare.¹ Sunni propaganda, as we have seen, exists among the Yuruks of Ida: it is said to have made great strides elsewhere, especially in the Konia *vilayet*.² The Yuruks of Lycia are probably of comparatively recent conversion.

Of the Shia heresy there is little or no trace except among the confessedly 'Kizilbash' tribes,³ which we shall discuss at length; ⁴ we do not know whether Shia missionaries are at work among the pagan nomads. Nor are there among the Yuruks any positive traces of Christianity, though the idea is widely, if vaguely, current. The evidence we have points to the conclusion that, except where they have been affected by Shia or Sunni propaganda, the Yuruk tribes are 'primitive' in religion; further, that by race and speech they are largely Turkish, and may be regarded as still unsettled fragments of the nomad hordes which strayed into Asia Minor in the Middle Ages.

The Turks, before they left their home in Central Asia, worshipped the sky-god (Tañri) ⁵ and spirits of

¹ Von Luschan, *Lykien*, ii, 216.

² Tsakyroglous, *Περὶ Γιουρούκων*, p. 35.

³ I here note the frequency of the name Haidar among Yuruks, perhaps a link with the Kizilbash. The Yuruks are said by the writer of the *Hakikat* article to drink wine, which is still negative evidence of Shiism, and to be visited yearly by an itinerant holy man (? from Syria), which is true of the Lycian Kizilbash and may be merely a confusion.

⁴ Below, pp. 139 ff. Some include the Chepni in this category; see Oberhammer and Zimmerer, *Durch Syrien*, p. 393. Wilson, in *J.R.G.S.* 1884, 314, calls them Nosairi by religion. See also von Diest, *Reisen und Forschungen*, i, 27.

⁵ On the word see Vambéry, *Prim. Cultur des Turko-Tatarischen Volkes*, pp. 240 ff. This seems to have been the current word for 'God' in Turkish till quite a late date, cf. Schiltberger, ed. Hakluyt, p. 74, ed. Penzel, p. 149; Leunclavius, *Pandectes*, § 177; Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* iv, 64. It occurs frequently in the modern folk-tales collected by Kunos. [Among the Turkish-speaking Moslems of Macedonia it is still used as a synonym for *Allah*. M. M. H.]

earth and water ; they had no priestly caste.¹ That ancestor-worship developed early is clear from the present comprehensive use of *dede* (lit. 'grandfather') to describe any holy place :² gaining ground, possibly because more or less permitted in Islam, it seems to have been fused with the original elements of their religion, and especially with the cult of 'high places', originally doubtless the places where the sky-god was worshipped, especially for rain.³ We consequently find that mountains in Turkey frequently bear human names, which are, or are said to be, those of saints. When these saints' names are also those of tribes, it seems probable that they are regarded as the eponymous ancestors of the tribes concerned. In tribes still without a priestly caste the tribal chief is the natural person to invoke the sky-god on behalf of the tribe, and the eventual confusion between the sky-god who sends rain and the tribal chief whose prayers induce him to send it, is merely the confusion between deity and intercessor which is familiar enough in Christendom. The rain-maker-sheikh and the magician or dervish are hardly distinguishable, so that we are not surprised if Tur Hasan Veli,⁴ the saint of the Hasan Dagh in Cappadocia, and his tribesmen are said in folk-tales to have been dervishes,⁵ or if Ibn Batuta⁶ says of Baba Saltuk,⁷ the tribal saint of a group of Crimean Tatars, that he was

¹ Eliot, *Turkey in Europe*, p. 79. The latter is still true of the nomads. The first Turkish ruler to embrace Islam is said to have been Satok Bogra, Khan of Turkestan, died 1048 (Grenard in *Journ. Asiat.* xv, 1900, pp. 5 ff.).

² See below, p. 256. For *dede* with the meaning of *numen*, cf. Ramsay, *Pauline Studies*, p. 172.

³ This custom is preserved among the Shia Turks (Kizilbash) of Pontus (White, in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xxxix (1907), p. 154). They have also a festival at the summer solstice held on mountain tops.

⁴ See below, p. 339.

⁵ Carnoy and Nicolaidis, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, pp. 212 ff.

⁶ Tr. Sanguinetti, ii, 416, 445.

⁷ See below, p. 340.

' said to have been a diviner '. Haji Bektash himself, before the usurpation of his tomb by the Hurufi sect,¹ seems to have been no more than a tribal ancestor.² Many of the ' seven hundred dervishes ' of his cycle, who came with him from Khorasan at the bidding of Khoja Ahmed of Yasi for the conversion of Rum,³ must have been tribal heroes of the same kind.

This grouping round tribal leaders seems to be the basis of the early Turkish polity : the tribal tie was not always one of blood, since powerful tribes or leaders included under their own name less important allies. The tribe known from its leader as Osmanli was a political combination of this sort, and is said to have been composed of seven tribes, of which at least one (the Farsak ⁴) still exists independently as a Yuruk tribe. A similar political grouping in recent times is that of the Shah Savand Kurds, which was formed artificially and purely for political reasons by Shah Abbas of Persia in the seventeenth century.⁵ Such probably was the grouping of tribes round the Seljuk dynasty, which succeeded in attaining to a considerable degree of material civilization and political cohesion, dominating the greater part of Asia Minor.

When the central power became weakened, however, the combination disintegrated into smaller territorial units, resting probably on similar tribal groupings, which kept their names in some cases for many centuries.⁶ The province of Tekke (Adalia) is a notable instance. Tekke or Tekkeli is a ' Yuruk ' tribe in Asia

¹ See below, p. 160.

² See below, pp. 488-9 ff.

³ Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 70 ff.

⁴ Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 361.

⁵ Bent, *Report Brit. Ass.*, 1889 (Newcastle), Sect. H, p. 3.

⁶ Kizil Ahmedli (in Paphlagonia) and Mentesh (in Lycia) are probable examples. In 1564 the Venetian *Relazioni* (Alberi, ser. III, vol. ii, 19) mention as leading families in Asia Minor the Kizil Ahmedli (Paphlagonia), Diercanli (Sarukhan ?), Durcadurli (Zulkadr), and Ramadanli (Cilicia).

Minor to this day¹—the name occurs also in central Asia—and the Tekke-oglu, descendants or reputed descendants of the tribal eponym, were still important *derebeys* in the Adalia district as late as the reforms of Mahmud II.²

Down to the reforms and centralization of the early nineteenth century the nomad tribes were allowed a great deal of liberty and were administered by their own *beys*,³ only occasionally by strangers appointed from Constantinople.⁴ They seem to have been turbulent and easily excited to rebellion. Their risings were often fomented by sheikhs, probably Persian emissaries sent over the frontier to embarrass the Sultan.

In the wooded mountains of Anatolia and in the steppe land of the central plateau, notably in the districts of Bozuk (Kirshehr) and Haimaneh, where the natural conditions—thin soil and lack of water—are against permanent settlement, the Yuruks have been able to maintain themselves in compact masses without abandoning their primitive social conditions: the mountaineers turn to wood-cutting and the men of the plains to herding. Various attempts have been made to break up their solidarity and wean them to settled life, the first by the importation of Kurds,⁵ the second by the formation of town-centres. Many towns of the dis-

¹ Settled according to Tsakyroglous, *Περὶ Γιουρούκων*, p. 15, about Nazli in the Aidin vilayet: see below, p. 477.

² Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 860; W. Turner, *Tour in the Levant*, iii, 386; Beaufort, *Karamania*, pp. 118 ff.; Cockerell, *Travels*, p. 182.

³ Leunclavius, *Pandectes*, § 61; a 'chief of the tribes', Durgut, is mentioned as a feudatory of the Karamanoglu dynasty in the time of Murad II (1421–51) by Hammer (*Hist. Emp. Ott.* ii, 288). The Yuruks of Rumeli in the eighteenth century supplied a contingent of 57,000 troops under their own leaders (Perry, *View of the Levant*, p. 48).

⁴ A Circassian, Abaza Hasan, was appointed Voivode of the Anatolian Turkomans (see below, p. 138) in the seventeenth century (Hammer-Hellert, *op. cit.* x, 300). Abaza Hasan's palace at the modern Vizir Kupru is mentioned by Haji Khalifa, tr. Armain, p. 683.

⁵ The Kurds of the Haimaneh district are Sunni (Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 253).

tricts mentioned seem to be of recent origin and artificial foundation. Ak Serai is a Seljuk foundation of 1171,¹ Nevshehr was founded by Damad Ibrahim in 1720,² and Yuzgat, the capital of the Chapanoglu, dates from the eighteenth century.³ The two latter certainly are not spontaneous growths but artificial settlements.⁴

The more backward tribes are still nomadic in the restricted sense—that is, they have definite summer pasturages and fixed winter quarters, between which they alternate.⁵ The winter quarters tend gradually to become fixed villages, and despite the mutual antipathies of ‘Turk’ and ‘Yuruk’, some tribes are said to be absorbed by towns.⁶ But government pressure has not yet succeeded in weaning the Yuruks from their old life, and their conversion to Islam is also incomplete.

In view of all we have said, it would be surprising not to find among these heterogeneous tribes great diversity in physical type, as well as customs and religion, within the restrictions imposed on them by their manner of life, and future investigators will perhaps do best to consider the tribes known as ‘Yuruk’ more as separate units than has been done hitherto. Their apparent and obvious similarities, such as the absence of mosques, relatively high status of women,⁷ and hospitality, are probably due to the habits of life shared by the whole group irrespective of race.

¹ It was founded by Kilij Arslan in 1171 (I.e. Strange, *E. Caliphate*, p. 149).

² Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xiv, 190. Damad Ibrahim was Vizir 1718–30 (Hammer-Hellert, *op. cit.* xiii, 336, xiv, 225).

³ W. J. Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, i, 387, speaks of Yuzgat as being ‘ninety years old’. There was another attempt in the fifties to settle nomad Kurds near Yuzgat (H. J. Ross, *Letters from the East*, p. 248).

⁴ None of these towns is an important centre at the present day, and in antiquity the districts in question contained no towns of great note.

⁵ Cf. the nomads of Adana, who winter there and summer at Caesarea (Langlois, *Cilicie*, p. 23).

⁶ Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey*, p. 101.

⁷ Women are not veiled even among Sunni tribes: this is categori-

§ 3. THE TURKOMANS

The word Turkmen (Turkoman) seems properly applied to an important tribe of the Yuruk group. This tribe is widely distributed, being found in the districts of the Bithynian Olympus, Dineir, Konia, Sivas, and even Cyprus.¹ Dr. Chasseaud considers that the term denotes a markedly Mongolian type and is synonymous with Tatar.² The Turkmens with whom he is acquainted are herdsmen by calling, not rich, and frequently serving others.

This tallies with the account given by Burckhardt³ of the Turkomans he knew. He divides them into five main tribes, namely, the 'Ryhanlu' with thirteen sub-tribes, the 'Jerid' with six sub-tribes, the 'Pehlivanlu', the 'Rishwans' with four sub-tribes, and the 'Karashukli'. Of these, the 'Karashukli' are a mixed tribe of Turkomans and Arabs, living near Bir on the Euphrates. The Pehlivanli are the most numerous, while both the Jerid and the Rishvans are more numerous than the Rihanli, who have 3,000 tents, each containing two to fifteen inmates, and muster 2,510 horsemen all told. The Pehlivanli and the Rihanli are tributary to the Chapanoglu, the Jerid to the governors of 'Badjasse' (Baïas?) and Adana, between which they live. The Rishvans also are now tributary to the Chapanoglu, though formerly to the governor of Besna (Behesneh) near Aintab. The Pehlivanli drive sheep as far as Constantinople, and their camels form almost exclusively the caravans of Smyrna and the interior of Anatolia. The Rishvans are notorious liars. If Rihanli families

called stated by Karolides of the Afshars (*Tà Kómava*, p. 42); the veiling of women is not an original Turkish usage.

¹ Tsakyroglous, *op. cit.* p. 11.

² So Tsakyroglous, p. 34, von Luschan, *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xli, 227, and van Lennep, *Travels in Asia Minor*, i, 296.

³ *Travels in Syria*, App. I, pp. 633 ff.

dislike their chief, they join another tribe. Some of the Pehlivanli have long been cultivators, but the Rihanli employ *fellahs* to cultivate for them.

The word Turkmen, however, has for long had a wider signification, exactly corresponding to the ordinary use of the word Yuruk, *i. e.* it denotes nomadic as opposed to settled Turks. It is found with this meaning as early as Cinnamus¹ and is still so used by the modern Turks.² In his correspondence with Bayezid, Tamerlane calls himself and his fellow Moguls 'Turks', and stigmatizes the Ottomans as 'Turkmans'.³

§ 4. THE KIZILBASH⁴

A. General

The word *Kizilbash* (lit. 'red-head') is said by all authorities to be of comparatively recent origin, dating only from the establishment of the Safavi dynasty of Persia by the Shah Ismail in 1499.⁵ 'Kizilbash' was originally a nickname given to the new Shah's supporters on account of their having adopted as a distinguishing mark a red cap: the name continued in Persia to designate a kind of warrior-caste or order of knighthood.⁶ The Persian change of dynasty brought with it a change in the official religion, since the preceding monarchs

¹ P. 121P: *cf.* Ducange's note *ad loc.*; Leunclavius, *Pandectes*, § 61; Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.*, p. 213, and *Cit. and Bish.*, p. 696.

² Tsakyroglous (*op. cit.*, p. 11) says that the words 'Turkmen', 'Yuruk', 'Geuchebeh' (Tk. *geuch etmek* = to move house; *Koche* is the Turkoman word for *nomad* according to Vambéry, *op. cit.*, p. 385) are used by the Turks indiscriminately for nomads, except that the last implies a tribe on the move. Turks and Turkomans are distinguished by Haji Khalifa, tr. Armain, p. 690.

³ Conder, *Turkey*, p. 11, n., a reference M. M. H. owes to Dr. Malcolm Burr.

⁴ This section was written up by M. M. H.

⁵ Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* iv, 90 and iv, 94, n.; *cf.* Leunclavius, *Pandectes*, § 188; d'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orientale s.v. Haidar*; Knolles, *Turk. Hist.*, p. 316. See below, p. 169.

⁶ P. della Valle, *Viaggi*, ii, 46-7.

had been of Turkish origin and Sunni, whereas Shah Ismail adhered to the Shia doctrines of his father. The name 'Kizilbash', therefore, is associated from the first both with Persian nationality and Persian (Shia) religion, but has no ethnological significance whatever. In modern popular Turkish, owing to the long enmity between the two nations and the two religions, and to the suspicion and dislike with which the Turks regard the 'Kizilbash' of their own country, the word is used merely to designate a person of loose morals.¹

As regards Anatolia, 'Kizilbash' is a contemptuous term used to denote the adherents of all sects of the Shia religion, including, *e. g.*, the Nosairi and Yezidi, irrespective of race or language: the corresponding inoffensive term, by which the Anatolian Kizilbash designate themselves, is Alevi ('worshippers of Ali'). Both terms include the Shia tribes of northern Asia Minor, who are said to be Iranian Turks² and speak Turkish, and the so-called 'Western Kurds', whose speech is a distinct dialect ('Zaza') of Kurdish or Turkish, and whose race is generally thought to contain a strong admixture of Armenian blood. This opinion, based not only on the physical characteristics of the tribes concerned but on tradition of various kinds, is of some importance as bearing on the question of the Christian element in the Kizilbash religion: we shall return to it later.

In the west of Asia Minor the 'Kizilbash' are found only sporadically. In the Smyrna *vilayet* they are numerous in the *sanjak* of Tekke (Lycia), where they are called 'Takhtaji',³ and are reported by Tsakyrogous to inhabit certain valleys of the Hermus⁴ and

¹ Similarly, *dervish* is used of a person lax in the performance of his religious duties or suspected of free thought.

² Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 607.

³ See below, p. 158.

⁴ On the slopes of Mounts Tmolus and Sipylus and in the districts of Nymphi and Salikli.

Maeander,¹ where they are nomadic or semi-nomadic.² The Kizilbash of Kaz Dagh (probably Ida, which other considerations point out as a Kizilbash district) are mentioned by Cantimir,³ and Oberhummer found Kizilbash villages in the neighbourhood of Afiun-Kara-Hisar,⁴ which forms a link on the main highway between the eastern and western groups.

As to the eastern group of Kizilbash, they are known to inhabit certain parts of the *vilayet* of Angora,⁵ and are admitted even by Turkish statistics to be numerous in those of Sivas (279,834),⁶ Diarbekr (6,000),⁷ and Kharpüt (182,580).⁸ In the case of the Sivas *vilayet* the official figures represent them as exactly half as numerous as the Sunni Moslems, not only in the *vilayet* as a whole but in every *kaza* composing it. The inference is that they are in reality much more numerous than the government is willing to admit. Grenard, the only writer who has treated the eastern Kizilbash area as a connected whole, estimates the total number of the sect as upwards of a million.⁹ Of these, he places

¹ At Denizli and Apa.

³ *Hist. Emp. Oth.* i, 179.

⁵ Crowfoot, in *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xxx (1900), pp. 305-20; Perrot, *Souvenirs d'un Voyage*, p. 423; Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 253.

⁶ Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 617; for further information on the Kizilbash of this *vilayet* see van Lennep, *Travels in Asia Minor*, i, 30 (*cf.* Jewett in *Amer. Miss. Her.* liv, 109 f., Nutting, *ibid.* lvi, 345, Livingston, *ibid.* lxi, 246, Winchester, *ibid.* lvii, 71; Prof. G. White (of Marsovan College), *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xl (1908), pp. 225-36, and *Contemp. Rev.* Nov. 1913, pp. 690 ff.). Jerphanion's *Carte du Yéhil Irmaç* is the first attempt to show the distribution of the Kizilbash villages.

⁷ Cuinet, *op. cit.*, ii, 322.

⁸ *Ibid.* ii, 412. Further information on the Kizilbash of Kurdistan is given by Taylor in *J.R.G.S.* 1865, pp. 28 ff., 1868, pp. 304 ff.; Richardson, in *Amer. Miss. Her.* lii, 296 f., Perkins, *ibid.* liii, 304 ff.; Wilson, in Murray's *Asia Minor*, pp. [63] and 276; Bent, *Report Brit. Ass.* 1889; Huntington in *Geog. Journ.* xx (1902), pp. 186 ff.; Molyneux-Seel in *Geog. Journ.* xlii (1914), pp. 51 ff.

⁹ *Journ. Asiat.* 1904 (x^e série, iii), p. 521.

² *Περὶ Γιουρούκων*, p. 29.

⁴ *Durch Syrien*, p. 393.

365,000 in the *vilayet* of *Sivas* (*kazas* of *Sivas*, *Divriji*, *Tonus*, *Yildizili*, *Hafik*, *Zile*, *Mejid Euzu*, *Haji Keui*), 300,000 in that of *Kharput*, and 107,000 in that of *Erzerum* (*sanjak* of *Erzinjian*, especially *kazas* of *Bairburt*, *Terjian*, and part of *Kighi*). It is thus in the 'Armenian' *vilayets* that the 'Kizilbash' are strongest.

The great importance of Grenard's statistics consists in the fact that they clearly show the close geographical contact of the Kizilbash communities of western Kurdistan with those of eastern Anatolia. We may probably assume that the eastern Anatolian Kizilbash are similarly connected with the more scattered communities of western Anatolia.

The Kizilbash religion, if we make allowances for variation due to locality and to the natural intelligence, candour, and knowledge of different informants, is similarly homogeneous, though fluid; there are indications that the whole sect is linked together by its alliance with the Bektashi dervishes. Thus, in Cilicia the woodcutter caste has embraced a form of the Shia faith and would be reckoned by the Turks as Kizilbash: some have identified their religion with that of the Syrian Nosairi.¹ In the province of Tekke (Lycia) also the Kizilbash are generally known as Takhtaji ('woodcutters') on account of their employment, but, like the Kizilbash elsewhere, they call themselves Alevi² and are connected with the Bektashi order of dervishes,³ whose local centre is at Elmali.

Side by side with the Lycian Takhtaji von Luschan found traces of what appeared to be a second heterodox sect, the Bektashi.⁴ Similarly, Crowfoot, finding that the Kizilbash of the Halys district (*vilayet* of Angora)

¹ Tsakyroglous, *op. cit.*, p. 18; but this identity is denied by F Schaffer, *Cilicia* (*Petermanns Mitth., Ergänzungsheft* cxli, p. 27).

² On the Lycian Takhtaji see below, p. 158, n. 5.

³ See below, p. 158.

⁴ Von Luschan, *Lykien*, ii, 203, n.

hailed each other as 'Bektash', suspected that this was the name of a local sect of Kizilbash.¹ The real explanation of the apparent second sect or subdivision lies in the close association of many Kizilbash with the Bektashi order of dervishes. Lycia has long been a field of Bektashi propaganda, and the Kizilbash villages of the Halys are not far from the central sanctuary of the Bektashi, near Kirshehr,² which contains the tomb of their titular founder, Haji Bektash, and is visited as a pilgrimage even by the distant Kizilbash Kurds.³ The Bektashi-Kizilbash of Lycia are probably Kizilbash who have become affiliated as lay adherents (*muhib*) of the Bektashi order of dervishes. As to the 'Bektash' of the Halys district, which are nearer the Bektashi centre, they may either be inhabitants of villages forming part of the endowments (*vakuf*) of the *tekke* of Haji Bektash, or, if (as I have suggested elsewhere)⁴ 'Haji Bektash' himself represents the original tribal-chief and medicine-man eponymous of a tribe Bektashli, they may be a portion of this tribe.

Kizilbash, in the Turkish sense at least, are to be reckoned the inhabitants of certain heterodox villages in the Hermus valley, regarding the population of which Ramsay gleaned the following details. Like the nomads, they do not conform to orthodox Mohammedan custom in the details of veiling women, polygamy, abstention from wine, and worship in mosques. They fast twelve days in spring, their women are called by Christian names, they have no aversion to Christian holy books, and are visited by an itinerant holy man called a Karabash⁵ (Tk. 'black head'). It happens that, among the Yezidi

¹ *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xxx (1900), p. 305; cf. Grothe, *Vorderasien-expedition*, ii, 148, n. 4.

² See below, p. 502.

³ Molyneux-Seel, *Geog. Journ.* xlv (1914), p. 66.

⁴ *B.S.A.* xxi (1914-16), p. 89; cf. below, p. 341.

⁵ Ramsay, *Pauline Studies*, pp. 180 f. and *Interm. of Races in Asia Minor*, p. 20.

of Syria (Jebel Siman),¹ there is a tribe possessing a kind of Levitical status and called Karabash.² The Yezidi religion is, of course, known to contain Christian elements, and the Yezidi view of Christianity and the Bible is somewhat similar to that of the Kizilbash. It would thus appear that the heterodox villages of the Hermus valley are connected with the Yezidi, which implies that they were converted or colonized from Syria. But it will be observed that the whole argument depends on the word 'Karabash', which is ambiguous, having been applied, till recently, to Christian monks and priests³ (as wearing black caps) in general. It is safer to suppose for the present that the story is a garbled version of an annual visitation of Kizilbash villages, which are known to exist in this district,⁴ by Bektashi sheikhs.

B. Religion

The following is a summary of the information at our disposal on the religion of the Kizilbash, compiled from several sources and referring chiefly to the Kizilbash of the Kurdish and Armenian *vilayets*.

(i) *Theology*.

God is one and omnipotent, without son or companion.⁵

Ali is God incarnate, identical with Christ, and will appear again.⁶

¹ This is a colony of their main settlement, grouped round the shrine of Sheikh Adi in the Mosul *vilayet*. For the Yezidi see Menzel in Grothe, *Vorderasiensexpedition*, i, pp. lxxxix ff.

² Jerphanion, in *Mél. Fac. Or.* (Beyrut), ii, 376. The Yezidi itinerant preachers wear black turbans (Hume Griffith, *Behind the Veil in Persia*, p. 288).

³ Cf. O. F. von Richter, *Wallfahrten*, p. 333; Fallmerayer, *Fragmente*, p. 125; also Schiltberger, *Reise*, ed. Penzel, p. 149, ed. Telfer, p. 74. Hammer mentions a Khalveti called Karabash (*Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii, 97 (805)).

⁴ Above, p. 140.

⁵ Molyneux-Seel in *Geog. Journ.* xlv (1914), p. 65.

⁶ Grenard in *Journ. Asiat.* 1904 (x^e série, iii), pp. 514 ff.

Ali is identical with Christ and is the spirit of God. 'Ali is the best of men, excelling even Mohammed in goodness ; if Ali had not existed, God could not have created the world, but Ali is emphatically not divine.'¹

Ali is identical with Christ, but the Kizilbash call him Ali to deceive the Turks.²

The Kizilbash Trinity is perhaps Ali, Jesus, and Mohammed (Father, Son, and Holy Spirit respectively), but the intrusion of Mohammed, for whom they have no reverence, is to be suspected.³

Their prayers are directed chiefly to Allah, Ali, and Husain.⁴

The Devil is a person and is re-incarnated to oppose each incarnation of God : he is not worshipped.⁵

Intermediaries are the five archangels, twelve ministers of God, and forty prophets, including 'Selman'. The prophet Khidr is identified with S. Sergius.⁶

The twelve Imams are the twelve Apostles ; Hasan and Husain are SS. Peter and Paul.⁷

The twelfth Imam is in hiding, and the Kizilbash await his coming.⁸

The great prophets are Jesus, Mohammed, Moses, Abraham, and Ali.⁹

The great prophets are Adam, Moses, David, and Jesus.¹⁰

The great prophets are Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Christ, Mohammed, and Ali.¹¹

Moses, David, Christ, and Ali are all incarnations of the same person.¹²

¹ M. Sykes, *Dar-ul-Islam*, pp. 121-2.

² Dunmore in *Amer. Miss. Her.* liii (1857), p. 219.

³ Grenard, *op. cit.*, p. 515.

⁴ Grothe, *Vorderasiensexpedition*, ii, 153.

⁵ Grenard, p. 516.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 515, and (for the last part) Molyneux-Seel, p. 66.

⁷ Molyneux-Seel, p. 66. ⁸ Sykes, p. 122. ⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

¹⁰ Ellsworth Huntington in *Geog. Journ.* xx (1902), p. 187.

¹¹ Molyneux-Seel, p. 65. ¹² Von Luschan, *Lykien*, ii, 201.

Jesus is the greatest of the prophets.¹

The Virgin is regarded as the Mother of God and much venerated.²

(ii) *Mythology.*

When the Mohammedans of Damascus killed Husain, the son of Ali, they cut off his head and carried it away. It was stolen from them by an Armenian priest, Akh Murtaza Keshish, who substituted for it the head of his eldest son, at the proposal of the latter. As the Turks discovered the fraud, the priest cut off the heads of all his seven sons and offered each in turn as the head of Husain. In the case of the last head he received a divine warning to smear it with the blood of Husain, and by this means deceived the 'Turks' and kept the holy relic for himself.³

He placed it in a special apartment, which he adorned with gold and silver and silk. His only daughter, entering that apartment one day, saw not the head of Husain but a plate of gold filled with honey. She tasted the honey and became with child. 'One day the girl complained of a cold, and on sneezing her father saw suddenly issue from her nose a bright flame, which changed at the same instant into the form of a child. Thus did Imam Bakir, son of Hussein, come into the world.'

'The fact that a descendant of Ali had been born immediately became known to the sorcerers of the Turks, who there-

¹ Huntington, p. 187.

² Grenard, p. 515.

³ Molyneux-Seel, p. 64. A variation is related by White from the Cappadocian Kizilbash country (*Contemp. Rev.*, Nov. 1913, p. 698) as follows: 'There is a story that when the great Ali was put to death by his enemies, his head by some chance was placed for safe keeping in the hands of a Christian priest. Afterwards the persecutors wanted it to gloat over it or abuse it, but the priest refused to deliver it up. On being pressed, he cut off the head of his eldest son and offered that instead, but it was refused. So he did with his second and other sons, to the number of seven. Then his wife asked her husband to cut off and offer her head. He did so, and this was accepted.'

upon sent people to search for the child and slay it. They came to the priest's house. At this time the young mother was engaged in washing the household linen, and, being told the reason of the visit of the Turks, hastily put her child into a copper cauldron which was on the fire and covered him with linen. The Turks knew by their magic arts that the child was in a house of copper, but unable to find any such house in the precincts of the priest's dwelling were baffled, and the child's life was saved. On account of this incident the child received the name of Bakir, which in Turkish means copper.¹

Ali as a child went to Khubyar and was put into a furnace for seven days as his enemies wished to kill him.²

(iii) *Hierarchy.*

The priests are called *Dede*: above them are bishops and patriarchs. Of the latter there are two, one of whom resides in a *tekke* at Khubyar, fifty-five kilometres north-east of Sivas. The patriarchs are descendants of Ali and infallible in doctrine.³

The religious head of the Kizilbash resides in the Dersim.⁴

Priests are called *Said*; above them are bishops (*Murshid*) and archbishops (*Murshidun Murshidu*). *Saids* give religious instruction and receive tribute.⁵

The Kizilbash are visited once a year, but at no fixed time, by a *murshid*, who holds a service, recites the law, and gives definite readings and interpretations of the sacred books. If he pays a second visit in the year he holds no religious conversation.⁶

Priests are allowed to marry,⁷ but celibates enjoy greater prestige.⁸

Once or twice a year every village is visited by a *dede*,

¹ Molyneux-Seel, p. 65.

² Grenard, p. 518.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Oberhammer and Zimmerer, *Durch Syrien*, p. 394.

⁵ Molyneux-Seel, p. 64.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁷ Cf. the Takhtaji (below, p. 159).

⁸ Prof. White, in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xl (1908), p. 236.

a kind of communion takes place, as also preaching, prayers, and a religious dance in which both sexes participate.¹

The hierarchy is composed of 'Deydees' and 'Seyds'; the latter are hereditary, the former apostolically consecrated.²

Peripatetic *dedes* are mentioned by Grothe.³

(iv) *Fasts and Feasts and Public Worship.*

The twelve days' fast and feast of Moharrem is observed.⁴

They fast twelve days for the twelve Imams and three days for Khidr.⁵

They fast before Khidr's feast (9 February) and at the Armenian Easter.⁶

'On the night of January 1st (O.S.)⁷ they meet at the house of the Seïds for a ceremony resembling the Communion. After prayers the Seïd blesses the bread, which is called *Haqq loqmase*,⁸ and distributes it to the communicants, who approach two by two. The blessed bread is not distributed to any person who may be declared by the inhabitants of his village to be unworthy. The communicants are called *Musseib*.'⁹

The Kizilbash have neither mosque nor church, but both sexes meet for prayer at the house of the *Said* on Fridays.¹⁰

They have a perverted mass: the priest chants prayers in honour of Christ, Moses, and David. Water is consecrated by the priest dipping a stick into it. There is a public confession of sins, which are punished by

¹ Prof. White, in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xl (1908), p. 231.

² Taylor, in *J.R.G.S.* xxxviii (1868), p. 319.

³ Grothe, ii, 155.

⁴ Grenard, p. 514; Sykes, p. 122.

⁵ Molyneux-Seel, p. 66.

⁶ Grenard, p. 518.

⁷ This is one of the days on which the Nosairi celebrate their communion, the others being Christmas, Epiphany, and the Persian New Year (*Nevruz*). For some notes on *Nevruz* see Goldziher in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii (1880), pp. 308-9.

⁸ 'Morsel of the Just' (*i. e.* God).

⁹ Molyneux-Seel, p. 66.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

finer : lights are put out while the congregation mourns its sins.¹ When they are re-lighted, the priest gives absolution,² and, having blessed bread and wine, gives a sop to the congregation. Morsels (*loqma*) of the flesh of a sacrificed lamb are given at the same time. Known evil livers are not admitted to the service.³

As to the consecrating of water the following is informing :

‘ All the Seids keep with them a certain stick and a leather bag, about the uses of which there is some mystery, and which are said to be employed in the performance of certain pagan rites. However, the Seids say that the stick is a portion of the rod of Moses, and the bag an imitation of that carried by St. John the Baptist.’⁴

(v) *Private Prayer.*

Private prayer is enjoined once a day. This prayer is secret, but contains reference to all the great prophets.⁵

They pray privately every morning.⁶

They never pray in private.⁷

They adore the sun rising and setting,⁸ reverence fire, and sacrifice at the sources of rivers, in particular that of the Mezur.⁹

(vi) *Sacred Books.*

The Kizilbash have no sacred books, but recognize as

¹ Cf. Grothe, ii, 155. ² Cf. the Lycian Takhtaji (below, p. 159).

³ Grenard, p. 517. A ‘sort of sacrament’ is reported of the eastern Kizilbash by Huntington (*loc. cit.*, p. 188), a communion of bread and wine by White (*Contemp. Rev.*, Nov. 1913, p. 696).

⁴ Molyneux-Seel, p. 66.

⁵ Sykes, p. 121.

⁶ Molyneux-Seel, p. 66.

⁷ Huntington, p. 187.

⁸ Cf. the similar custom of the Yezidi, mentioned by W. B. Heard in *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xli (1911), p. 213.

⁹ Taylor, *J.R.G.S.* xxxviii (1868), p. 320. A local legend connects the source of the Mezur with a shepherd saint of the same name, who is said to have disappeared there (Molyneux-Seel, *loc. cit.*, p. 60). It is probably a nature cult anthropomorphized.

inspired the Pentateuch, the New Testament, and the Koran.¹

They admit the five collections of Traditions, but do not recognize Jews or fire-worshippers as ' People of the Book ' .²

They have four holy books, which are the Gospels.³

They have two books, the *Bouyourouk*,⁴ which contains selections from the Old Testament, and the *Yusef Kitab*,⁵ which contains extracts from the New Testament.⁶

They have a book, which is only in the possession of the priesthood, but it does not seem to be a *corpus* of dogma.⁷

The Lycian Takhtaji claim to have a book.⁸

(vii) *Pilgrimage.*

The Kizilbash do not make pilgrimage to Mecca but to the Shia sanctuaries of Bagdad, Kufa, and Kerbela, and to certain Anatolian holy places, the most important being Haji Bektash (near Kirshehr), the centre of the Bektashi dervishes, and a reputed tomb of Hasan at Sivas.⁹

¹ Molyneux-Seel, p. 66. Van Lennep says vaguely that they read the Christian scriptures (*Travels in Asia Minor*, pp. 30 ff.).

² Sykes, p. 122. Mills records an attempt in 1841 to convert the Samaritans forcibly on the plea that they had no book. The Jews got them off on the plea that they accept the Pentateuch (*Three Months*, pp. 277 ff.).

³ Huntington, p. 187. This author recognizes that the Kizilbash, when questioned as to their religion by Christians, colour their answers to make its analogies to Christianity closer. This seems to be an extreme case.

⁴ [' Book of Commandments ' from *buyurmak* = to command.—M. M. H.]

⁵ [' Joseph's book.'—M. M. H.]

⁶ Dunmore in *Amer. Miss. Her.* liii (1857), p. 220.

⁷ Grothe, ii, 151, 154.

⁸ Von Luschan, ii, 200.

⁹ Molyneux-Seel, p. 66. This is presumably the tomb of the Holy Children (*Maksum Pak*), discovered in recent times in the town of Sivas. The Holy Children are not Hasan and Husain but the infant

(viii) *Marriage.*

The Kizilbash may marry three wives ; divorce and temporary marriage are prohibited. An unfaithful wife may be killed.¹

Divorce is prohibited. Armenians are accepted as *parrains* at marriages.²

Divorce is prohibited.³

Strictly the Kizilbash are only permitted to take one wife, but many have lapsed into polygamy. The peripatetic *dede* presides at marriages when possible.⁴

Prostitution of virgins to guests, and especially to itinerant *dedes*, is recorded, on the authority of a bigoted Sunni by Grothe.⁵

It is fairly apparent that the predominating element in the Kizilbash religion is Shia Mohammedanism, and the secondary Christian, the whole having a substratum of pagan animistic elements,⁶ many of which might be found in slightly changed form among professedly orthodox Turks or oriental Christians. On the Shia side note the exalted position held by Ali, Hasan, and Husain, and the importance of their pilgrimages, as compared with the neglect of Mohammed and Mecca : note also the importance of the Imams and the Second Advent. The Christian elements, apart from the formal identification of Shia with Christian sacred figures, reduce themselves to the celebration of certain Armenian feasts, and the ritual of the 'perverted mass'. It should be noted that the 'ritual meal' is an idea by no means foreign to Islam,⁷ the Semitic element being, as in Christianity, partly responsible. Nor must it be over-

sions of two of the Imams : the confusion in popular thought is natural (see below, pp. 511-2).

¹ Sykes, p. 121. ² Grenard, pp. 518, 521. ³ Taylor, p. 319.

⁴ Grothe, ii, 154. ⁵ *Vorderasiensexpedition*, ii, 150.

⁶ Grenard, *loc. cit.*, brings this out in detail.

⁷ G. Jacob, in *Der Islam* (ii, 232), for 'Bektashi' communion.

looked that one of the prototypes of the Christian communion is found in Persian Mithraism.

As regards the hierarchy it seems clear that the parish priest, who is generally called *Said* by our authorities, is normally married, his office being hereditary, and he himself, as his name implies, a descendant of the Prophet and therefore of Ali. A celibate monk can, however, as in oriental Christianity, officiate, if in orders, as parish priest. The peripatetic 'bishop' or *murshid*¹ seems to be a (celibate?) dervish of the Bektashi order. On this point Tsakyroglous, speaking of the Kizilbash in general but probably more particularly of those in his own *vilayet* of Aidin, is very explicit. He says that the communities are visited yearly by Bektashi sheikhs, who confess, catechize, and instruct their flocks.² Professor White, speaking of Pontus, says that the Kizilbash villages there are organized in groups, each group having its *tekke* of dervishes.³ The 'patriarchs', of whom one resides at Khubyar (the other is probably the 'Chelebi' of the Bektashi⁴) are again hereditary (the 'Chelebi' certainly), their descent being important. The doubling of the office reminds us of the Armenian and Greek churches.

Certain points in the Kizilbash system, mostly nega-

¹ The word is in general use amongst dervishes for a 'spiritual director'; every sheikh of a convent, for instance, is a *murshid* in relation to his pupils (*shagird*).

² *Περὶ Γιουρούκων*, p. 30: 'Ἐκ τῆς μονῆς ταύτης (*sc.* τοῦ Χατζῆ Βεκτὰς) ἐξέρχονται ἑτησίως εἰς περιοδείαν Σεῖχαι ἐπισκεπτόμενοι τὰς κώμας καὶ τὰ χωρία ἔνθα ὑπάρχουσι κοινότητες τῶν Κιζιλ-μπάς, ἐξομολογοῦσιν αὐτοὺς, κατήχουσι καὶ ποδηγετοῦσιν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ ἔχοντες συνάμα δικαστικὴν οὕτως εἰπεῖν δικαιοδοσίαν ἐξομαλύνουσι διηνέξεις καὶ διαφορὰς ὑφιστάμενας μεταξὺ τῶν κοινοτήτων. Οὗτοι ἐν τέλει λαμβάνουσιν παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἑτησίως ὠρισμένον δηνάριον.

³ *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xl (1908), p. 231.

⁴ Cf. White, in *Contemp. Rev.*, Nov. 1913, p. 693. But Oberhammer speaks of a supreme religious head of the Kizilbash as resident in the Dersim (*op. cit.*, p. 394).

tive, sever them from, and form a stumbling-block to, their Sunni neighbours. Thus, they do not conform to Sunni practice in the matter of veiling women, the five prayers, circumcision, and other religious duties; they are said to eat pork and drink wine, to marry within the prohibited degrees, and to indulge in immoral orgies, men and women being assembled in a great room in which the lights are suddenly extinguished. This is evidently a prejudiced version of the 'perverted mass' ceremony described above. Impartial investigators have found that, while marriage between brother and sister is countenanced by the Takhtaji,¹ the Kizilbash are very strict about divorce and monogamy, and the grave charge of promiscuity, which has been much exploited by (chiefly ignorant) Sunni partisans and has earned for the Kizilbash the opprobrious nicknames of *Zerati* and *Mumsunderen* ('candle-extinguishers'²), is generally thought to be a calumny. The same charges of incest and promiscuity are brought against the Druses by Benjamin of Tudela in the twelfth century,³ and the latter in modern times by the Arabs against the fire-worshippers⁴ as by the 'Old' Turks against the Crypto-Jews of Salonica.⁵ The truth seems to be that the

¹ Von Luschan, ii, 199.

² Rycaut, *Ottoman Empire* (1687), p. 65: cf. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, iii, 125. On *zerati* see Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, i, 358.

³ *Travels*, ed. Asher, pp. 61-2, ed. Wright, p. 80. For the same charge against the Nosairi of Syria see Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 361.

⁴ Jerphanion in *Mél. Fac. Or.* ii, 405.

⁵ *Mécheroutiette* (an organ of the Turkish Liberal party), 1914, p. 16. The same is alleged of the Russian Tatarinof sect (see A. Dumas, *Russie*): one of their number confessed this, but *under torture*. Early Christian heretics were accused by the orthodox of the same crime (Strack, *Blutaberglaube*, p. 71); pagans said the same of Christians (Kortholt, *De Calumniis Paganorum*). Thévenot records that the vagabond *Hbouames* of Egypt practised promiscuity (*Voyages*, ii, 852), but any mixed gathering was liable to the suspicion: cf. the accounts of the Easter Fire ceremony at Jerusalem in d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii,

Turks are extremely strict about the degrees of consanguinity,¹ and that some Kizilbash infringe their rules. As a matter of fact, as we have seen above, the marriage laws of the Dersim Kizilbash at least are in some respects much stricter than those of orthodox Islam. For the rest, Kizilbash laxity in the veiling of women and the fact that the sexes unite in an act of worship, of which no more is known than that it is unorthodox, are sufficient basis for a wholesale slander.²

A certain amount of official pressure is exerted to convert the Kizilbash to the orthodox faith of Islam. To them, as to the Yuruks of Ida, Sunni missionaries are sent to preach during the month of Ramazan, and mosques are occasionally built in their villages by government orders.³ The Pontic Kizilbash, according to Professor White, are to some extent organized against government aggression. Some years ago, it is said, a rumour became current that the documents of the Kizilbash religious foundations (*vakuf*) were required at Constantinople: the leaders of the sect warned their communities to be ready to resist, and no steps were taken by the government.⁴

As regards the connexion between Christianity and the religion of the Kizilbash the latter claim that there is very little difference between the two faiths; ⁵ they are certainly in their personal relations more sympathetic to Christians than to Sunni Mohammedans. An *agha* of Kizilbash Kurds was actually converted to

142; Fabri, *Evagat.* ii, 92; Maundrell, *Travels*, ed. Wright, p. 182. Cf. also what Lucius says of the festivals of martyrs in early times (*Anfänge des Heiligenk.*, pp. 319-23). In the case of Jerusalem there is also an idea that a child begotten in such circumstances and surroundings is particularly fortunate (Tobler, *Bethlehem*, pp. 75, 139; Tobler, *Golgotha*, p. 427).

¹ Cf. Le Bruyn, *Voyage*, i, 405.

² See also Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 16.

³ White, in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xl (1908), p. 228.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 235: too much stress will not be laid on this story by those who know the country.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

Christianity by American missionaries in the fifties.¹ An obvious link between the two religions is the fact that both are regarded as inferiors, socially and politically, by the dominant Sunni religion. Further, we have found that the Kizilbash celebrate certain Armenian feasts and are thickest in the 'Armenian' *vila-yets*. A number of traditions also connect the two. Thus, the Kurdish, and probably also the Anatolian, Kizilbash represent their Imam as born of the virgin daughter of an Armenian priest.² The Armenians on their side claim the Kizilbash Kurds as perverted co-religionists.³ Other examples of traditions recording the conversion of Armenians *en bloc* to Islam are to be found in the cases (1) of a tribe classed as Turkoman and called Pehlivanli, settled between Sivas and Angora⁴ (a 'Kizilbash' country, be it remarked), and (2) of the Mahalemi 'Kurds', who are said to have been converted 'two hundred years ago'.⁵ According to Mrs.

¹ Dunmore in *Amer. Miss. Her.* liii (1857), pp. 219 f.

² Above, p. 146.

³ Molyneux-Seel in *Geog. Journ.* xlv (1914), pp. 64-7 : *cf.* Huntington, *ibid.* xx (1902), p. 186.

⁴ Niebuhr (who had it from Patrick Russell of Aleppo), *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 341 : see below, pp. 479, 481.

⁵ Sir Mark Sykes in *Geog. Journ.* xxx (1907), p. 387. Both these and the Pehlivanli (Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 341) are said to have turned Mussulman on account of the severity of Armenian fasts. The *motif* is a 'stock' one (*cf.* Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, ii, 133 ; G. Kamas, in *Μικρασ. Ἡμερολ.* 1915, p. 281), but the conversion may nevertheless be a fact : on the other hand, it may be merely a reflection on the character of the tribes in question, put into currency by rivals or enemies. The Maronite villages are said to convert regularly to Protestantism when oppressed by their priests : when this pressure has gained them their point, they as regularly revert to Catholicism (Mrs. Mackintosh, *Damascus*, p. 286). If it were as easy and safe to revert from Islam as from Protestantism, we should doubtless find fewer Moslems in Turkey at the present day : *cf.* the cases of the Presba villages (Bérard, *Macédoine*, p. 20), of the Karamuratadhes (Pouqueville, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, i, 259-61), and of the Vallahadhes (Bérard, *Macédoine*, p. 110 ; Wace and Thompson, *Nomads of the Balkans*, p. 29).

Scott-Stevenson the (Sunni) Afshars¹ of the Anti-Taurus claim Armenian descent,² which though probably false of the Afshars as a whole, may still be true of some sections of the tribe. Tschihatscheff's picture of Pharasa (a Greek village of the Anti-Taurus) in the fifties, ruled by Afshar chiefs and taking part with them in their forays against the Turks,³ may show a phase in such a development.⁴ As regards the Kizilbash, it is important to note that all traditions speak of them as converted Armenians, not Greeks.

It must not, however, be imagined that the question of the 'Kizilbash' religion is finally disposed of by classing it as Shia, since the Shia religion is sub-divided into numerous sects and heresies. Sir Charles Wilson compares the religion of the Anatolian Kizilbash, not with that of orthodox Persian Shias, but rather with that of the Nosairi of Syria.⁵ Bent, speaking of the Takhtaji in particular, classes their religion with that of the Nosairi and Yezidi,⁶ and von Luschan⁷ and Oberhummer⁸ are of the same opinion. It cannot be expected that the religion practised by these scattered

¹ For the Afshars see Grothe, *Vorderasiensexpedition*, ii, 135 f.

² *Ride through Asia Minor*, p. 218. Others have called them renegade Greeks (Tsakyrogloss, *Περὶ Γιουρούκων*, p. 13).

³ Tschihatscheff's *Reisen*, ed. Kiepert, p. 14. We may compare the conditions noticed in the early years of the nineteenth century by Burckhardt in the Cilician plain (Barker, *Lares and Penates*, pp. 355 ff.). Here the Greek villages were subjected to Turkoman chiefs and had largely assimilated themselves to their protectors, from whom only details of headgear distinguished them. This gives an idea how rural populations may have been gradually converted to Islam.

⁴ The recent ('fifty years ago,' *i.e.* about 1830) conversion of Burunguz, an Armenian village near Tomarza, in the district of Caesarea, noted by J. F. Skene (*Anadol*, p. 175), is worth putting on record in this connexion: both period and locality point to the Afshars as the 'missionaries' responsible for the change.

⁵ *Geog. Journ.* vi (1884), p. 313.

⁶ *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xx (1890), p. 270.

⁷ *Lykien*, ii, 202.

⁸ *Durch Syrien*, p. 394.

and possibly heterogeneous communities is identical. But in the present vague state of our knowledge it would be worse than useless to attempt a more exact classification.

It is at least fairly clear that the Kizilbash religion from Mardin and Erzerum to Smyrna is identical in its main lines and an offshoot of Shia Islam containing considerable elements of Christianity, with an animistic basis, according to Grenard's information, and that the Bektashi, the only dervish order in Turkey openly professing the Shia faith, form a sort of hierarchy among a large proportion of the Kizilbash populations. The inherence of the Bektashi, whatever its origin, is explained by the fiction that the tribal saints of the various Kizilbash villages were 'brothers', 'companions', or 'disciples' of Haji Bektash.¹

Von Luschan has already established the important point² that the similarities of religion between the 'Kizilbash' group (including 'Bektash' and 'Takh-taji') in Anatolia coincide with anthropological similarities which connect this group also with the North Syrian and North Mesopotamian heterodox sects (Yezi-di, Nosairi, &c.), with the Armenians, with certain types of Anatolian Greek, and with the Hittites. The locality in which this anthropological type is most frequent is the mountainous 'bridge-land' which lies between the fertile countries of Anatolia, Persia, Mesopotamia, and Syria. This 'bridge-land' has never been civilized, though it has been penetrated at various times by missionaries, religious, political, and military: in particular, being the old border-land between Turkey and Persia, it was naturally the resort of Persian emissaries during the long wars of the two nations. The result of the presumed religious propaganda carried on from the side of Persia among still pagan nomads,

¹ See below, pp. 339-41.

² *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xli (1911), pp. 241 f.

Kurdish and Turkish, possibly also among Armenian Christians,¹ is a patchwork of religious compromises, of which the outwardly predominating elements are Shia Islam and Armenian Christianity, among a people of marked physical homogeneity. A certain proportion of these peoples has migrated westwards, as probably in other directions, either from natural causes or under the pressure of the artificial transplantation, which was carried out in the sixteenth century by the Ottoman Government² as a means of breaking up the solidarity of border-tribes known to be Shia in religion and consequently in sympathy with Persia. The emigration process may have gone on for centuries, the emigrants from the mountainous 'bridge-land' sometimes amalgamating with the men of the plains under the influence of a prevalent civilization, sometimes keeping themselves aloof owing to religious or other differences. The 'bridge-land' type, when found in the west, may thus represent immigrations of widely different date, ranging from remote antiquity to comparatively modern times.

§ 5. THE TAKHTAJI³

The Kizilbash of Lycia (the province of Tekke) are, as already stated,⁴ numerous and generally known as Takhtaji (*woodcutters*) on account of their employment, but like the Kizilbash elsewhere they call themselves Alevi⁵ and are connected with the Bektashi order of dervishes,⁶ whose local centre is at Elmali. They are said to owe their conversion to Shia Islam to missionary sheikhs dispatched from Konia in the fourteenth cen-

¹ Or the conversion of the latter may be attributed to the persecution of already converted Kurds and Turks.

² Cf. Belon, *Observations de Plusieurs Singularitéz*, iii, cap. xii.

³ This section has been put together by M. M. H.

⁴ Above, p. 142.

⁵ On the Lycian Takhtaji see Bent, *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xx (1890), pp. 269-76; von Luschan, *Lykien*, ii, 198-213; Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 855.

⁶ See above, p. 142.

ture.¹ This woodcutter caste of Takhtaji exists in Cilicia also, where it has embraced a form of the Shia faith and therefore would be reckoned Kizilbash by the Turks.

Although we have little exact information on the religion of the Lycian Takhtaji, what we have confirms the idea of their close religious connexion with the Kizilbash farther east. Thus, every Lycian Takhtaji tribe, however small, has a *Baba* or *Dede*, whose office is hereditary.² Again, confession and absolution ceremonies exist among them³ as among the Kizilbash,⁴ while Kizilbash and Takhtaji alike claim to have a sacred book.⁵ Marriage between brother and sister is permitted to the Takhtaji⁶ but not recorded of the Kizilbash.⁷

These indications are vague enough but sufficient to make authorities like Bent,⁸ von Luschan,⁹ and Oberhummer¹⁰ class the religion of the Takhtaji with that of the Nosairi¹¹ and Yezidi. More cannot be said in the present state of our knowledge.

§ 6. THE BEKTASHI¹²

The Bektashi sect is reputed to have been founded by Haji Bektash, who is represented as a fourteenth-century Anatolian saint, mainly famous as having consecrated the original corps of Janissaries,¹³ but the latest

¹ Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* iv, 91 (from the sixteenth century Turkish historian Jenabi).

² Von Luschan, *Lykien*, ii, 201 : cf. the Kizilbash, above, p. 147.

³ *Ibid.* ii, 202. ⁴ Above, pp. 148-9. ⁵ Above, pp. 149-50.

⁶ Von Luschan, *op. cit.* ii, 199. ⁷ Cf. above, p. 153.

⁸ *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xx (1890), p. 270. ⁹ *Lykien*, ii, 202.

¹⁰ *Durch Syrien*, p. 394.

¹¹ Tsakyroglous similarly identified the religion of the Cilician Takhtaji with that of the Nosairi (*Περὶ Γιορπούκων*, p. 18), but F. Schaffer denied this identity (*Petermanns Mitth., Ergänzungsheft* cxli, p. 27).

¹² This section has been put together by M. M. H.

¹³ See below, pp. 483 ff.

authorities are agreed that he is no more than a figure-head. The real founder of the Bektashi was a Persian mystic named Fadlullah, and the original name of the sect Hurufi. The traditional date—a very doubtful one—of Haji Bektash's death is 1337-8, whereas Fadlullah died in 1393-4, a martyr to his own gospel, at the hands of one of Timur's sons. Shortly after his death his disciples introduced the Hurufi doctrines to the inmates of the convent of Haji Bektash (near Kirshehr in Asia Minor) as the hidden learning of Haji Bektash himself, under the shelter of whose name the Hurufi henceforth disseminated their doctrines, which to orthodox Moslems are heretical and blasphemous.¹ The heresy continued to spread more or less unnoticed, and the sect acquired considerable political power by its combination with the Janissaries, which was officially recognized at the end of the sixteenth century. Henceforward the Bektashi became more and more suspected of heresy and disloyalty, till at last Mahmud II in 1826 made an attempt to destroy at one blow the Janissaries and their dervish backers. By his action the Janissaries were permanently broken, the Bektashi only crippled: by the fifties of the last century they had largely recovered,² and at the present day they exercise a considerable secret influence over the laymen affiliated to

¹ Browne in *J. R. Asiat. Soc.* 1907, pp. 535 ff.; G. Jacob, *Bektaschijje*, p. 19; cf. Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, pp. 228 ff. for current legends on the subject of the encroachment of the Hurufi on the convent of Haji Bektash. The Bektashi deny that the Hurufi doctrines are an essential part of their system, but admit that many Hurufi disguised themselves as Bektashi and Mevlevi at the time of their persecution under Timur.

² Byzantios (*Κωνσταντινούπολις*, iii, 494) says that *one-fifth* of the Turkish population of Constantinople was supposed in his time to be Bektashi. For the influence of the sect in western Asia Minor about the same time see MacFarlane, *Turkey and its Destiny*, i, 497 ff. The Bektashi seem to attribute their expansion to the tolerance shown them by Sultan Abdul Mejid (1839-61).

them, especially in Albania ¹ and out of the way parts of Asia Minor (Cappadocia, Lycia, and Kurdistan).

In Albania the Bektashi are said to number as many as 80,000 adherents,² and Albanian dervishes are frequently found in convents outside their own country. A recent visitor reports that even at the central *tekke* of Haji Bektash in the heart of Asia Minor the majority of the dervishes are Albanian : ³ many of these would doubtless be qualifying themselves for the presidency of a *tekke* in their own country.

As to Asia Minor, our available evidence indicates that there the Bektashi establishments are grouped most thickly in the Kizilbash districts, but the nature of the connexion between them is still obscure. We know only that both profess adherence to the Shia form of Islam, and that widely scattered Shia communities acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the Chelebi⁴ of the Bektashi. Together with his rival, the Akhi Dede, the Chelebi lives at the central convent ⁵ of the order near Nevshehr in Cappadocia, where Haji Bektash lies buried.

The Akhi Dede, who is known also as Dede Baba, claims to be the spiritual or 'apostolic' successor of Haji Bektash. He resides in the convent of Haji Bektash and exercises authority over it and over one part of the Bektashi organization. The Albanian and Cretan Bektashi, for example, recognize him as their supreme head, and the appointments of their sheikhs must be ratified by him. This branch of the order seems to be entirely in the hands of the Albanians : the abbots are generally from Albania.

¹ For Bektashism in Albania see Leake, *N. Greece*, iv, 284 ; Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, pp. 230 ff. ; Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 207 ; Brailsford, *Macedonia*, pp. 243 ff.

² [Blunt], *People of Turkey*, ii, 277, confirmed to me in Epirus. The whole number of Bektashis is assessed by themselves at 3,000,000.

³ Prof. White, in *Contemporary Rev.*, Nov. 1913, p. 694.

⁴ See below, pp. 162-3.

⁵ See below, pp. 502 ff.

The Chelebi (in 1914 Jemal Efendi) claims to be the actual descendant of Haji Bektash and *de jure* the supreme head of the order. His office is hereditary in his family though the succession is not from father to son, the senior surviving brother of a deceased Chelebi taking precedence of his eldest son. He lives outside the convent and is employed in the administration of the property of the foundation. His genealogy is disputed by the party of the Dede Baba, who, holding that Haji Bektash had no children, regard him as an impostor. They explain his alleged descent by an intermediate legend of his ancestor's miraculous birth from a woman fertilized by drinking the blood of Haji Bektash.¹ So recently as 1909, at the proclamation of the Turkish Constitution, the Chelebi asserted his claim to be regarded as supreme head of the order by a petition to the new government to restore him his ancient rights. At present his position is recognized by the Kizilbash populations of Asia Minor, and the sheikhs of *tekkes* ministering to these populations are consecrated by him. These sheikhs, who appear to be hereditary,² and their flocks are looked upon with some contempt by the other branch of the Bektashi, who call them *Sufi*, and regard their organization as lax and their doctrines as superstitious. The son of the sheikh of the *tekke* at Rumeli Hisar explained to me the difference between

¹ Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 342. The legend admitted by the celibate branch makes the woman the wife of a *khoja* and gives her name as Khatun Jikana. Another variant makes Haji Bektash a *nefes oglu* or 'son of the breath [*sc.* of God]' (for which see George of Hungary's tract *De Moribus Turcorum*, xv, *ad fin.*). Miraculous birth is alleged of many Turkish saints, especially by the Kizilbash Kurds of their Imam Bakir (see above, p. 146). For other examples see Grenard in *Journ. Asiat.* xv (1900), p. 11, and Skene, *Anadol*, p. 285.

² Crowfoot in *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xxx, pp. 308, 312 (Haidar-es-Sultan and Hasan Dede). This is the rule also at the *tekke* of Sidi Battal (Ouvré, *Un Mois en Phrygie*, p. 94; Radet, *Arch. des Miss.* vi (1895), pp. 446-7).

them by saying that the Kizilbash were 'Catholics', the true Bektashi 'Protestants'; this, coming from an old pupil of Robert College, is probably to be interpreted as meaning that the Bektashi represent a 'reformation' and have discarded what they regard as the superstitious doctrinal accretions in the faith of their backward Anatolian co-religionists.

The earliest mention of the *Chelebi* of the Bektashi seems to be in connexion with a rising of dervishes and Turkomans which began in 1526-7.¹ The district affected was that of Angora; ² the leader of the rising, generally known as Kalenderoglu, is said by some authors to have borne the title of *Zelebi* [Chelebi], and all are agreed that he pretended to be a descendant of Haji Bektash. In view of the later connexion between the Bektashi and Janissaries, it is worth noting that on this occasion Janissaries seem to have had no scruples about marching against the Chelebi.

As regards theology, the Bektashi, as opposed to the Kizilbash, claim the sixth Imam (Jafer Sadik) as their patron, while the Kizilbash hold that their priesthood descends from the fifth (Mohammed Bakir). There is also a very important distinction between the two sects as regards the religious life. The Bektashi dervishes, who form the priestly caste of their branch, are nearly without exception celibate (*mujerred*).³ The Kizilbash,

¹ Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* v, 95; Leunclavius, *Annales*, 343P, s.a. 1526 and *Pandectes*, § 222; de Mezeray, *Hist. des Turcs*, i, 502.

² Four tribes are mentioned by name as having taken part in the rising, the Chichekli, Akje Koyunlu, Massdlu, and Bozoklu: there is a Chichek Dagh north of the convent of Haji Bektash, and Bozuk is the name of the district in which it stands, so that two at least of the tribes mentioned seem to be connected with the district.

³ As such the Bektashi dervishes have a special veneration for Balum Sultan, a reforming saint who lived some two generations after Haji Bektash and is buried in Pir-evi. Though Haji Bektash is regarded by them as having lived unmarried, Balum Sultan is considered as the

on the other hand, have a hereditary priesthood, and their sheikhs are consequently of necessity married (*mutehhil*).¹

Now if, as there seems some reason to believe, the Bektashi represent an original tribal grouping under a chief with temporal and spiritual powers,² it is probable that the *Chelebi* represents the original hereditary chief of the tribe, who has been ousted by the superimposed celibate dervish organization, in which the succession is 'apostolic'. The hereditary sheikhs or *babas* consecrated by him, again, represent the hereditary chiefs of sub-tribes or affiliated tribes; as hereditary they must of necessity be married, and this is the chief distinction between them and the mainly celibate dervishes of the other branch.

Professed dervishes, however, form only the hierarchy of the Bektashi organization. The rank and file are laymen (called *muhib* ³=*friend*), who openly or secretly subscribe to Bektashi doctrines. All candidates for admission to the order must be believers in God and of good moral character: this latter must be guaranteed by a satisfactory sponsor. Bektashism is not hereditary, the son of a Bektashi father being perfectly at liberty to choose at years of discretion whether or not he will enter the Bektashi order or another.⁴

peculiar patron of the celibate branch. It is interesting to find that a recent war-map marks a mountain in north Albania as *Tekke Balim Sultan*. In von Hahn's map (in *Alban. Studien*) seventy years earlier the mountain is marked simply *Balle*, which is the Albanian word for *peak* according to von Hahn. It would thus appear that the Bektashi have here foisted one of their own saints on another as they have done on Mount Tomor (see below, pp. 548 ff.) and elsewhere.

¹ The relations between the *Chelebi* and the *Dede Baba* are naturally strained, but dervishes of the celibate branch are treated with respect by the married sheikhs.

² Cf. above, p. 135.

³ This, the ordinary name for lay adherents of a dervish order, is variously explained as 'Friends of the Family of the Prophet' or 'Friends of the Order'.

⁴ Fadil Bey Klissura, when aged twenty, informed me that his

Each local congregation finds its normal rallying-point and place of common worship in the nearest Bektashi *tekke*. A *tekke* may, according to circumstances, be a convent containing a number of professed dervishes under a *baba* or abbot, or a kind of 'lodge' inhabited only by the *baba*, as the spiritual head of the local community, and his attendants. It often contains the grave of a saint of the order (generally the founder of the *tekke*), and always has a room (*meidan, ibadet hane*) for common worship. The Bektashi sect is identified with no nation or race, and is widely spread over the old Turkish Empire from Mesopotamia to Albania: its geographical distribution has been discussed elsewhere.¹

Orthodox Sunni Moslems are scandalized not only by the Shia beliefs of the Bektashi, but also by their everyday practice. They are notoriously careless of the Prophet's injunctions with regard to circumcision, veiling of women, regular prayer, and abstention from strong drink; the latter freedom undoubtedly tends to swell their ranks with undesirables. Further, their peculiar worship is performed not in a mosque but in the *ibadet hane*, and with closed doors; both sexes take part in the worship. This gives rise to the scandalous suspicions usually entertained of secret religions.²

The religious doctrines of the Bektashi are devised to cater for all intellects and all temperaments: their system includes, like other mystic religions, a gradual initiation to secret knowledge by a number of grades: these form a series of steps between a crude and popular religion, in which saint-worship plays an important part, to a very emancipated, and in some respects enlightened, philosophy. The theology of Bektashism

mother and aunts were Bektashis. His uncle joined late, but neither he nor his elder brother had so far joined.

¹ In *B.S.A.* xxi, 84-124 (reprinted with additions and corrections below, pp. 500 ff.).

² See above, p. 153.

ranges from pantheism to atheism. Its doctrine and ritual, so far as the latter is known, have numerous points of contact with Shia Mohammedanism,¹ of which it is confessedly an offshoot, and with Christianity², to which it acknowledges itself akin. In theory, at least, abstinence from violence and charity to all men are inculcated: the good Bektashi should make no distinction in his conduct between Mussulmans and non-Mussulmans, and members of non-Mussulman religions may be admitted to the order. These tenets are so far carried into practice that in the fifties of the last century a Greek, by name Antonaki Varsamis, even became president of a local 'lodge' in the Brusa vilayet: he owed his position to the purchase of lands of which the former proprietor (who, from the description given of him, may well have been an Albanian) was a Bektashi of great local importance.³ The subject is treated in detail below.⁴

¹ *e. g.* they avowedly place Ali before Mohammed. For their doctrines see Naim Bey Frasheri's *Bektashi Pages*, below, pp. 552 ff.

² Jacob has set out the points of contact in *Bektaschijje*, pp. 29 ff. On the use of this relationship by the Bektashi see cap. xlv.

³ MacFarlane, *Turkey and its Destiny*, i, 496 f.: the same person, evidently, is mentioned in Lady Blunt's *People of Turkey*, ii, 278. In our own day, on the authority of the learned Sami Bey Frasheri, an Albanian from a Bektashi district, Monseigneur Petit writes (*Confréries Musulmanes*, p. 17) that in each Albanian convent are found some dervishes who are really Christian still, but are admitted to Bektashi membership. [Our personal investigations, conducted independently among the Albanian *tekkas*, discovered exaggerations in Mgr. Petit's information. M. M. H.]

⁴ Pp. 564 ff.

SHIA MOVEMENTS AND PROPAGANDA
IN ASIA MINOR

THE two main periods when Asia Minor was affected by Shia ideas are (1) that of the Seljuk empire of Rum, and (2) that of the Safavi dynasty of Persia. During the former, Persian philosophic and mystic ideas became, so to speak, acclimatized, penetrating from the court of Konia downwards; during the latter, definitely Shia doctrines were propagated in many country districts of Asia Minor, by missionaries half religious, half political, the effect of whose work, as we shall see, persists down to our own day.

During the first period Konia¹ is of course the distributing centre. Especially during the reign of Ala-ed-din I (1219-1236) it was a focus of Persian ideas and of a culture wholly derived from Persia, and the repair of numerous philosophers and holy men from Bokhara, Khorasan, and Persia, who were driven by Mongol pressure from their homes. Best known of these are Jelal-ed-din Rumi, the mystic poet of Bokhara, and his friend and master in philosophy, Shems-ed-din of Tabriz. Jelal-ed-din, the founder of the Mevlevi dervish order, which has exercised, and to some extent exercises to-day, considerable religious and even political influence in the district, was especially favoured by Ala-ed-din. The Mevlevi order was never openly accused of the Shia heresy, and has been throughout its history politically loyal and morally untainted by the excesses which have brought other dervish orders into disrepute, but its liberal and philosophic principles render its members suspect to strait-laced Sunni Mohammedans. In the same way the neighbouring Mohammedan

¹ See more fully below, p. 370.

princes looked askance on the Persian culture of the sultans of Konia.¹

Of direct propaganda by the holy men who made Konia their centre we have little trace. One significant passage quoted by von Hammer from Jenabi tells us that in the districts of Tekke (Adalia) and Diarbekr, which were later (and still are) strongholds of the Shia movement, the inhabitants were devoted to the Persian sheikhs and doctrine, the former having been spared from the fury of Timur by the intercession of the sheikh Sadr-ed-din of Konia.² If this refers to the celebrated sheikh of that name who died in 1274,³ the connexion with Timur is chronologically impossible. It is much more likely that the Shia faith, which is particularly adapted for missionary propaganda among simple folk, was preached in those districts already under the Seljuks by sheikhs from Konia. The populations subjected to Shia influences are represented by the modern Takh-taji of Lycia and the Alevi Kurds of Diarbekr *vilayet*. Similarly in the north, Sunusa, a fanatical Shia town near Amasia, is mentioned already by Mustawfi (1340).⁴

The Shia propaganda of the second period is closely connected with the history of Persia. Uzun Hasan, the last ruler of the (Turkish) White-Sheep dynasty of Persia, married his daughter to Haidar, son of Juneid,

¹ ' Dans le voisinage, on se demandait si les Seljoukides n'étaient pas devenus païens, mages ou guèbres, et Noureddin Zenghi, prince d'Alep, un musulman vaincu, exigea que Kylydj Arslan II [1192-1204] renouvelât, entre les mains de son ambassadeur, la profession de foi de l'Islamisme, parce qu'il ne le croyait pas un vrai fidèle ' (Huart, *Konia*, pp. 214 f.)

² Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* iv, 91, from Jenabi (sixteenth century). Similarly, Sheikh Baba saved Egerdir from Timur (*ibid.* ii, 118).

³ Huart, *Konia*, pp. 170 f.: this Sadr-ed-din was a close friend of Jelial-ed-din. But Malcolm (*Hist. of Persia*, i, 321) refers the incident to Sadr-ed-din, the ancestor of Shah Ismail.

⁴ Le Strange, *E. Caliphate*, p. 146.

a distinguished sheikh from Erdebil. Of the marriage was born Ismail, the future founder of the Safavi dynasty of Persia. Haidar's family claimed descent from Ali, and Haidar himself was the founder of the Haidari sect, to which the majority of Persian Shias belong. He is also credited with the invention of the red cap or 'crown' (*taj*) with twelve folds, commemorating the twelve Imams, which eventually became the badge of Ismail's followers¹ and gained for the Shia sect in general the nickname of 'Kizilbash'.² Haidar of Erdebil was killed in battle (1488). Ismail, his only surviving son, succeeded, after a struggle, to the throne of Persia.

Even under the Turkish dynasty the Persians and the Turks had been enemies, and Ismail followed the policy of his predecessor. The followers of the Persian sheikhs in the Turkish provinces of Tekke and Diarbekr had helped to put him on the throne and were still true to their faith. Ismail made use of them to embarrass the Sultan in his own country. His emissaries were a certain Hasan Chelife (Khalife)³ and another, in some accounts the son of Hasan, who passed under the names of Karabeyik, Tekkeli, Shahkuli ('slave of the Shah'), and, in derisive parody, Sheitankuli ('slave of Satan'). Hasan and Shahkuli took up their abode in the district of Tekke and for six or seven years lived in caves as hermits, acquiring a great reputation for sanctity: the pious Bayezid II is said to have sent Hasan a yearly pension. The political part of the propaganda matured in 1509.⁴

The adherents of Shahkuli, who seems to have been

¹ *Testa rossa* (red cap) = Persian, *verde* = Usbek, *bianca* = Turk, *nera* = Georgian, according to Hammer-Hallert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* iv, 94, who says the different races in the Turkish Empire were thus nicknamed from their head-dress.

² *i. e.* red head. See especially d'Herbelot, *s.v.* Haidar (above, p. 139).

³ Hasan Khalife is the name of a Bektashi leader of the Janissaries in 1632 (Assad Effendi, *Destr. des Janissaires*, p. 342).

⁴ *i. e.* after the disastrous earthquake which occurred in that year at

more of a fighter than Hasan, mustered at a place called Tascia, and, marching on Adalia, took it by surprise on a Sunday during the yearly fair. They then advanced on Konia, receiving a reinforcement of Persian cavalry and adding to their adherents on the way. Before Konia they were again victorious, but, having no guns, could not venture an assault on a walled city. They then marched north-west, defeated the viceroy of Anatolia on the Sangarius, took Kutahia by assault, and retired eastwards. An engagement followed near Angora, in which Hasan was killed, as was the Turkish general. The rebels seem to have had the worst of the fight and retired, some crossing the Halys and making off to Tekke, whither they were pursued by the Imperial troops, while others, after some fighting on the way, escaped into Persia.¹ The partisans of the rebels and their doctrines were transported from Asia to the Peloponnese, Macedonia, and Epirus.² The heretics of Tekke are said to have been planted in the recent Turkish conquests of Koron and Modon.³

The topographical details of this campaign are hard to follow, owing to (1) the historians' ignorance of the

Constantinople and which the Turks considered ominous (Leunclavius, *Annales*, 335 p., s.a. 1509).

¹ For accounts of this campaign (1509-11) see Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* iv, 90 ff.; Giovio, 'Fatti Illustri di Selim,' in *Cose de Turchi*; Spandugino in Sansovino, *Origine de' Turchi*, p. 136; Knolles, *Turk. Hist.*, pp. 316-24; *Historia Politica*, ap. Crusius, *Turco-Graecia*, p. 34; Leunclavius, *Annales*, 335 p., s.a. 1509; *ibid.*, *Pandectes*, § 179 ff.; Cantimir, *Hist. Emp. Oth.*, pp. 134 ff.

² Knolles, *op. cit.*, p. 324: remnants of this transplantation may survive in the obscure people called Erghne in the Rhodope mountains, who are said by Baker (*Turkey in Europe*, p. 382) to have become Mohammedan (Sunni?) about a hundred years ago. The reproach brought against them of having wives in common and holding great assemblies several times in the year, both sexes together, is the regular charge made against the Kizilbash by the Sunni: cf. above, p. 153. For transportations of populations in general see Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 166.

³ Hammer-Hellert, iv, 93.

localities in default of maps, (2) the mutilation of names in the Italian (probably Venetian) sources, and (3) the nature of the rebellion. The propaganda seems to have infected a wide area¹ and the rebels evidently scattered to their homes, various bodies of troops being detached to follow them. Everything points to Tekke as the focus. Giovio's 'Sassi Rossi', the place of Hasan's retirement, is evidently the modern Kizil Kaya ['Red Rock'] district north of Adalia.² The 'city of Tascia at the foot of Monte Nero' seems to represent the modern Kash Kasaba, near which is still a village named Kara Dagh, while Elmali, the other chief town of the district, is also mentioned. The site of the battle by Angora, 'near Mount Olyga' (Giovio) is placed by one account³ in the plain of Chibuk Ovasi, the scene of the victories of Cn. Manlius over the Gauls and of Timur over Bayezid I. A *turbe* shown in the Kizilbash village of Hasan Dede near Denek Maden may be the historical resting-place of the Shia leader.

After the battle of Angora, Hammer seems to confuse two series of operations, one against the rebels remaining in the province of Tekke, centring round Shahkuli's old haunt of Kizil Kaya, and another against the main body retiring from the neighbourhood of Angora via Sivas, Caesarea, and the province of Zulkadr to Persia. This confusion comes direct from Giovio, who describes the operations near Kizil Kaya as having taken place not far from Celenis (Celaenae) and Maras (Marash), the seat of Aladolo (Ala-ed-Devlet), prince of Zulkadr. The name of Celaenae (Dineir) can be ignored as based merely on the similarity between the names of the town Marash and the (ancient) river

¹ See below, p. 173, n. 8.

² Kizil Kaya was a *kadilik* in the seventeenth century (Haji Khalfa, p. 697), and till recently a *nabiyeh*.

³ Leunclavius, *Annales*, 336 p., s.a. 1509. Leunclavius is based on the Turkish historian Jemali (c. 1550).

Marsyas near Celaenae.¹ The Turkish historians Ali and Saadeddin² confuse with the battle near Angora an engagement which they place at Sarimsaklik or on the Gueuk-chai, and they mention Caesarea on the eastward retreat of the rebels. Sarimsaklik is in all probability the village of that name north of Caesarea and the Gueuk-chai the upper waters (not of the Calycadnus, as Hammer, but) of the Sihun. Leaving aside the operations in Tekke, we have thus a consistent line of march from Angora via Sivas, Sarimsaklik, and the Gueuk-chai to Marash, the capital of Zulkadr.

We have at least established that the districts devoted to the Persian sheikhs in the Seljuk period—Tekke and Zulkadr—were still in the early sixteenth century Shia. The only town in the north mentioned as a centre of Persian propaganda at this time is Beybazar near Angora.³ It is probable that many other districts were infected at the same time with the Shia heresy, and that these districts were inhabited by nomad Turkomans. For later, in spite of the measures taken to break up the solidarity of the nomad tribes and remove the heterodox element, we find the same combination of Persian sheikhs and Turkoman nomads giving constant trouble to the government, especially in the frontier provinces. Thus, the principality of Zulkadr, founded in 1378 in the Antitaurus about Albistan and Marash, and later including a wide extent of country between the Ottoman empire and the Persian dominions, intrigued alternately with either power till its final absorption in the Ottoman empire under Selim I in

¹ Gioivo's *Cose de Turchi* (or the Venetian reports on which it is based) seems to have been the basis of the fictitious travels in Asia Minor of Leonardo da Vinci. ² Hammer-Hellert, iv, 113.

³ Cantimir, p. 134. The 'Historia Politica' (in Crusius, *Turco-Graecia*), p. 34, mentions as followers of Shahkuli the inhabitants of Karamania in general, the Farsak (*Βαρσάκιδες*), a tribe settled in the Taurus (see p. 129 above), and the Zulkadr (*Τουρκατήριδες*).

1515, after a successful war with Persia :¹ the same monarch reduced the Cilician principate of the Ramazanoglu (Ich-ili) on the Syrian frontier.²

It is to the reduction of Zulkadr, according to Sir Charles Wilson,³ that the settlement of Shia Turks in western Asia Minor must be referred. We have seen that certain districts were Shia before this date, but that such a transplantation did take place is shown by the fact that the once important derebeys of Boghaz-Keui descend from Ala-ed-Devlet of Zulkadr and still administer the revenues of the *turbe* of Shahruf, son of Ala-ed-Devlet, at Gemerek.⁴ To about the same date, when Kurdistan was reorganized as a Turkish province,⁵ are to be referred the Kurdish colonies in western Asia Minor. Their westernmost districts are the Haimaneh, an imperial estate⁶ west and south of Angora, and the Bozuk district (capital Kirshehr) south-east of it.⁷ The Kurds in this *vilayet* are Sunni.⁸ Bozuk was known later as a Shia district.

The process of transplantation is a regular policy devised to break up the strong tribal ties of the turbulent nomad populations; the mixture both of races and religions in the newly settled districts is probably intentional. But the districts of Cilicia (Ich-ili) and Zulkadr remained turbulent and tribal till

¹ Hammer-Hellert, iii, 253 ff.; iv, 213. Zulkadr included at one time Caesarea (*ibid.* iii, 255) and Kirshehr (*ibid.* iv, 29).

² *Ibid.* iv, 213.

³ Crowfoot in *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xxx (1900), p. 319: cf. Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 607.

⁴ Wilson, in Murray's *Asia Minor*, p. 20: cf. Warkworth, *Diary*, p. 21. ⁵ Hammer-Hellert, iv, 253.

⁶ Haji Khalfa, tr. Armain, p. 704: cf. the modern railway station Beylik Akhor ('imperial stud farm').

⁷ Wilson, in Murray's *Asia Minor*, p. [63].

⁸ Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 253. But Wilson (*J.R.G.S.*, 1884, p. 313) speaks of the Haimaneh Kurds as partly Shia by religion, and Tsakyroglous suspects it of others in the *vilayet* of Aidin (*Περὶ Γιουρούκων*, p. 32).

much later, and seem to have had their racial differences and political grievances accentuated, evidently at the instance of Persia, by religious emissaries. Thus, in 1526, the Turkomans of Ich-ili revolted, ostensibly on economic grounds, led by a certain Suklun Shah Veli, evidently by his name a saint or dervish. At the same time there was a rebellion in the Adana district headed by a Persian, Veli Khalife. In 1528 a reputed descendant of Haji Bektash, called Kalenderoglu, headed a revolt in the province of Zulkadr, enlisting thousands of dervishes, and was eventually defeated near Albistan.¹ Whether his namesake in the seventeenth century was a similar sectary we do not know.²

Despite the heavy hand with which such rebellions were put down, and in particular the barbarous attempt to exterminate the Shias by the fanatical Selim,³ we find that even in the latter half of the sixteenth century Venetian reports recognize the prevalence of Shiism in Asia Minor as a whole and its political import. 'Many provinces of the Ottoman empire', says Barbaro in 1573, 'recognize themselves as of the same faith as the Persians, though their inhabitants keep their opinions to themselves for fear of the Turks: the latter again dare not openly prosecute them for fear of a rebellion.'⁴ In the seventeenth century Haji Khalfa (1648) notes as specially heretic districts the neighbourhood of Trebizond, where there were Shia Turkomans, and the *liva* of Bozuk. The latter is of course the Cappadocian Kizilbash district of our own day.

¹ For references see above, p. 163, n. 1.

² He is said to have been in Persian pay and to have retreated, after the failure of his rebellion, to Persia (*Ambassade de Gontaut-Biron*, pp. 15, 24 f., 231).

³ Hammer-Hellert, iv, 173 ff. and 425: forty thousand Shias in Europe and Asia were massacred on this occasion.

⁴ *Relazione*, quoted by Zinkeisen, *Geschichte*, iii, 567; cf. Alberi's *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti*, III, vol. iii, p. 201 (1562); vol. iii, p. 406 (1594).

XIV

NATURAL CULTS

§ I. TREE CULTS

THE simplest form of tree cult results from the conception of a tree as the abode of a spirit. Certain trees are thus conceived of to-day by the primitive and half pagan nomads of Asia Minor,¹ who bind their illnesses with knots of rag to the sacred branches, as long ago by the pre-Islamic Semites at Mecca itself.²

The primitive conception of the haunted tree survives also among much more developed communities. Some of these trees are held to be haunted by dangerous spirits, which must be placated, others by beneficent demons capable of exerting a healing power. An example of a tree possessed with a dangerous spirit is recorded by Mrs. Walker from Mytilene. An ancient cypress near the town was regarded with considerable reverence and none dared cut it. Two hardy souls had ventured to do so. One lopped off a bough, ostensibly for building a church, and afterwards used the wood for his own house: he was pursued by ill-luck for the rest of his life.³ The other, whose subsequent history is not recorded, was horrified to find that the tree bled when cut.⁴ Haunted trees of this description are recorded also from free Greece.⁵ Modern instances of

¹ See above, p. 132.

² Robertson-Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 169; cf. Goldziher in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii (1880), p. 319; Ouseley, *Travels*, i, 369.

³ Cf. Georgeakis and Pineau, *Folk-Lore de Lesbos*, p. 349.

⁴ Walker, *Old Tracks*, pp. 193 f. Mrs. Bishop (*Journeys in Persia*, i, 309) mentions a similar bleeding tree.

⁵ Cf. Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, nos. 322-6 and note on pp. 916-18. For a circumstantial account of a haunted tree near Messene see Polites in *Λαογραφία*, i, 658. The late Mr. Archie Charnaud told me in 1916 that a tree which obstructed one of the newly planned streets at Brusa was

tree spirits which are so far gods as to be credited with powers of healing can be cited from Balukisr and the Dardanelles. The former cures boils by sympathetic magic, an onion, obviously representing the affliction, being nailed to the tree.¹ The latter tree was hung with small coins by the sick, irrespective of religion.² These cults belong strictly to folk-lore : both the trees in question stand in cemeteries and doubtless owe some of their importance to the fact.

The 'secular' sacred tree passes by easy transitions into the sphere of popular religion. A tree already venerated may be connected by a tradition with a saint. In this case legend generally represents the tree as the staff of the holy man miraculously endowed with life.³ In one case his hut becomes a tree.⁴ The custom of planting trees, especially cypresses, on graves, and the superstitions connected with such trees,⁵ have led to the assumption that a tree possessing magical virtue, or even a well-grown tree, marks the grave of a saint : this allowed, after solemn deliberation on the part of the authorities, to retain its position because it 'bled' at the first attempt to cut it down. For the superstition in France see Sébillot, *Folk-Lore de France*, iii, 430. For bleeding trees in general see Frazer, *Magic Art* (1911), ii, 18, 20, 33.

¹ F. W. Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, p. 208.

² Hobhouse, *Albania*, ii, 804 : 'In a pleasant shady green near the burying-ground, I remember to have remarked a low stunted tree, enclosed within a wall, the boughs of which were hung round with little shreds or bags of cloth and cotton, enclosing each a single para. On inquiry, it appeared that the tree was considered sacred to some demon, the inflictor of diseases ; that the appendages were either votive offerings, or charms by which the malady was transferred from the patient to the shrub ; and that Turks, Jews, Armenians, and Greeks alike resorted to this magical remedy.'

³ Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 244 (*Zem Zem Baba at Kruya*) : cf. on the Christian side the staff of S. Polycarp at Smyrna (F. W. H. : see below, p. 417). In Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 327, we have a secular counterpart to this : the venerated tree is held to represent a spit with which a man was murdered.

⁴ Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 243.

⁵ Below, p. 226-7.

is of course especially the case with cypresses.¹ Often, doubtless, the grave of a saint has been built on this assumption beside a remarkable tree,² and after a certain lapse of time it is obviously impossible to say with certainty whether the tree developed the grave or vice versa.

Della Valle's account of Moslem veneration for a gigantic cypress at Passa³ is so interesting as to be worth quoting in full. Five men, he says, could scarcely embrace it.

‘ Sa grandeur est un témoignage de son antiquité, et un motif de la dévotion que les Mahométans lui portent. Il découle une certaine humeur, qui est une espèce de gomme d’un petit tronc d’une de ses basses branches, que les Perses, et sur-tout les ignorans, regardent comme un sang miraculeux, qui coule tous les vendredis, qui est leur jour saint et sacré. Et dans un grand trou, capable de contenir deux personnes, qui est au milieu du tronc, ils ont coutume d’y allumer des chandelles, comme dans un lieu auguste et vénérable, suivant leur coutume, qui leur fait avoir de la vénération pour tous les grands et anciens arbres, croians que ce soit la retraite des ames bienheureuses, et que pour cette considération ils nomment *Pir*, qui signifie en Persan un vieillard, ou *Sceich* en Arabe ; c’est à dire, plus ancien ; ou bien encor *Iman*, qui veut dire Prêtre ou Pontife, parce que ce sont les noms ordinaires qu’ils donnent à ceux de leur secte qui sont morts dans une fausse opinion de sainteté. C’est pourquoi quand ils disent, qu’un tel arbre ou un tel lieu est *Pir* ; ils veulent dire que l’ame de quelque *Pir*, c’est à dire, d’un bienheureux, y fait sa demeure et s’y plaît.’⁴

¹ The supposed graves of S. Barbara at Nicomedia (Lucas, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, i, 52 ; de la Mottraye, *Travels*, i, 214) and of S. Athanasius at Triglia (Herges in *Bessarione*, v, 15) are probable instances on the Christian side, as is the bark of a tree of S. Paul in the same district (P. G. Makris, *Tò Κατιπλί*, p. 47).

² Cf. the case of Sheikh Abu Zeitun in Syria (Tyrwhitt Drake in *P.E.F., Q.S.* for 1872, p. 179 : cf. Conder, *ibid.*, *Q.S.* for 1877, p. 101), where a dream and a fine olive tree started the cult of the saint ; cf. Goldziher, in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii (1880), p. 316.

³ The ancient Pasargadae.

⁴ P. della Valle, *Voyages*, v, 355 f.

Other trees are revered ostensibly for their supposed connexion with historical events. Typical of these is the 'Fortunate Plane Tree' of Apollonia Pontica, which, according to von Hammer, enjoyed considerable veneration among the Turks on the ground that Murad I stood under it when he received the news of the fall of the city (1372).¹ Another plane, which stood till recently at Brusa, was held to be bound up with the luck of the Turkish empire, having been planted as such in the court of Orkhan's palace by the dervish Geyikli Baba.² In both cases we are justified in considering the explanatory story as of later origin than the veneration of the trees in question; the practice of planting commemorative trees, especially planes, at the birth of a child³ has helped to gain acceptance for the aetiological legends which were devised in the first place, probably, to explain the consideration in which the planes in question were held. We shall probably be safe in assuming that saints' tombs in juxtaposition with venerated plane-trees like those at Kos⁴ and at Yanobasa⁵ in Bulgaria are to be classed as cenotaphs, since the plane is naturally associated with birth⁶ and happy events rather than with death.

Such worship of trees comes easy to Orientals who regard nature as alive and a tree as a living creature. Thus, 'le feu *Sultan Osman* vit vn iour vn arbre qui luy sembla auoir la forme de l'vn de leurs *Deruis*, ou Religieux : & sur ceste imagination, il luy assigna vne *aspre* de paye tous les iours par aumosne, & choisit vn homme pour receuoir l'*aspre*, qui a le soin de l'arroser, & de le

¹ Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.*, i, 239.

² *Ibid.* i, 155. The plane planted by Mohammed II at Eyyub cures fevers (Carnoy and Nicolaidis, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 157).

³ R. Walsh, *Constantinople*, i, 350; Andréossi, *Constantinople*, p. 360.

⁴ Wittman, *Travels*, p. 114; Sonnini, *Voyage*, i, 249.

⁵ Kanitz, *Bulgarie*, p. 261.

⁶ A cypress for a tomb, a plane for a birth (Andréossi, *loc. cit.*).

cultiuer pour son argent.'¹ Osman here did not differentiate tree spirit from tree, except in the sense that we differentiate the soul of a man from his body. Nor did Xerxes, who 'found . . . a plane tree so beautiful that he presented it with golden ornaments and put it under the care of one of his Immortals'.²

§ 2. STONE CULTS 3

Introductory

The veneration of stones seems to have been world-wide at an early stage in religious development, and has left traces everywhere in the magical and folk-lore practices of civilized peoples. Over the Semitic area stone worship, as such, survived later and more generally than among peoples more prone to anthropomorphism; and Islam, so far from being able to displace it, tacitly sanctioned it by allowing the reverence paid already by pagan Arabs to the Black Stone of the Kaaba to be perpetuated on the rather far-fetched hypothesis that the angel Gabriel had brought it to Mecca.⁴ Christianity, somewhat in the same way, has permitted or encouraged the paying of reverence to stones associated by tradition with saintly personages, the Stone of Unction at Jerusalem being a typical example. In both the great religions of the Near East the arbitrary association of certain stones with sacred persons and events has

¹ Des Hayes, *Voyage*, p. 265.

² Herod. vii, 31; cf. also iv, 91 ('the fountains of the Tearus afford the best and most beautiful water of all rivers: they were visited . . . by the best and most beautiful of men, Darius'). The beating of the Hellespont by Xerxes will also be recollected (see Reinach, *Rev. Arch.* 1905, pp. 1 ff.), as will the incident of the sea marriage (Reinach, *Cultes, Mythes, et Religions*, ii, 206). See also Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 69.

³ [An early draft of this section appeared in the *B.S.A.* xxi, pp. 62-83: the writing up of my husband's new material is my work.—M. M. H.]

⁴ Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i, 297; cf. Burton, *Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah*, London, 1855-6, iii, 158 n., 176 n. (ii, 300 n., 312 n. in the 1906 edition); cf. also Ray's *Voyages*, ii, 163.

been allowed to replace or mask the more primitive idea of worshipping stones as fetishes with independent power. Side by side with cults so masked by orthodoxy exist others of a purely secular sort, not necessarily more ancient chronologically, though more openly primitive in spirit, as magic and witchcraft are more primitive than religion.

The present paper is an attempt to bring together, from what may be called roughly the Greco-Turkish area, some instances of stones venerated independently of religion and often indiscriminately by Christians and Mohammedans in common, and of others brought to a greater or less degree within the pale of Islam or of Christianity: those of the second category, it will be noted, have frequently a more or less exact prototype, which to some extent sanctions their veneration, in the important holy places of the religion concerned. Whether from contamination, *i.e.* from the interaction of Christian and Mohammedan ideas over the area in question, or independently, *i.e.* from the original prevalence of similar ideas among the populations concerned, the developments of these stone-cults in both religions will be found closely parallel.

Venerated stones fall into two main groups, which to some extent overlap: those of the first class are selected for their natural qualities, especially their material, those of the second for their shape or for work upon them. An intermediate link is formed by stones bearing 'miraculous' marks or imprints, presumably natural and accidental, which are generally accounted for by legends bringing them into connexion with venerated personages.¹

¹ The extraordinary ease with which any peculiarity of a stone may be so construed as to bring it into relation with a local saint is exemplified by the case of a stone seen by Wheler at the door of a church at Patras, which 'being struck by another stone' sent out 'a stinking Bituminous Savour'. This was attributed to its having been the seat

(i) Natural Stones

A.—Stones selected for their Natural Qualities.

To the first class apparently belongs what we may consider the prototype of venerated stones in Islam, the Black Stone of the Kaaba ; this seems to be an aerolith, and is built into the Holy House in fragments. Though it is supposed, and with every probability, to be the cultus-object of the idolatrous pre-Islamic Arabs at Mecca, all *hajis* piously kiss it as part of the pilgrimage.¹ Another sacred stone, on which the Prophet is supposed to have sat, exists in a mosque at Medina. It is reputed to cure sterility.²

For instances of stones venerated by eastern Christendom for their material, we may cite the miraculous alabaster stone seen at Angora by Schiltberger (c. 1400)³ and mentioned also by later travellers.⁴ This stone was cut in the shape of a cross and built into a church, the miracle being that it 'burnt', *i. e.* was translucent in sunlight ;⁵ it was credited also with healing powers. In

of the judge who condemned S. Andrew (*Journey into Greece*, p. 294). In the West 'pierres puantes' are recorded at Paris (Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, ii, 439, *s.v.* pierre), and at Poitiers (Collin de Plancy, *loc. cit.* : better in Millin, *Midi de la France*, iv, 722). Cf. the aetiological legend which connects with the saint a certain stone built into the church of S. David at Tiflis (Gulbenkian, *Transcaucasie*, pp. 114 ff.).

¹ It would be interesting to know whether the 'stone from Mecca' built into the mosque at Hasan Dede in Cappadocia received similar reverence (Crowfoot, in *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xxx, 308).

² Goldziher in *Archiv f. Religionsw.* xiv, 308.

³ Ed. Penzel, p. 85 ; ed. Telfer, p. 40.

⁴ See above, p. 67, n. 3.

⁵ The 'Yanar Tash' near Caesarea and the thin, semitransparent marble of the bishop's tomb at Nicaea are 'miracles' of the same unexciting kind, apparently not exploited as cures. Another 'burning stone' was shown in the Parthenon at Athens, both before and after the Turkish occupation, with an appropriately varied legend (Martoni, in *Ath. Mitth.* xxii, 429 ; Galland, *Journal*, i, 38 ; La Guilletière, *Athènes*, p. 196).

spite of its shape it was the centre of a pilgrimage in which Moslems participated.

The selection of these stones for veneration evidently depends primarily on their unusual material. In other cases colour plays a part. Yellow stones preserved in two mosques at Constantinople (the Ahmediyyeh ¹ and the Yeni Valideh ²) are held to be charms against jaundice.³ Analogous is the use of white stones as milk-charms,⁴ of which the semi-opaque prehistoric gems of Melos and Crete offer an excellent example.⁵ A plain white marble slab built into a church on the Cyzicene Peninsula is credited with the same property, scrapings of it being drunk in water by anxious mothers.⁶

B.—Pierced Stones.

Natural pierced stones and rocks are used superstitiously all over the Near East. In the Taurus, near a medicinal hot spring traditionally connected with S. Helena, is a natural pierced rock bearing, at a distance, a strong resemblance to the figure of a man leaning on a stick. This is supposed to represent a shepherd turned to stone by the curse of S. Helena, and Greeks and Turks, who make use of the healing powers of the spring, pass through the hole in the rock as part of their cure.⁷ Near Caesarea Mrs. Scott-Stevenson was shown 'a large circular stone with a hole in its centre' to

¹ Carnoy and Nicolaidès, *Folklore de Constantinople*, pp. 99 f.

² Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 83: it must be touched by the patient three times on a Saturday.

³ The connexion between the yellow colour and the yellow disease is obvious (cf. V. de Bunsen, *Soul of a Turk*, pp. 156 f.; W. G. Browne, *Nouveau Voyage*, ii, 164). Similarly in Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 155, yellow is symbolic of (malarial) fever, red of chicken-pox (κοκκινή).

⁴ Also *blue* objects, on account of the relation between the words for *blue* (γαλάζιος) and milk (γάλα).

⁵ R. M. Dawkins in *Ridge-way Essays*, p. 167.

⁶ Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, p. 27; cf. below, pp. 205-6.

⁷ I. Valavanis, *Μικρασιατικά*, pp. 102 f.

which 'the natives bring their children soon after they are born, and pass them through the hole in order that they may learn to speak early'.¹ Near Everek in the same district is a natural pierced rock which is traversed by persons suffering from coughs,² and barren women make similar use of a natural arch near the summit of Parnassus.³ At Gallipoli fever-patients pass through a natural hole in the rock beneath the lighthouse.⁴ At Arta in western Greece a pierced stone called *Ζαρόπετρα* is similarly used, with the familiar rag-tying rite, by Turks and Jews.⁵ In Naxos, mothers of thin children passed them, to make them fatter,⁶ through a holed stone connected with Saint Pachys.⁷ In Turkish Athens an

¹ *Ride through Asia Minor*, p. 206. Is this a (giants') millstone (μυλόπετρα) promoted to a 'Stone of Speech' (ὀμιλῶ = speak)? Sillier things have happened.

² Carnoy and Nicolaidis, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 338.

³ From Mr. Cole of the Lake Copais Company: cf. Niya Salima, *Harems d'Égypte*, pp. 331-2 (sterility cured by crawling through a fork like an inverted V formed by a bough of a curious tree; Mrs. Lee Childe, *Un Hiver au Caire*, p. 324, mentions the tree but says nothing of the cult).

⁴ Constantinides, *Καλλίπολις*, p. 76.

⁵ Byzantios, *Δοκίμιον τῆς Ἄρτης*, p. 367: ἐν αὐτῇ φέροντες διαβιβάζουσι, χάριν ἰάσεως, τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς αὐτῶν, ἐγκαταλιμπάνοντες (!) πᾶν αὐτῶν εἶδος φορέματος ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ θέσει. The nature of the aperture (natural or artificial) in this stone is not stated. The stone itself is 2.00 m. high, and 1.00 m. broad.

⁶ W. Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, p. 581 f., from Sauger, *Ducs de l'Archipel*, p. 65.

⁷ S. Fort at Bordeaux has similar powers (Sainéan, *Bordeaux*, p. 20). Saint Pachys ('S. Fat') is probably S. Pachomios, his name being punned with παχύς; S. Isidore (Ἰσίδωρος), who patronizes weakly children, is in the same way called ὁ σιδηρένιος ἅγιος. Punning on saints' names is common in Greece (see M. Hamilton, *Greek Saints*, pp. 24 ff.), cf. Στυλιανός, Σταμάτιος, Ὀνούφριος, Εὐστράτιος (for walking), Αἰμυλιανός (for speech ὀμιλῶ). Both in Greece and in the West (cf. for France Sébillot, *Folk-Lore de France*, ii, 269) the majority of such saints are for children's diseases. In Greece the 'finders' Μηνᾶς and Φανούριος are exceptions; Georgeakis and Pineau report that in Lesbos incautious touching of her face on S. Simon's (Simeon's?) day by a

artificial passage in the rock (called *τρύπιο λιθάρι*) above the Stadium was similarly used for superstitious purposes, various offerings being made to the presiding spirit.¹ Similar pierced-stone cults are cited from Bosnia.² All these examples, including the Cyprian cults discussed below, depend on the supposed magic virtue of pierced objects, which seems to be world-wide. The reputed virtue of holed stones, as of other traversable pierced objects, is probably bound up with the conception of holes as 'entrances' or 'new starts'. All entrances, *qua* beginnings, are regarded as critical points for good or evil. A sick person may be thought to 'change his luck' by the act of passage alone. In the case of sacred objects which are acknowledged to possess beneficent influence, it is obvious that the 'change of luck' will be a change for the better. Moreover, the patient at the moment of passing through is exposed to the beneficent influence from all sides. It is therefore comprehensible that, in passing through pierced objects such as stones, contact is often desirable.³ In the fragment of an ancient roadway near Damascus, which is reputed the spot where S. Paul fell to the earth, pilgrims in all ages have sought pebbles to preserve as relics. This practice has produced a 'wide, arch-like excavation through the centre of the causeway' and pilgrims now, as a supplementary act of devotion, frequently pass through this

pregnant woman may cause the child to have a mole on its face (*Folk-Lore de Lesbos*, p. 329): the sequence is *Σιμών, σήμα, σημάδι*. Other cases of such punning are given by Sébillot, *op. cit.* iv, 159; Millin, *Midi de la France*, i, 479; and by Estienne, *Apologie pour Hérodote*, § vii, p. 241; whose list provides excellent illustrations of etymology deciding the functions of saints. See also Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 82.

¹ Hobhouse, *Albania*, i, 325; Dupré, *Voyage à Athènes*, p. 36; Kambouroglous, *Ἰσοροπία*, i, 222: *cf.* below, p. 222.

² Lilek, in *Wiss. Mitth. Bosnien*, iv, 434 f.

³ *Cf.* Loretto, where pilgrims circumambulate the Holy House on their knees, trying to touch the walls (Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, ii, 294).

aperture, rubbing their shoulders against its pebbly sides.¹ Similarly, at Nazareth, Turks, Arabs, and Christians alike come for healing to the two columns which mark where the Virgin and the Angel stood at the Annunciation, passing and re-passing between them, at the same time rubbing against them the part affected.²

'Passing through' having once become familiar as a form of ritual in connexion with objects admittedly sacred, a natural, if illogical, confusion leads to the assumption that 'going through holes is lucky', and rocks and stones or other objects capable of being so traversed tend to become respected and often to accumulate sacred traditions. In cases where the hole is not large enough to admit a person, a smaller object may be passed through, and, having absorbed the virtue of the sacred object, transfer it by close juxtaposition to the supplicant. The procedure at the grave of Chetim Tess Baba, an *abdal* or 'fool-saint' buried at Monastir, fully illustrates this point.³

C.—Stones with Natural Markings.

Stones bearing miraculous markings, especially footprints,⁴ find prototypes for Islam in the footprints of Abraham at Mecca,⁵ of the Prophet at Constantinople⁶

¹ Kelly, *Syria*, p. 195.

² D'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 270: 'Les Turcs, les Maures, & les Chrétiens du Pais ont une grande vénération pour ces colonnes. Dès qu'ils sont malades, ils viennent passer & repasser entre elles, s'y frottent le dos, le ventre, les bras, les cuisses, les jambes, la tête, le visage, la barbe, en un mot, toutes les parties où ils sentent de la douleur, & s'en retournent guéris de leurs maladies.'

³ See below, p. 359.

⁴ These are exceedingly common elsewhere: see Sébillot, *Folk-Lore de France*, *passim*; Antoninus *martyr*, ed. Tobler, p. 24 (xxii); Oliphant, *Haifa*, p. 146; Korten, *Reise*, p. 286; Maury, *Croy. du Moyen Âge*, pp. 301 ff.; Millin, *Midi de la France*, iv, 720; Hahn, *Alban. Studien*, p. 85.

⁵ Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i, 267.

⁶ *Jardin des Mosquées* in Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii, 57. It was deposited in the Mosque of Eyyub by Sultan Mahmud I (1730-54).

and Jerusalem,¹ of the Prophet's camel on Sinai,² and of his mule at Medina.³ The imprints of the foot of Sari Saltik at Kruya and Bazaar Shiakh in Albania,⁴ of Haji Bektash's hand at Sidi Ghazi,⁵ of Sheikh Joban's at his *tekke* near Caesarea,⁶ and of Demir Baba's in Bulgaria⁷ are local relics of the same sort. The hoofprint of the prophet Khidr's horse was formerly shown at a *tekke* in Pontus.⁸ The well-known imprint of the hand of Mohammed II in S. Sophia is perhaps the best-known instance. This, according to Elworthy, has attained to a cult among the vulgar by a confusion of Mohammed the Conqueror with Mohammed the Prophet, and is invoked for protection against the Evil Eye.⁹ The 'sweating column' in the same mosque owes its curative powers to the hole made in it by the finger of the Prophet Khidr.¹⁰

In eastern Christianity we may perhaps regard the 'Footprint of Christ',¹¹ formerly shown to pilgrims in the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem¹² as the prototype of

¹ Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 136; Conder, *Jerusalem*, p. 11. Another occurs at Cairo (Lee Childe, *Un Hiver au Caire*, p. 85).

² Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, i, 146; Lenoir, *Le Fayoum*, pp. 249 f.; Thévenot, *Voyages*, ii, 536.

³ Goldziher, in *Arch. f. Religionsw.* xiv, 308.

⁴ Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 240; Ippen, *Skutari*, p. 77.

⁵ Mordtmann in *Φιλολ. Σύλλογος, Παραρτ. τοῦ θ. τόμου*, p. xv.

⁶ Carnoy and Nicolaidis, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 215.

⁷ Kanitz, *Bulgarie*, p. 536. Between Jerusalem and Bethlehem della Valle was shown a stone with the imprint of S. Elias' body (*Voyages*, ii, 88).

⁸ Anderson, *Stud. Pont.* i, 10. Similar 'hoof-prints' are shown as those of the horse of the saint Ali Baba at Tomoritza in Albania (Baldacci, in *Boll. R. Soc. Geogr.* 1914, p. 978).

⁹ Elworthy, *Evil Eye*, p. 251: *cf.* the confusion about the Sword of the Girding (see below, p. 609-10). There is another at Cairo (Browne, *Nouveau Voyage*, i, 119).

¹⁰ Guthe in *Z.D.P.V.* xvii, 303. See above, p. 10, n. 5.

¹¹ At Paimpol in Brittany footprints of Christ appeared as late as the 6th of January 1771 (Saintyves, *Reliques et Images Légendaires*, p. 318).

¹² Petrus Diaconus, in Geyer, *Itin. Hieros.*, pp. 107 f.: 'Super saxum

this class of venerated stones. In modern Greece a reputed hoofmark in the rock at Philiatra (in Triphylia) is attributed to the mule of the Virgin, who appeared there,¹ and in Crete a similar mark is pointed out as the imprint of S. Nicetas' winged horse,² another as that of the horse of the secular hero Digenes.³

The imperishable nature and obvious interpretation of such stones,⁴ if characteristically marked, tend to secure their local veneration regardless of changes in the religion of their *clientèle*. The footprint in the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem, earlier attributed to Christ, is obviously the same as that held under Mussulman administration to be that of the Prophet, and probably served in Jewish times as that of Abraham.⁵ A 'footprint' in Georgia is held by various parties at one and the same time to be that of the legendary queen Tamar, of a Christian priest flying from persecution, and of a Mohammedan saint who converted the district to Islam. It is thus venerated by all, irrespective of their creed.⁶

posuit dominus Iesus pedem suum, quando eum Symeon accepit in ulnis, et ita remansit pes sculptus, ac si in cera positus esset'. Cf. Conder, *Jerusalem*, p. 10: Antoninus *martyr*, ed. Tobler, p. 26 (xxiii). Another footprint of Christ was shown on the Mount of Olives (Didron, *Iconographie Chrétienne*, ii, 217).

¹ Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 192.

² *Ibid.*, no. 199: cf. Hare, *Walks in Rome*, i, 171 (knee-marks of S. Peter).

³ *Ibid.*, no. 120: cf. Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 126 (hoofprint of Marko Kraljevich's winged horse shown near Lake Presba).

⁴ Cf. Moses' rock on Sinai (Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 580).

⁵ A pre-Crusading Moslem account (1047) of the Rock says that the footprint was then said to be that of Abraham (*Le Strange, Palestine*, p. 128): see also below, p. 195, n. 5. In the twelfth century a sacred stone at Aleppo was worshipped as the tomb of a prophet by Moslems, Jews, and Christians (Yakut, *Lexicon Geographicum*, ii, 308).

⁶ Palgrave, *Ulysses*, p. 74.

(ii) *Worked Stones*

Stones venerated on account of work upon them are divided into two main categories, shaped stones and inscribed stones.

A.—Statues and Reliefs.

Stones carved with figures, *i.e.* statues and reliefs, need hardly be considered on the Mohammedan side, since the prohibition of images by Islam has taken deep root in the popular mind. Exceptional, if not unique, is the cult formerly attaching to a headless Roman statue still preserved in a fountain outside the Valideh Mosque at Candia, which was supposed to represent a Moslem warrior saint turned to stone by Christian magic.¹ Popular feeling among Mussulmans is, as a rule, against images; there is a tradition that angels

¹ Pashley, *Crete* (1837), i, 194: 'In this city the devout Mohammedan women burn incense every Friday, and some of them suspend bits of rag, and similar votive offerings, to honour an ancient statue. . . . The tradition current among them is that the saint was an Arab, to whose dress the ancient robe of the statue bears some resemblance, and that he greatly distinguished himself during the famous siege of the Kástron [*i.e.* Candia].' The statue is figured on p. 186 of Pashley's work. Cf. also Spratt, *Crete* (1865), i, 44: 'The bust [!] of a Roman statue, at a fountain within the town . . . is . . . decorated and paid reverence to by some Turkish devotees every Friday, . . . besides having a lamp with oil or incense set before it also. . . . I was informed that it [*i.e.* this worship] is due to a belief amongst the superstitious, that it is the petrified remnant of the body of a sainted Ethiopian Mussulman who was killed in the war, and whose head and lower members were cut off by the Christians, but who is destined to rise to life when the Ghiaour are to be exterminated from the island.' The statue is still (1915) as Pashley saw it, except that the flesh parts and lower draperies have been *painted black*, evidently to show that the saint was an 'Arab': the cult is discontinued, though the lighting of lamps and candles at the place by negro women is still remembered (F. W. H.). Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, ii, 765, cites also Chourmouzes, *Κρητικά*, p. 57, in this connexion.

will not enter where there is a semblance of a man,¹ and another to the effect that *complete* statues are the abode of devils.² This leads to their mutilation, sometimes even against the owner's interest.³ At the same time it is not uncommon to find statues or reliefs held in considerable superstitious respect by Moslems as the abode of *jinns* possessed of power ;⁴ but this, power is evoked by secular magic. The *Arabian Nights* admirably illustrate these different points of view. Statues there fall into four classes. There are, first, talismans like the horseman in the *City of Brass*,⁵ which are susceptible of use by those who know the trick : this horseman's magic powers are enhanced by the inscription engraved on it. Secondly, there are 'idols' inhabited intermittently by *jinns*, who give oracles through them to deceive the idolatrous.⁶ Others, again, like the

¹ Cantimir, *Hist. Emp. Oth.*, i, 184. Angels will not enter a house containing a picture, a dog, or a bell (E. Abela, in *Z.D.P.V.*, vii, 93). Bells attract evil spirits, and Moslems fear them accordingly (Jessup, *Women of the Arabs*, p. 304 : cf. Mrs. Mackintosh, *Damascus*, p. 31).

² D'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, i, 45 : ' Ils prétendent que les statués des hommes et des femmes sont en droit de contraindre les ouvriers qui les ont faites de leur donner une ame, & que cela ne se pouvant pas faire, . . . les diables se nichent & se servent de ces corps pour molester les hommes, mais que pour les empêcher, il n'y a qu'à les mutiler & les défigurer, & que les diables les voyant en cet état, les méprisent, les ont en horreur & vont chercher à se loger autre part.' At the day of Judgement makers of images will be required to put a soul into them (Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, i, 120). In France, at S. Martial's command, the devil quitted a statue of Jupiter in the form of ' un petit enfant noir comme un Égyptien ' (Collin, *Hist. Sacr. de Limoges*, p. 231). Cf. the Abbé Caret's letter from the Gambard Islands, dated the 6th of October 1834 (quoted by Maury, *Croy. du Moyen Âge*, p. 198).

³ Le Bruyn, *Voyage*, i, 82.

⁴ For instances see Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 500 ; Garstang, *Land of the Hittites*, p. 95, n. 3.

⁵ Lane's ed., pp. 304, 309 : cf. the talisman of the Loadstone Island in the story of the *Third Royal Mendicant*, p. 51 (the talisman is again a horseman). Cf. also, p. 228, the eagle on a pillar in *Abou Mohammed the Lazy*, which effects its results by means of *efrits*.

⁶ *City of Brass*, p. 305.

jinn in the *City of Brass*, imprisoned to his armpits in a pillar for having opposed Solomon,¹ represent persons turned to stone by divine agency for sin. To a Moslem the greatest sin is unbelief: because of it the King, Queen, and inhabitants of the Magian city in the *First Lady's Tale* were petrified.² A fourth class consists of virtuous persons petrified by the magic artifice of malicious persons, like the young *King of the Black Islands*, whose faithless wife half turned him into stone: ³ the *motif* also recurs not infrequently in folk-lore. It is this last category into which the Candia 'Arab' falls, with the consequence that he is just as worthy of worship as if he had been buried in the ordinary way.

The Moslem or, rather, Semitic view of 'graven images' has not been without its influence on the eastern churches, which officially prohibit statues and reliefs of sacred persons. In practice, however, ancient reliefs are occasionally objects of Christian cult, even inside the church, as for example the fairly numerous reliefs of the Thracian horseman used as *eikons* of S. George in Thrace.⁴ At the village church of Luzani, in lower Macedonia, Mr. Wace tells me, a horseman-relief is built into the low wall dividing the women's gallery from the main building. The top of the relief is covered with the grease of votive candles, as the relief has a reputation for curing earache, neuralgia, &c., in children: the face of the horseman is washed, and the water used (*ἀπόνημμα*) applied to the ailing part. It is significant that the church is dedicated to S. Demetrius, a cavalier like S. George. But reliefs of purely secular subjects may be consecrated by their position in churches. Such is the white marble relief of a nude woman, powdered fragments of which, drunk in water, are used as

¹ *City of Brass*, p. 304.

² *Ibid.*, p. 57.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁴ Dumont, *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Épigraphie*, p. 219; Mert-zides, *Αἱ χῶραι τοῦ παρελθόντος*, p. 41.

a milk-charm at the monastery of Ardenitza in Albania.¹ The virtue of a relief is not dependent on such a position, but only enhanced or consecrated by it, and a secular relief placed in no relation to a church may be thought to have power, among Christians as among Moslems. Thus a relief of the Dioscuri by the village spring at Levetzova (Laconia), which was supposed to represent local spirits, was venerated by Christian villagers almost in our own day without coming into the sphere of the church at all.² The same is true of the so-called 'Demeter' statue worshipped by the peasants at Eleusis for good crops.³ Clarke, the discoverer of this reputed survival of Demeter worship, rightly observes that the connexion with the crops is based on the supposition that certain ornaments on the *polos* head-dress of the figure represented ears of corn; the statue is, in fact, no longer thought to be a Demeter.⁴ In all probability the finding of the statue chanced to coincide with an abundant harvest and the inference was (*post hoc, ergo propter hoc*) that the talisman was 'white' or favourable. A somewhat similar case is related from Byzantine Constantinople. In the course of building operations for a palace of Romanus I a marble bull's head was discovered, which was burnt for lime. The destruction of the talisman (as the event proved the bull's head to be) resulted in recurrent epidemics among cattle all over the empire.⁵

In all these secular cults of statues and reliefs the underlying idea is that the figures represent spirits

¹ Patsch, *Berat*, p. 154; *cf.* p. 124; *cf.* above, p. 182.

² L. Ross, *Wanderungen in Griechenland*, ii, 242.

³ E. D. Clarke, *Travels*, vi, 601 f.; Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 139, and note.

⁴ Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles*, p. 242.

⁵ M. Glycas, *Annales*, 304 P: τῶν θεμελίων καταβαλομένων, βοός, φασίν, εὑρεθῆναι μαρμαρίνου κεφαλὴν ἣν εὐρόντες καὶ συντρίψαντες εἰς τὸν τοῦ τιτάνου κάμινον βάλλουσιν. ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ μέχρι τῶν τῆδε χρόνων οὐκ ἐπαύσατο πανταχοῦ τῆς γῆς ὀπόσην ἢ τῶν Ῥωμαίων περιέχει δυναστεία, τὰ τῶν βοῶν διαφθείρεσθαι γένη.

enchanted for a purpose, good or evil, who have power, within the limits of their enchanter's intentions, and may be placated by a certain ritual. On the Moslem side, as we have seen, owing to the religious ban on representations of the human form, their activity is normally conceived of as maleficent, and their cult is placation.

B.—Columns, &c.

An important and interesting group of worked stones which owe their superstitious veneration to their shape is formed by the upright pierced monoliths used for superstitious purposes by the inhabitants in various parts of Cyprus.¹ Of these some are used by women desirous of children, who seat themselves on top of the stone; others by fever patients with the usual rag-tying ceremony; in other cases sick children and barren women are passed through the holes in the stones. So far as these practices have a connexion with religion, this is due to the proximity of the stones to churches. One stone is unofficially canonized as '*Αγία Τρυπημένη*' ('S. Bored').² When these pierced monoliths were first discovered at Paphos, the usual extravagant hypotheses of 'survivals' were put forward.³ Subsequent researches by Guillemard and Hogarth have made it clear that they are parts of ancient oil-presses,⁴ and that as many

¹ Hogarth, *Devia Cypria*, pp. 46 ff.; cf. p. 41. With the veneration of these monoliths may be compared the cult of certain dolmens in Brittany. In neither case is a survival probable. For the confusion in thought about survivals which is due to the ambiguity of meaning in the word 'pagan' see Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 57.

² This is interesting as an example of popular canonization by Christians exactly on Turkish lines. The Turks frequently anthropomorphise haunted places and objects they venerate in the same way, and '*Αγία Τρυπημένη*' is exactly paralleled by *Delikli Baba* (see above, p. 89, n. 5). The sex in the present case is due to the gender of *πέτρα*.

³ Cesnola, *Cyprus*, p. 189.

⁴ Some light is shed on the method of working these by Macalister's discovery at Gezer (*P.E.F.*, *Q.S.* for 1909, p. 188).

as fifty of them exist in various parts of the island ; of these only a very small proportion are used for any superstitious purpose. 'The belief in the mysterious virtues of these monoliths', Hogarth concludes, 'exists in so few cases, and is so weak even in those few, that it may fairly be argued that it is only of modern origin and has not had time even yet to develop into a universal tenet.'¹

The arbitrary selection of certain stones of this kind for superstitious purposes, and the variation in the ritual attaching to them is probably due to local dealers in magic. All have a certain *a priori* eligibility, both as pierced stones (see above) and also, to a certain extent, as columnar stones. Any isolated upright stone or column, if at all conspicuous, is apt to attract superstitious reverence.² The underlying idea is doubtless that such isolated columns mark places where talismans or objects enchanted for a definite purpose, generally prophylactic, are buried. Most of the talismans of Constantinople cited by Evliya³ are connected with columns. The Column of Constantine was supposed already in Byzantine times to cover the Palladium and other relics⁴ and to be on this account in a special sense

¹ *Devia Cypria*, p. 52. The stones at Paphos are figured by Magda Ohnefalsch-Richter (*Gr. Sitten und Gebräuche auf Cypem*, pl. 17), who adheres to the old theory of their ancient religious use (p. 40).

² A column is also the symbol of stability. The name Stylianos is given like Stamatios to children born after several children have died in infancy.

³ *Travels*, 1, i, 16 ff. ; Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, pp. 1 ff. ; for the serpent column and its connexions with serpents see Chalcondyles, p. 329 f. ; Clavijo in Mérimée, *Études*, p. 320 ; Quiclet, *Voyages*, p. 177 ; Savary de Brèves, *Voyages*, p. 33. An exception is the talisman made by Plato against the gnats of Constantinople (Evliya, 1, i, 17). The serpent talisman in S. Ambrogio, Milan, is said to have come from Constantinople (Gauthiez, *Milan*, p. 18).

⁴ See Du Cange, *Constant. Christ.*, i, 76 f., and the same author's notes to Anna Comnena (382-3 f.). A prophylactic service at the column,

the Luck of the city.¹ A solemn burying of the talismans against plague in honour of S. Charalambos under a column in Athens little more than a century ago is recorded by Kambouroglous.² Similarly, when a place in Zante was discovered accidentally to be haunted, the remedy was to set up there a column marked with a cross.³ The same connexion between column and talisman is probably to be discerned in the account of an inscribed porphyry column discovered at Constantinople in 1563 and deposited as a precious thing in the treasury of the Grand Signior.⁴

Another superstition is that columns mark, possibly protect, hidden treasure. At Urfa (Edessa) there are two giant columns, one of which performs this function, while the other is a talisman against floods.⁵ As no one knows which is which, the treasure remains undisturbed since the removal of the wrong column would flood the town.

A column of a sacred building, if conspicuous for any in which the Emperor and Patriarch took part, was performed 'according to ancient custom' in 1327 (Niceph. Greg. viii, 15).

¹ Ducas, pp. 289-90 B; Chalcondyles, p. 397 B.

² *Ἱστορία*, ii, 182 (cited by M. Hamilton, *Greek Saints*, p. 71), from a contemporary note of 1792.

³ Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 510: 'ς τὸν τόπο ἐκεῖνο γιατί εἶναι κακός, ἔβαλαν μία κολόνα μὲ ἓνα σταυρὸ ἀπάνου.

⁴ Lambros in *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, vii, 176 (201):— 1563: *Μηνὶ Νοεμβρίῳ 5' τοῦ ἀφξγ' ἔτους, ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, ἐπί τινος χήρας Εὐλῆ γυναικός, ὀρύσσοντές τινες πρὸς τὸ αὐξῆσαι τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς, ἐκεῖ εὗρον κίονα πορφυροῦν, τὸ μὲν μῆκος ἔχοντα ποδῶν μῆ, τὸ δὲ πλάτος σπιθαμῶν 15. Ἐγκεκόλαπτο δὲ παρὰ τῇ κεφαλῇ ταυτὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα ΕΡΓΝΕC. Εὐθέως μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς προστάξας ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τοῦτον ἐκόμισαν· ὃν ἰδὼν λίαν ἐθαύμασε· ὡς μέγα δὲ καὶ πολύτιμον χρῆμα, τοῖς βασιλικοῖς αὐτοῦ θησαυροῖς ἐναπέθετο.*

⁵ See below, p. 368. The same columns are regarded as remains of the catapult with which Nimrod hurled Abraham into the furnace, see further, below, p. 317. Cf. Choisy (*Asie Mineure*, p. 134) for the Aizani temple. Solomon hid treasure in the vaults of Baalbek (Volney, *Voyage*, i, 119). Cf. also Fabri, *Evagat.* iii, 55; de Brèves, *Voyages*, p. 237.

peculiarity, may evolve its own cultus. Cases are to be found in the 'sweating' column of S. Sophia, mentioned above, and in the column in the Mosque of the Groom at Cairo, to be cited later.

Columns may easily be brought within the pale of Christianity by the analogy of the Column of Christ's Scourging.¹ This *motif* is employed to sanctify the superstitious cult of a column at Paphos, at which S. Paul is said to have been scourged; the imprint of his hand appears on it, with curious inconsequence, on S. John's day.² A column in a church³ at Athens sacred to S. John is well known for its cures of fevers. According to local tradition S. John himself buried the spirits or talismans of fever and other sicknesses under the column.⁴ The ritual of the cure is as follows. The patient, having made his vow, takes a thread, 'measures' it on the *eikon* of S. John, and cuts off a corresponding length.⁵ He wears this thread for three nights tied

¹ For the Column of Flagellation see Conder, *Jerusalem*, p. 15, and Tobler, *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, i, 346.

² Hogarth, *Devia Cypria*, p. 8.

³ Seventeenth-century writers speak of this column as dedicated to S. John, evidently before the building of a church. The miraculous marble column in the mosque at Beyrut which was formerly a church of S. George cures pains when rolled on the aching part, the procedure being perhaps an echo of one of the tortures inflicted on the saint (Pococke, *Voyages*, iii, 275, with which compare for the procedure Amélineau, *Contes de l'Égypte chrétienne* ii, 174).

⁴ Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 155; M. Hamilton, *Greek Saints*, pp. 65 ff.; Rodd, *Customs of Modern Greece*, p. 167; Kambouroglous, *Ἰστορία*, i, 221, is the source of all. Cf. also Buchon, *Grèce Continentale*, p. 101.

⁵ This part of the ritual seems to have escaped the notice of former writers. The idea is of some antiquity (see Weyh, *Μέτρον λαμβάνειν*, in *Byz. Zeit.* xxiii, 164 ff.), and has parallels elsewhere in modern Greece; cf. especially de Launay, *Chez les Grecs de Turquie*, p. 183, where the guardian-dervish of S. Demetrius, Salonica, gives to a Greek peasant a thread he has measured on an ornament of the saint's tomb (see below, p. 263). The footprint of Christ in the El Aksa mosque at Jerusalem has long had sovereign virtue: as early as c. 570 A.D. An-

round his arm and then affixes it with wax to the column. A similar miraculous column exists built into the church of the Virgin at Areopolis in Mani. Fever patients drink scrapings of it in water at the waning of the moon.¹

Columnar stones are similarly brought into the pale of Islam by connecting them with saints. A good example of the plain 'shaped stone' class is afforded by the stones at Konia associated with the tomb of the Imam Baghevi. These are two drums of an angle-pillar from a classical colonnade. The pillar, which formed the junction between two ranges of columns set at right angles, had its two *antae* worked as half-columns, so that the section of each drum is heart-shaped. With the angle uppermost the two drums present some resemblance to a saddle, from which circumstance they are supposed to represent the horses of the Imam turned to stone, and cures are wrought by contact with them in the posture thus suggested.² Of another columnar stone, sixteen feet high, near Koch Hisar, Ainsworth tells a pretty story to the effect that a mosque was once being erected in a neighbouring village and good Mussulmans were contributing to it by the voluntary labour of bringing stones. A pious girl was enabled by her faith to transport this huge

toninus *martyr* writes: 'de petra illa, ubi stetit, multae fiunt virtutes: tollentes de ipsius vestigiis pedum mensuram, ligant pro singulis languoribus et sanantur' (ed. Tobler, p. 26, xxiii: a slightly different version in G. Williams, *The Holy City*, ii, 375, n. 5). Mirike (c. 1684) relates an analogous practice by which pilgrims to the Holy Land measure off on the Stone of Unction at Jerusalem a piece of cloth from which they fashion their future shrouds (pp. 46 f. in Tobler, *Golgotha*, p. 351; cf. Maundrell, ed. Wright, p. 464, who, however, does not mention the measuring). [At Bogatsko in western Macedonia a Greek mother in 1922 promised the Virgin a candle equal in length to the boy's height if she would restore her sick son to health.—M. M. H.]

¹ Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, ii, 764, citing *Πανδώρα*, xxii, 336.

² F. W. H. See above, p. 82.

stone to the spot where it now rests. Here a young man appeared to her and told her ' God had accepted her services and was well pleased ' : the girl died on the spot and was buried beneath the stone.¹ Evidently she was one of the unknown ' saints of God ', the mysterious messenger being in all probability Khidr. A cult or superstitious use of this stone is not mentioned. A rather more complicated story explains the pillar worshipped at a Bektashi *tekke* near Uskub in Macedonia.² The saint Karaja Ahmed is said to have brought this stone, together with his own head, which had been cut off in a war, to the spot where it is now. A woman exclaiming at the extraordinary sight, the saint put down his head and the stone at the site of the present *tekke*.³ Whatever its origin, the pillar is in its present position part of the regular ritual furniture of a Bektashi house of prayer. Some similar hagiological legend in all probability attaches (or will attach) to an ancient column composed of four drums and a base on the site of Tyana in Asia Minor. This column is a fairly exact Moslem parallel to that of S. John at Athens. Persons suffering from fever visit it in the morning, taking with them a holy man who recites some prayers, after which

¹ *Travels*, i, 187. A similar story, with a less religious colouring, is told of the ' Maiden's Stone ' (Column of Marcian) at Constantinople (Carnoy and Nicolaidis, *Folklore de Constantinople*, pp. 107 f.); cf. Evliya, *Travels*, i, i, 17.

² See Evans in *J.H.S.* xxi, 200 ff., who says without details that one version of the stone's history was that it was brought by a holy man from Bosnia.

³ F. W. H. This story is a broken-down version of that told of the Bosnian saint, Hazret Ali, whose head was cut off by his father for an alleged intrigue (after the model of Joseph and Zuleika) with his father's young wife. The saint, who was of course innocent, walked with his head in his hand till, a woman exclaiming at the sight, his head fell on the spot where the *turbe* now stands and *his father was turned into stone*. He was brought to the grave of his son and brought to life again, a spring gushing forth when this miracle took place (Mirkovič in *Wiss. Mitth. Bosnien*, i, 462; cf. Miss Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 228).

the patient ties a rag of his clothing to a nail and drives the nail into the joints of the column.¹

The stone at Alexandrovo near Uskub is said by Evans to have two histories, which illustrate two widely disseminated legends accounting for the presence of extraordinary stones. It is said (1) to have come from Mecca or (2) to have been brought by a holy man from Bosnia. As to (1), stones reported to have come from Mecca may perhaps be assumed to have 'flown', *i. e.* to have come by levitation² at the request of some holy person. A very probable 'type-legend' is that told of a column in the mosque of Amr at Cairo. The caliph Omar is said to have commanded this stone to transfer itself from Mecca to Cairo. The stone refusing to move, he repeated his command, emphasizing it with a blow of his whip, of which the marks remain. He then remembered to add the words 'In the name of God' to the command, whereupon the stone obeyed.³ The stories of 'stones from Mecca' at Alexandrovo and at Hasan Dede⁴ in Asia Minor are probably based on this *motif*.⁵

¹ Texier, *Asie Mineure*, ii, 111. 'Le malade vient le matin, accompagné d'un iman, qui récite quelques prières; après quoi le malade déchire une petite partie de son vêtement, et la cloue dans un des joints de la pierre; cela s'appelle clouer la fièvre. Les joints de la colonne sont criblés de clous plantés dans le même but.'

² On levitation see below, pp. 285 f.

³ H. de Vaujany, *Caire*, p. 296; cf. Lee Childe, *Un Hiver au Caire*, p. 49, and G. Migeon, *Caire*, p. 42. The column probably resembled those of the mosque at Mecca, and is perhaps mentioned also by W. G. Browne, *Nouveau Voyage*, i, 119. Tyndale, *L'Égypte*, pp. 120 ff., tells the same tale, not very well and substituting Mohammed for Omar. The connexion of the story with two great religious centres like Mecca and Cairo would ensure its circulation all over the Mohammedan world.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 181, n. 1; Crowfoot, in *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xxx, 308.

⁵ Mrs. Bishop (*Journeys in Persia*, i, 276) relates that at New Julfa (an Armenian town founded in the seventeenth century by Shah Abbas) cures are wrought by certain large stones, one being evidently the capital of a column; they 'flew' from Echmiadzin to New Julfa

From 'Flying Stone' to 'Flying Castle' is but a step. The latter *motif* occurs in the folk-tale of *Mohammed l'Avisé* in Spitta Bey's collection¹ and also at Bosra as Kasr Tayaran (*lit.* 'flying castle').² Possibly, however, this conception is influenced by the idea which easterns seem to have that a group of columns, as found, for instance, in the Olympieum of Athens, did not *surround* a building, but rather *supported* one high in the air.³ In the case of the Olympieum the fragment of rubble which remains would confirm the idea.

(2) The second explanation of the Alexandrovo stone, as we have seen, is derived *immediately* from a Bosnian legend, mutilated in that it fails to explain why the saint was carrying the stone at all. The simplest form of this theme is analogous to the Koch Hisar legend, the essence of it being the miraculous accident: a saintly person carrying a stone for a religious purpose has his or her attention distracted by a person of the other sex and drops the burden. In north Albania the *motif* recurs

in one night, and, though seven times removed eighty miles, they always returned to New Julfa. For Echmiadzin see Leclercq, *Mont Ararat*, pp. 223 ff.; the stone on which Christ drew its plan with a ray of light is interesting, see Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, ii, 78. The 'flying stone' *motif* is certainly older than Islam. One of the numerous columns of Christ's scourging 'quae fuit in domo Caia-pae . . . modo in sanctam Sion jussu Domini secuta est' (Theodorus, A.D. 530 cited by Conder, *Jerusalem*, p. 15, as are also Paula, the Bordeaux Pilgrim, and Silvia; cf. Antoninus martyr, ed. Tobler, p. 28, xxv, and S. Eucharius in Tobler, *Palaest. Descr.*, p. 33). Here the story is probably no more than a naïve excuse for the change of site, for which see Hasluck, *Letters*, pp. 88-9.

¹ See Le Boulicaut, *Au Pays des Mystères*, pp. 156 ff., and also Artin Pasha. *Contes du Nil*, p. 278.

² D'Oppenheim in *Tour du Monde*, 1899, p. 364. The author acutely remarks that Kasr Tayaran at Bosra was *Colonia Nova Traiana*, a fact which may have contributed to the modern legend. Lane mentions a flying castle (*Thousand and One Nights*, p. 484).

³ The temple at Aizani is variously said to have been built on columns by the inhabitants to avoid brigands or by giants who had treasure there (Choisy, *Asie Mineure*, p. 134).

among Roman Catholics. 'A maiden, who was so holy that she was almost a saint, had vowed that she would carry it [a great rock] to the church of Berisha. Miraculously aided, she bore it a long way,' but, distracted by the good looks and piping of a shepherd, she was led into profane thought: 'the rock fell from her shoulders, and when she strove to pick it up she found her strength had gone.'¹ In all these cases the hero is a virgin, the magic power of virginity² being impaired by thoughts of the other sex. This is, I think, essential to the point.

Through the hermit literature the idea was pushed pretty far in the West. In France the Virgin Mary is twice said to have been carrying stones to build a church and to have dropped them on hearing that the church in question had been completed.³

Everywhere the theme ramifies very interestingly. On the one hand, there is the story of profane persons, such as the devil or a giant, dropping stones at various surprises. Such was the origin of the 'pregnant stone', weighing more than 11,000 tons, at Baalbek. A *jinn*, who was with child, was carrying the stone upon her head to the temple, that being part of her daily task. On being suddenly informed that her brother had been killed, she let fall the stone and sat down upon it to weep: it has remained there ever since.⁴

¹ Durham, *High Albania*, p. 193.

² The magic power of virginity is of course a commonplace (cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, *passim*). The 'influence of the other sex' idea is probably oriental, though not necessarily Mohammedan.

³ Sébillot, *Folk-Lore de France*, iv, 7 and 22.

⁴ Isabel Burton, *Inner Life of Syria*, p. 231. The story seems a contamination of several. A simpler version is in Ellis Warburton, *Crescent and Cross*, p. 309; male *jinn*s were building Baalbek for Solomon, the females bringing stones. The great isolated stone was being brought by a female *jinn*, when she dropped it on hearing that her brother had fallen from the building. Cf. also Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*, pp. 50, 74, and La Roque, *Voyage de Syrie*, i, 124, 128.

The notion of carrying stones to build a church, as in the case of the Virgin above, recalls a time when it was usual for penitents in pursuance of vows to carry stones, either as a mere penance or in order to help practically in some sacred enterprise, frequently undertaken, besides, as an act of piety by pious persons. Thus, among Catholic Albanians it is a popular custom, permitted as irregular but edifying by the Franciscan priesthood, for a man who has received absolution to bring a stone to the church next Sunday as a public penance.¹ In France the monks of a relaxed convent were ordered to carry one stone per sin as a penance.² In pursuance of a vow a pilgrim from Jerusalem carried stones from the Holy Land and discarded them only at the door of S. Peter's in Rome.³ In these cases the symbolism is evidently the burden of sin. A case where practical use was made of a penance is the *tumulus* of S. Michael at Carnac in France, which was raised by penitents, who were condemned to bring each a sack of earth, if women, and a stone, if men.⁴ This further suggests the question whether the stones in the cairns, raised where pilgrimage places come in sight,⁵ were

¹ Durham, *High Albania*, p. 104. This helps to explain the quantity of ancient worked stones commonly found in Greek country churches, if an ancient site is in the neighbourhood, and incidentally the tradition that certain churches have been temples. The Armenian cathedral in Damascus has stones from Sinai, Tabor, and the Jordan (I. Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 443).

² Sébillot, ii, 72; *cf.* ii, 426, where erring washerwomen are so punished.

³ *Acta SS.* 17 Feb. (S. Salvinus); *cf.* Fabri, *Evagat.* ii, 195, who himself collected stones from the Holy Land.

⁴ Sébillot, iv, 41.

⁵ Fabri, *op. cit.* ii, 175 (Saracens and Christians share the practice). Mandeville's 'Mountjoy' is Nebi Samwil, the first point from which pilgrims saw Jerusalem (Stanley, *Sinai*, p. 214; Tobler, *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, ii, 875). For Moslem practice see Montet, *Culte des Saints Musulmans*, p. 19; Tristram, *Eastern Customs*, p. 102; de Saulcy, *Voyage en Terre Sainte*, p. 100.

brought long distances for vows, but for the moment I have no clear evidence on the point.¹

In such stories we observe a fusion between a penance and a pious custom, the object being to explain a remarkable stone. An unusual looking stone suggests the question, 'How did it come here?' and a more or less miraculous story as the answer. Such a stone also suggests that it may be remarkable not only in appearance, *i.e.* that it may have remarkable powers.

Both these lines of thought tend to run along pre-conceived grooves, but must harmonize to a certain extent. If the origin story is concerned with *jinns*, *e. g.*, the property of the stone falls within the *jinn* sphere. In this case the stone probably marks treasure or is a talisman of some sort. If the tale is pious, the personage figuring in it affects the stone with beneficent powers.

Both lines converge again in making either kind of stone potentially a *remedy* by black or white magic. In the case of a merely silly story like that of a girl distracted by a shepherd from her pious task, it may never develop, there being no particular moral, and the stone remains a mere stone to the end, as having no connexion with saint or *jinn*, white magic or black.

C.—Written Stones.

More numerous and more interesting are the written stones put to superstitious uses. The magical power attributed by Orientals to letters is well known.² As

¹ Gregorovius, *Wanderjahre*, v, 121 (1874), says pilgrims to S. Michael on Gargano, the patron saint of madness, were in the habit of placing each a stone in a tree near the entrance of the church. But this is perhaps allied to the French practice of putting stones in trees to cure pains (Sébillot, *Folk-Lore de France*, i, 352); possibly there is confusion between the two. Physical and moral health are often assimilated.

² On this see Hastings's *Encycl. of Religion*, art. *Charms (Muhamma-*

historical examples of talismanic written stones in Asia Minor may be quoted the inscription supposed to have been carried off by Harun-al-Rashid from Angora,¹ and another, composed at the request of Ala-ed-din I for the protection of the walls of Konia by the mystic poet Jelal-ed-din Rumi.² Christian Miletus was similarly protected by a magic inscription³ and the Rhodian knights, in a like spirit, engraved the lintel of the chief gate at their castle of Budrum with the charm-text, *Nisi Dominus Custodierit, &c.*⁴ In the seventeenth century more than one gate of Constantinople was protected by stone cannon-balls 'hang'd up over severall gates . . . with Turkish writing upon them'.⁵ In modern

dan). To discover a thief a leaf of the book Phorkan was used on the Nile (Boucher, *Le Bouquet Sacré*, p. 49). The opening and shutting by the monks of the pentateuch kept in the church on Mt. Horeb determined the rainfall of the district (Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 567; an evidently related tale is in Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, p. 66). In the mosque of Sidi Shahin, Cairo, a silver ring on a column bore an inscription in cabalistic characters which was a charm against sterility and other maladies; a passing Persian interpreted the inscription and found it quite ordinary (Vaujany, *Caire*, pp. 282-3).

¹ Haji Khalfa, tr. Armain, p. 703.

² Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 40.

³ *C.I.G.* 2895. Cf. also the prophylactic inscription on the land-walls of Constantinople (Millingen, *Constantinople Walls*, p. 100), and for the general use of prophylactic charms on Syrian buildings of the early Christian period, Prentice in *Amer. Exped. to Syria*, iii, 17 ff. A talisman inscription guards vast treasures at Tabriz (Von Schweiger-Lerchenfeld, *Armenien*, p. 105).

⁴ Newton, *Halicarnassus*, ii, 657.

⁵ Covel, *Diaries*, ed. Bent, p. 217. Covel probably refers to the two gates (S. Romanos and S. Barbara) now known as *Top Kapusi*: this has generally been translated 'Cannon Gate', but the primary meaning of *top* is not 'cannon', but 'ball'. The *inscribed* cannon-ball is of course a 'reinforced' amulet: for globular objects used as a protection against the evil eye in the East, see Hildburgh in *Man*, 1913, pp. 1 ff. (Egypt), and cf. Rycaut, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 40 (a golden ball suspended over the entrance to the imperial divan). Gates, as entries, are specially in need of protection, just as all entries and the beginnings of new enterprises are regarded as potentially dangerous. An entry may

life we find Mohammedan houses customarily protected by the apotropaic *Mashaallah*, and both houses and ships by the 'lucky' names of the Seven Sleepers.¹

change one's luck, and a city-gate is frequently a dark and echoing place such as *jinn*s notoriously frequent (*cf.* baths, mills, and dark vaults in general, on all of which see above, p. 110). Hence at a gateway the people passing through must be protected against an unlucky passage, while the gate itself must be defended against (1) the enemy's entrance and (2) the evil eye's possible effect on the vault; this last danger explains the bosses so often seen on Mohammedan archways. Generally charms of various kinds were hung up: see below, p. 654, n. 4. An amusing story in Rycaut, *Greek and Armenian Churches*, p. 377, is worth recalling. Aleppo was suffering from locusts: to destroy them water was brought from Zem-Zem at Mecca; it had to avoid passing under all gates and was taken *over* them instead. If, as often happened, these charms were weapons or fossil bones, they were apt to evolve a saint. Of this Rhodes gives the classical instance, the supposed head of de Gozon's dragon having evolved the legend of the dragon-slaying dervish (Biliotti and Cottret, *Rhodes*, p. 153); a boot in one gateway of Old Chalkis (see below, p. 230, n. 1) has begotten a giant to match. A more drastic way of protecting the gate against an enemy's entrance was by blocking it up altogether; this was done at Jerusalem, Constantinople, &c. (see below, p. 753). Astrology also may be at the back of stories of Sultans walling up the gates by which they had entered conquered cities. A tale in de Lorey and Sladen's *Queer Things about Persia* (p. 321) is illuminating. In 1806 a Persian ambassador was about to start on an expedition when the astrologers warned him it would be unlucky to go out by his palace gate, as there was an unpropitious astrological combination in that direction; he therefore left by a breach in the wall of his neighbour's garden. Presumably, the idea is that things run in cycles and that, when the same stellar combination occurred again, the gate would become a specially vulnerable point and a new conqueror might take it. Professor Dawkins suggests that there may also be an idea that a great man's route or chair or instrument is so sanctified by its connexion with him that common use would be a profanation. Professor John Fraser finds the custom an inverted parallel to that of breaking down the city wall to admit Olympic victors. [On their return from Mecca Mohammedan pilgrims have been known to breach their garden walls to enter their homes by a new path. I have unfortunately lost the reference for this practice.—M. M. H.]

¹ See below, p. 313, and n. 2. They patronize especially the shipping of the Black Sea (C. White, *Constantinople*, i, 187).

Greek Christian houses are frequently protected by the device $\frac{IC}{NI} \left| \frac{XC}{KA} \right.$ over the door. Apotropaic charms, written on paper or metal, which are a similar expression of belief in the magic potency of letters, are often worn suspended round the neck by Orientals, either for good luck generally or as cures for disease.

It is obvious that such magic is devised to serve its masters. Christian magic may naturally be regarded as hostile to Mohammedans, which accounts for the frequent mutilation of the crosses on Christian buildings after a Turkish conquest. Similarly, at Smyrna the well-known inscription over the gate of the Byzantine castle,¹ the sense of which is quite innocent, was removed in 1827, and, despite liberal offers from archaeologists anxious for its preservation, built into the new barracks; but not before the letters had been deliberately chiselled out,² evidently with the intention of abolishing its magic power, conceived of as *a priori* hostile to Moslems since it was associated with a Christian building. In the same spirit the Turkish proprietor of a village near Uskub gave a general order that 'written stones' found on his premises should be thrown into the river, 'all such being works of the Devil and the cursed Giaour.'³

On the other hand, examples of ancient inscriptions which are supposed to have beneficial powers are numerous; these powers, needless to say, have no connexion whatever with the nature of the inscription. The colossal inscribed block from the monument of a certain Caius Vibius at Philippi is used by many women who stop at the adjacent *khan* as a milk-charm,⁴ fragments of it being broken off, powdered, and drunk in water.⁵

¹ C.I.G. 8749.

² Arundell, *Asia Minor*, ii, 395.

³ Evans in *Archaeologia*, xlix, 86.

⁴ Heuzey and Daumet, *Macédoine*, i, 45.

⁵ F. W. H. A sinking on the top of this stone is said to be the hoof-print (*ἀχνάρι*) of Bucephalus.

Its selection is of course merely due to its colour and the presence on it of a supposed written charm. At Tatar Bazarjik (Eastern Rumelia) a Greek *stele* inscribed with a proxeny decree (called *Yesir Tashi* or 'Slave's stone') is used by sick, and (as usual) especially fever-stricken,¹ persons for cure. Patients scrape the stone, as at Philippi, tie a rag of their clothing to it, and leave a *para* on it in payment. The stone is supposed to mark the grave of a saint who in his lifetime ('four hundred years ago') was a Christian slave turned Moslem; he ordered the stone to be placed on his grave.² A 'stone font or holy water stoup' with a Christian inscription in the interstices of a cross is similarly used to charm away disease at Eljik in Galatia;³ here the patient drives in a nail to 'hold down' the disease, a ritual act analogous to the universal tying of rags to sacred trees and saints' tombs. At Eljik the cross has been left intact and is probably thought to be part of the charm. A somewhat similar Christian example of a pagan stone pressed into the service of religion and to some extent adopted by the church, is the famous Sigeon inscription, which was long kept at the church of Yenishehr for the cure of ague. Patients were rolled on it, while the priest read an appropriate Christian exorcism.⁴ This

¹ According to V. de Bunsen (*Soul of a Turk*, p. 175), fever is one of the few diseases which can be cured only by prayer. Its intermittent character encourages the idea that it is the work of a capricious *jinn*.

² Tsoukalas, *Περιγραφή Φιλιππουπόλεως*, p. 65; Dumont in *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Épigraphie*, pp. 201, 322. The Christian slave may be introduced into the legend, since the letters of the supposed magic inscription are Greek.

³ Anderson in *J.H.S.* xix, 88. The inscription in the arms of the cross, read by the editor ΕΠ | ΜΟ | ΝΟΥ | ΗC, may have been intended for ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ: for this word as a charm on lintels see Prentice, *Amer. Exped. to Syria*, iii, 21. With all deference to the editor, I expect this stone was a lintel used as a gravestone and hollowed for the purpose (see below, p. 226).

⁴ Lechevalier, *Troy*, p. 17; Walpole, *Memoirs*, p. 97.

stone was probably selected, in a district where inscriptions are common, on account of the unusual, and to ordinary people illegible, character of its archaic lettering.¹ In a Bulgarian church near Monastir Chirol was shown a Greek inscription much worn by the knees of the faithful, which, the priest informed him, it was no use trying to read, since it was 'written in the devil's language'. Nevertheless it was considered 'an excellent stone for exorcising evil spirits'.² Here it would seem that the spirit or magic of the stone was originally 'black' but had been, as it were, harnessed to serve the church.

(iii) *Survival or Development of Stone Cults*

The selection of ancient inscriptions as objects of superstition is exceedingly capricious. In general, Anatolian peasants are apt to consider that inscriptions are a secret guide to treasure hidden in or near the stone on which the letters are written.³ This idea, however, evokes no reverence for inscribed stones, and they are often split open without scruple to find the supposed treasure.⁴ But even this degree of mystery does not attach to all inscribed stones. At Aizani (Phrygia), where inscribed *stelae* of the 'door' type are very

¹ So also the irregular character of the lettering gave a magic reputation to an inscription seen by Lucas at Stenimakhos in Bulgaria (*Voyage dans la Grèce*, i, 192, cf. 198).

² V. Chirol, *Twixt Greek and Turk*, p. 67 (no political significance need be attached to the priest's words!).

³ For [statues and] inscriptions regarded as marking places where treasure is buried, see Polites' note on his *Παραδόσεις*, no. 408. Burckhardt was told that archaeologists are treasure hunters and make it fly through the air at their wish (*Syria*, p. 428). Treasure hunting in ruins is encouraged by the practice of burying money in houses (Tristram, *Eastern Customs*, pp. 252-3).

⁴ For an instance see Jireček in *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* 1886, p. 95. Cf. the fate of the Moabite Stone (Wilson and Warren, *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 500; also Petermann's account in *P.E.F., Q.S.* for 1871, p. 138).

common, they are habitually used as washing-blocks by the women of the village. Unfamiliarity, therefore, seems certainly one condition of the selection both of 'treasure' stones and of 'healing' stones. The interest shown by 'Frank' travellers¹ is another. But the ultimate choice of such stones for reverence or superstitious regard probably depends on pure accident. The following story, told me in Thrace, illustrates the ordinary attitude of the peasant's mind toward them. A Bulgarian peasant, living between Viza and Kirk Kilise, found an inscribed stone, which he took to his house. His wife used it as a washing-block, but was at once visited by terrifying dreams and the farm animals began to die. Next the mother-in-law of the peasant trod on the stone and broke it; she died shortly after. The peasant, getting frightened, took the stone back to the place where he found it, and offered sacrifice (*kurban*) upon it. A Greek passing by saw the newly shed blood and inquired the reason of the sacrifice; having heard the tale, he made light of it, put the stone on his horse, and rode away with it. But the ill luck followed him and his horse went blind. The moral is of course that the stone was bewitched or *jinn*-haunted (*στοιχειωμένον*) and was one of those best left alone.² A run of good luck following its acquisition, on the other hand, might have proved its title to superstitious reverence, if not to adoption by religion.

The origins of such cults as these depend not on tradition but on coincidence. The chance of finding a 'survival', *i. e.* a stone venerated continuously from

¹ See below, pp. 214 ff.

² A very similar medieval Greek story of an enchanted stone, which was dug up by accident and brought ill luck, is given by Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, ii, 1139 f., though here the stone does not appear to have had an inscription. The aid of the church was called in to conjure the spirits back into the stone, after which it was again buried. For *jinn*s haunting an ancient sarcophagus *cf.* Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, ii, 147.

ancient times to our own, is so slight as to be negligible. It is only by chance that altars or votive *stelae* are preferred to monuments of a purely secular character. Supposed 'survivals' of this kind will not bear examination any more than the Cyprian monoliths. Ramsay, in his *Pauline Studies*,¹ mentions a written stone used by Turks for superstitious purposes, for which he claims that its cult was continuous from antiquity. His account is as follows :

' Three or four miles south of Pisidian Antioch we found in a village cemetery an altar dedicated to the god Hermes. On the top of the altar there is a shallow semicircular depression, which must probably have been intended to hold liquid offerings poured on the altar, and which was evidently made when the altar was constructed and dedicated. A native of the village . . . told us that the stone was possessed of power, and that if any one who was sick came to it and drank of the water that gathered in the cup, he was cured forthwith of his sickness. This belief has lasted through the centuries ; it has withstood the teaching and denunciation of Christians and Mohammedans alike.'

The fact of the cultus or folk-lore practice attached to this stone is clear enough, but some of Ramsay's inferences are more than disputable. If, as seems beyond doubt, this inscribed stone is Sterrett's No. 349, a quadrangular *cippus* with inscription recording the dedication of a *Hermes*,² i. e. a statue of Hermes, the stone was never an altar except in form. There is, therefore, no reason to refer the beginnings of its cultus-use to ancient times. It was most probably selected as a suitable stone for a grave and transported in recent times to the Turkish cemetery. The hollow on the top of the 'altar' probably dates in its present form only from the adaptation of the stone to its use as a tombstone ; previously it may have had some kind of sinking for the attachment

¹ Pp. 156 ff.

² *Wolfe Expedition (Papers A.S.A. iii)*, p. 218 (Alti Kapu). The text runs : ὁ δεῖνα | Διομήδου[s] | Ἑρμῆν | ἀνέθηκεν.

of the statue of Hermes alluded to in the inscription. Circular sinkings are commonly made on Turkish tombstones; the reason usually given is that birds are enabled to drink of the rain and dew that collect in them.¹ Further, Turkish *Jews* have a superstition that the dew which collects on tombstones cures children of fainting fits.² This belief is possibly borrowed from, probably shared by, the Turks. It will be seen that this reduces the fact that the stone is inscribed with the name of a god to a mere accident. Its potency comes primarily from its use as a tombstone and is probably reinforced by the fact that it has an inscription not 'understood of the people', and therefore assumed to be of a magical character.

Sir Arthur Evans found at Ibrahimovče, near Uskub (Macedonia), a Roman altar dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, which was used by the villagers as a rain-charm. It is generally kept face downward, but in times of drought Christians and Mohammedans, headed

¹ C. White, *Constantinople*, i, 319, iii, 347; Walsh, *Constantinople*, ii, 423. According to Skene (*Wayfaring Sketches*, p. 218), the hollows are looked upon as affording the dead a means of practising the virtue of charity to the animal world: in Syria they are said to be for souls to drink out of (Baldensperger, in *P.E.F.*, *Q.S.* for 1893, p. 217). There may be a reminiscence of the basins placed to feed the pigeons of the Kaaba at Mecca (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i, 277); pigeons are a feature of Turkish cemeteries and sacred birds, since a pigeon is supposed, according to one account, to have inspired Mohammed (Varthema in Burton's *Pilgrimage to Al-Medinah and Meccah*, London 1906, ii, 352). For the sacredness of pigeons in Turkey, see Carnoy and Nicolaïdes, *Trad. de Constantinople*, p. 7; Evliya, *Travels*, i, ii, 199; Carnoy and Nicolaïdes, *Folklore de Constantinople*, pp. 159, 201.

² Danon in *Onzième Congrès d'Orientalistes*, § vii, p. 264. Cf. the analogous medicinal use of water from a cup which has been buried for three years on a dead body ([Blunt], *People of Turkey*, ii, 145.) In Bosnia the rain-water which collects in a hollow of a stone—apparently natural—selected for veneration for reasons unknown to us, is drunk by sick peasants for cure. The broad principle underlying all such uses is that the absorption by swallowing not only of parts of a sacred object, but of things which have been in contact with it, is beneficial.

by a local *bey*, go together to the stone and, having restored it to its upright position, pour libations of wine on the top, praying the while for rain.¹ Evans remarks that the procedure here has no parallels in ordinary Slavonic folk-usage, and suggests that the use of the altar has been continuous since Roman times. But, while the practice of wetting the rain-charm is world-wide, the Roman rain-rituals he cites as parallels do not include libation. In all probability this stone has been found in comparatively recent times, and the 'Frankish' writing on it, from some combination of circumstances unknown to us, interpreted as a rain-charm, the ritual being prescribed by a local dervish or sorcerer. On this particular case some light is thrown by the peasants' beliefs regarding a 'written stone' buried in a vineyard near Monastir: this was once dug up, but torrents of rain followed. It is now kept buried, because, if any one dug it up again, *it would never stop raining*.² The more accommodating *jinn* who presides over the stone at Ibrahimovče can be so placated as to bring about a sufficient, but not excessive, rainfall when required. The idea of rain-making 'written stones', it may be remarked, is familiar to the Turks, since Turk, their eponymous ancestor, is said to have received from his father Japhet (who, in turn, inherited it from Noah) a stone engraved with the name of God which had the property of causing and stopping rain. This particular stone has been lost, but stones are said to be sometimes found which possess the same properties and are supposed to have some vague connexion with the original stone of Noah.³

¹ *Archaeologia*, xlix, 104.

² From Mr. A. J. B. Wace; cf. Wace and Thompson, *Nomads of the Balkans*, p. 133.

³ D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orientale*, s.vv. *Giourtasch* and *Turk*, and *Supplement*, p. 140. A rough boulder on the summit of the Cyprian Olympus, which seems to have been vaguely connected with the ark of Noah, was

A Christian stone-cult in connexion with a church of the Apostles near Preveza affords a baffling example of haphazard selection : for this stone, though venerated, is not in itself at all remarkable. We can only guess that its veneration is due to dreams and other accidental circumstances. The legend in regard to it is most unhelpful. The stone in question is preserved outside a church immediately to the left of the high road between Preveza and Yannina, about two hours from the former place. There seems no question of ' survival ', or even of antiquity, since the stone was discovered in 1867. It has been enclosed in a small, pillar-like shrine of plastered rubble of the type commonly seen on Greek roadsides. The upper part of the pillar includes the usual niche, facing west and containing a cheap *eikon* of SS. Peter and Paul and an oil lamp. The stone itself is built into the lower part of the pillar, one surface only being exposed under a niche facing south. It seems to be an ordinary unworked stone of irregular shape with two or three sinkings in its exposed surface. The whole stands in close juxtaposition to the south-east corner of the humble modern church, and is surrounded by a wooden railing with two gates. Pilgrims pass in by the eastern gate, kiss the stone, and pass out by the western gate. Incubation (for one night) is practised in the church, and the stone has a great reputation for cures, which are not confined to Christians : a Moslem shepherd, for example, is said to have cured his sick flock by passing them through the enclosure. As to the discovery of the wonder-working stone, the story told me

formerly used as a rain-charm by the local Greeks. In times of drought it was lifted on poles, to the accompaniment of singing, by the peasants of the surrounding villages (Hackett, *Church of Cyprus*, p. 463, quoting Lusignan). Here the position of the stone seems to have had more to do with its selection than the stone itself. Any mountain-top is an appropriate place for watching the weather, and particularly for rain-making, since mountain-tops attract rain-clouds.

by the priest attached to the church is as follows. A monk from a neighbouring monastery was bidden by a vision to build at this spot a church to the Holy Apostles. One of the trees cut down during the clearing of the site *bled* copiously. This was regarded as a sign from Heaven, indicating that the desired site for the church was found. A stone was placed on the stump of the tree to stop the bleeding, and it is this stone which receives the reverence of pilgrims to-day. It is remarkable that in this legend the stone now regarded as sacred plays an entirely secondary part, and may even be regarded as receiving homage vicariously for the miraculous tree-stump it is supposed to cover. In fact, the whole of the story betrays itself as derived from secular folklore adapted clumsily enough to account for the miraculous stone. The bleeding tree was evidently of the dangerous haunted (στοιχειωμένον) class:¹ the real purpose of the stone is clear from the fact that when wood-cutters fell a tree of this sort they place a stone in the middle of the trunk to prevent the spirit of the tree rushing out and doing them harm.² The official account of the discovery wholly ignores the marvels attending it, and fails to make plain how the virtues of the stone were recognized.³ Its main

¹ For bleeding trees in general see above, p. 175, n. 5.

² Polites, *op. cit.*, no. 324.

³ S. Byzantios, *Δοκίμιον τῆς Ἄρτης* pp. 258 f. : "Εἰς θέσειν καλουμένην Ἄνω Λούτσαν ἔκειτο ἀρχαῖός τις ἱερός Ναός ἐπ' ὀνόματι τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων Ἀλιθάρῃ ἐπικαλούμενος, ἕνεκα τοῦ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, ἔξω τοῦ Ναοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν Βῆμα, δεξιόθεν ὑπάρχοντος ἐντὸς τῆς γῆς γωνιώδους τινὸς λίθου, ὃν ἀνεκαλύψαμεν τῷ 1867 ἔτει, καὶ περιεφράξαμεν, διὰ Κουβουκλίου, δι' ὃν λογοποιοῦνται πολλά, καὶ δι' ὃν ἐνεργοῦνται, τῇ Θεοῦ χάριτι διὰ πρεσβειῶν τῶν πανευφήμων Ἀποστόλων διάφορα ἰαμάτων χαρίσματα, οὐ μόνον πρὸς τοὺς ἡμετέρους, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἑτεροθρήσκους, προσίοντας καὶ ἐπικαλουμένους τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ Λίθου σωματικὴν θεραπείαν εὐλαβῶς καὶ προσφέροντας κηρούς τε καὶ ἄλλα ἀφιερώματα. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ θαυματουργὸς οὗτος Λίθος, ὢν ἀφανής, δι' Ἀρχιερατικῆς ἐποπτείας ἀνεκαλύφθη κατὰ Ἰούλιον τοῦ εἰρημένου ἔτους, καὶ περιεφράχθη, ὡς εἴρηται,

importance for us lies in the claim that the sacred stone was discovered under clerical supervision little more than fifty years ago.

The entire impossibility of certainty as to the age and origin of such cults, and particularly the danger of arguing from analogies, is shown by the history of the 'Black Stone' preserved at the tomb of Daniel at Susa (Sûs). 'The tomb of Daniel is known to have been shown at Susa as early as A.D. 530.¹ The 'Black Stone' was originally a block of dark marble, nearly cubical in form, bearing hieroglyphic figures in relief and cuneiform inscriptions. In the fifties of the last century it was held in great honour and considered bound up with the luck of the province. At that time (and probably to this day) its fragments were to be found built into one of the porticoes attached to the tomb of Daniel. It thus offered to all appearances a very fair counterpart of the broken Black Stone built into the Kaaba at Mecca, which is generally, and probably rightly, considered a relic of idolatrous worship surviving into the later cult. By the lucky accident of frequent travellers' visits to Susa, the actual history of the Black Stone and its rise to fame is known in some detail. About 1800 the Black Stone was discovered in the mound covering the ruins of Susa, and rolled down to the river-bank by the very dervish who kept the tomb in the fifties. It there served for some years as a washing-block, and attracted the notice of several European travellers. Monteith and Kinneir in 1809 found it was treated with some superstitious respect,² and made drawings of the inscriptions. In 1811 Sir R. Gordon, who tried

ἔδέησεν ἵνα διορθωθῆ καὶ ὁ μικρὸς καὶ πεπαλαιωμένος Ναός, ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο· ἀλλὰ τούτου, ἐκ περιστάσεώς τινος εἶτα πυρποληθέντος, ἀνεκαινίσθη ἐνδοξότερος καὶ λαμπρότερος . . . ἐν ἔτει 1871."

¹ Theodosius, *De Situ Terrae Sanctae*, ed. Geyer, *Itin. Hieros.* p. 149.

² In Egypt and Syria ancient stones, figured and written, seem generally so treated (see Garstang, *Land of the Hittites*, p. 95, n. 3, and p. 97).

without success to obtain possession of the stone, found its reputation on the increase: after this, presumably for security, it was buried, then disinterred by the guardians of the tomb of Daniel. In 1812 Ouseley found it had a reputation as a talisman against plague, hostile invasion, and other evils. In 1832 a 'stranger sayyid', supposed to be a 'Frank' in disguise, blew it to pieces with gunpowder in the hope of discovering hidden treasure: this was evidently the outcome of the interest shown in the stone by foreigners. Naturally enough, no treasure was found. But, probably from the conviction that, as the stone (1) attracted Franks¹ and (2) did not contain treasure, it must have remarkable occult powers, 'the fragments were carefully collected and reinterred within the precincts of the tomb; but immediately afterwards the province was almost depopulated by the plague, the bridge of Shuster suddenly broke, and the famous dam at Hawizah was carried away; all of which disasters were, of course, ascribed to the destruction of the talisman.'² The rise of the stone from obscurity to great superstitious importance can thus be placed between the years 1800 and 1832.

In conclusion, having shown how quickly a stone may rise to honour even in modern times, we may cite as a pendant the history of a suddenly arrested pillar-cult in Cairo, quite primitive in form, which rose to its climax and fell again apparently within a few days or weeks, both rise and fall being due to the arbitrary acts of definite persons. A contemporary observer gives the following account:

¹ Cf. Arundell, *Asia Minor*, i, 62 ff. For the Moabite Stone see above, p. 207, n. 4.

² Rawlinson, in *J.R.G.S.* ix, 69: for the history of the stone as given above, see further Walpole, *Travels*, p. 423, (with Monteith's drawing of the stone); Ouseley, *Travels*, i, 421 f.; de Bode, *Travels in Lauristan*, ii, 191; Loftus, *Travels in Chaldaea*, p. 416, cf. p. 421, and *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.* v (1856), p. 446.

'On the line of street from the citadel to Bab Zueileh is a mosque called Giama-el-Sais, or Mosque of the Groom. At the corner of it is a high Corinthian pillar. . . . I asked how the lower part of the pillar came to be covered all over with a thick coat of plaster, and received for answer, that this was the celebrated Amood-el-Metuely, which was proclaimed by a Mogrebbin sheikh to have miraculous effects, and that if sterile women licked it with their tongue, they would become mothers.¹ All on a sudden the pillar was so besieged by people wishing to lick it, that the streets were blocked up, and the Pasha Mahommed Ali, hearing of the delusion, caused a guard to stand while the masons plastered and built the lower part of it round with bricks.'²

These two 'life-histories' make it abundantly clear that a stone-cult, however primitive in type, need not be chronologically of ancient origin, even where the stone is itself ancient. Further, that a venerated stone need not represent the displaced central cultus-object of the holy place in which it is found, but may be, as at Susa, an originally independent object attracted into the orbit of an already existing sanctuary, or, as at Cairo, a portion of an already existing sacred building arbitrarily selected for special veneration.

The selection, however, of the Bab Zueileh column as an object of cult by would-be mothers is probably not arbitrary, but dependent on its having been formerly the column of execution.³ The various superstitions connected with executed criminals are as homogeneous as they are crude. Lane found that in Egypt a mixture of blood and the water with which the bodies of executed criminals have been washed, is drunk by women

¹ There seems to be a column credited with similar powers at Medinet-el-Fayum. I know of it only from Sir Gilbert Parker's story, *The Eye of the Needle*, in *Donovan Pasha*.

² Paton, *Hist. of the Egyptian Revolution* (1870), ii, 276 f. This story is particularly interesting in view of the desperate efforts which have been made to find a classical past for the Athenian column of S. John.

³ Tyndale, *L'Égypte*, p. 42.

for sterility and by men and women both for ophthalmia.¹ Another method of curing barrenness was to step seven times, without speaking, over the body of a decapitated person.² The idea seems to be that such persons passed out of life without any preliminary decline of vitality or unconsciousness, such as is common in ordinary deaths, and they make, on the one hand, the most dreaded ghosts,³ and, on the other, if innocent victims, the most powerful agents for good to their suppliants.⁴

¹ *Mod. Egyptians*, i, 325.

² *Ibid.* i, 326. For the connexion with sterility see especially Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 164, quoted below, p. 218, n. 2.

³ Niya Salima, *Harems d'Égypte*, p. 260, says that *efrits* (as opposed to *jinnis*) 'prennent naissance au moment et sur le théâtre même d'un accident suivi de mort : leur hantise donne le délire de la persécution et la folie de suicide'.

⁴ For the Jews, a person who has died a violent death is called *ipso facto* a saint (Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, p. 502). In the West, in connexion with popular (as opposed to Papal) canonization, it is noticeable, especially in the case of kings, that a violent and, if possible, literally bloody death is a desideratum. Kingship to a certain extent in itself implies sanctity (*cf.* touching for the King's evil), and to touch the Lord's anointed is sacrilege. A king who dies a violent death, whether or not in combat with the heathen, stands a good chance of canonization by the people. Thus, S. Oswald and S. Eadmund (of East Anglia) fell in battle (Hutton, *English Saints*, pp. 128, 138-44), while S. Oswine, S. Ethelbert (of East Anglia), S. Kenelm, Edward II, and Henry VI were all murdered (Hutton, pp. 136, 153, 153-4, 161, 162). His chance is increased by his being of notably pious life (*cf.* Edward the Confessor, in Hutton, p. 159; *cf.* also the case of S. Louis of France), or by his being young, when the point is probably virginity (*cf.* S. Edward of the West Saxons, murdered at seventeen by his step-mother, see Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 155). Edward II, however, had no qualification besides kingship and his violent death : the same is perhaps true of Charles I (Hutton, pp. 338 ff.). Becket, on the other hand, is both a consecrated man and sacrilegiously and bloodily murdered : his personal popularity during his lifetime, however, and the papal convenience after his death would in any case have decided his canonization. In general, the laymen of political character, whom attempts have been made to canonize, seem all to have died by violent deaths : of these Simon de Montfort (Hutton, *op. cit.*, pp. 270 ff.) is typical. In the child saints, alleged victims of the Jews, such as S. William of Norwich and S. Hugh of Lincoln (Hutton, pp. 323 ff.), we have

It is best that the blood ¹ should be taken almost before life is extinct², as it is evidently supposed to retain the

the combination of youth (*i. e.* virginity, as above) and bloody death. The first saints, too, were martyrs. The idea is seen at its crudest in the cult of the *decollati* at Palermo (see especially Marc Monnier, *Contes Populaires en Italie*, p. 27-9: *cf.* the account of the Glorious Hand in Baring Gould's *Curious Myths*, 2nd series, iv, 140 ff.), and in the superstitious value of relics from executed persons. Thiers, *Traité des Superstitions*, i, 390, inveighs against such use of the accessories of sudden death, whether it comes by murder or by execution.

¹ The most potent of all relics was the blood of a martyr shed at his martyrdom, his life-blood in fact. The only miracle attributed to Charles I was wrought by a handkerchief dipped in his blood (Hutton, *English Saints*, p. 349), and such relics were eagerly sought down to quite recently as often as Turks martyred Christians (*cf.* *Νέον Μαρτυρολόγιον, passim*). Blood was also a sovereign remedy against leprosy. An angel revealed to Amis that his leprosy would be cured if his friend Amile would consent to kill his two children, and wash him in their blood. As Amis had risked his life for Amile, the latter cut off his children's heads, took a little blood, replaced the heads, and washed Amis with the blood: he was cured of his leprosy and the children revived by a miracle (*cf.* the early thirteenth century French story used by Pater, *Renaissance*, pp. 1 ff.). The same *motif* exactly is used to revive a faithful vizir turned to stone in one of Kunos' tales (*Forty-four Turkish Tales*, pp. 217 ff.). We may also compare Constantine's proposal to cure his leprosy by bathing in infants' blood (Strack, *Blutaberglaube*, p. 22; *cf.* Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, 1274, for Pharaoh's bathing in the fresh blood of Hebrew infants to cure his leprosy, on which see also Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 203), and the historical infusion of three (Jewish) children's blood made by his Jewish doctor in an attempt to save Pope Innocent VIII's life in 1492 (Gregorovius, *Stadt Rom*, vii, 306); to the Pope's credit, be it said, it was done against his will. In all these cases the innocence, especially the virginity, of the children increases the potency of the blood, but the blood is again the *vital principle* taken with the life still in it. *Cf.* also the stories told by Mrs. Hume Griffith. The child of a rich merchant was suffering from sore eyes. A sheep was killed and, while the blood was still hot, the head of the child was inserted into the sheep's body (*Behind the Veil in Persia*, p. 280). At an Armenian wedding in Persia a sheep is killed as the bride passes the threshold and she puts her foot in the blood (*ibid.*, p. 281). Fever patients are similarly wrapped in the skin of a newly slaughtered sheep (van Lennep, *Travels in Asia Minor*, i, 284).

² On this point Niebuhr (*Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 164) is explicit. A

vital principle and so to be particularly efficacious as a charm.

Deriving perhaps from this cult of the column of execution is the practice followed in the mosque of Sultan Hasan in Cairo.¹ The *mibrab* there has four columns, which are good for fever and barrenness. They are wetted with lemon-juice and then rubbed with a brick from Mecca which is kept in the mosque.² The resultant reddish liquid is drunk by the patient : the conjecture may be hazarded that this liquid is a substitute for the original blood.

Our general conclusions may be tabulated somewhat as follows :

(I) Certain kinds of stones, especially (a) holed stones, (b) columnar stones, (c) stones carved with figures, and soldier in Persia had shot his officer dead ; ‘ sur quoi d’abord la main lui fut coupée et ensuite il fut pendû. A peine lui avoit on coupé la main, que quantité de femmes s’avancèrent . . . pour avoir quelque chose du sang répandû. Elles se battoient pour le sable, qui étoit teint du sang de cet homme, et lorsque ce meurtrier pendit à la potence, plusieurs femmes ne faisoient qu’aller et venir dessous la potence, et tout cela dans l’idée que cela les aideroit pour devenir enceintes ?

¹ Vaujany, *Caire*, p. 193.

² The *mibrab* columns in the mosque of Amr at Damietta cure jaundice, if the patient scrapes a little powder from them and drinks it in some liquid (W. G. Browne, *Nouveau Voyage*, ii, 164); cf. Vaujany, *Alexandrie*, p. 205, who says that the patient first wets the column with lemon-juice and then licks it. *Mibrab* columns, being often of unusual material, easily become objects of superstition; in this case, being made of oriental alabaster (Sladen, *Queer Things about Egypt*, p. 198), they were yellow and therefore naturally good for jaundice. The licking ritual is found again and again. In the mosque of Kalaun at Cairo there are columns which cure fever and sterility when rubbed with lemon-juice and licked (Vaujany, *Caire*, p. 176; Duff Gordon, *Letters from Egypt*, p. 23). A stone in the Attarin mosque of Alexandria has a Greek inscription on it : wetted with lemon-juice and licked, it cures fever (Vaujany, *Alexandrie*, p. 109). A brass panel at Damascus with an Arabic inscription on it cured fever, when licked (I. Burton, *Inner Life of Syria*, p. 128). This ritual licking may ultimately derive from the column of execution, the Sultan Hasan practice being the intermediate link.

(d) inscribed stones (irrespective of the meaning of their inscriptions), are especially likely to attract superstitious veneration.

(2) Selection from among these classes depends on such considerations as size, or other conspicuousness, backed by the coincidence of dreams, or other accidental happenings, with their discovery or use. A stone's chance of selection for veneration is greatly enhanced if it is introduced (accidentally or purposely) into (a) a sacred building or (b) a cemetery.

(3) The ritual connected with the veneration of such stones is exactly that of other venerated objects in popular religion, chiefly forms of 'contact' or 'absorption'.

(4) Reverence for such stones, whether secular or religious, by Christians or Moslems, need not be of old standing, nor need it persist. Proved or even probable survivals from antiquity are exceedingly rare.

§ 3. CAVE CULTS

The development through folklore to religion of cave cults is very similar to that of tree cults.¹ The supernatural inhabitant of the cave is first considered merely as a ghost or apparition, like the 'Negress' of the Kamares cave.² If such an apparition made itself unpleasant it would undoubtedly be exorcized or placated with gifts: in this way it might be found by experience—here another word for coincidence—to have a positive 'white' value. Up to this stage the cult has no religious colour.

The following notes of cave-cults in Greco-Turkish Athens about 1800 are given by Hobhouse and Dodwell. The first refers to the rock-passage above the stadium.

'The first day I visited the place, I observed a flat stone in the side of the rock, strewed with several bits of coloured rag,

¹ Above, pp. 175-9.

² W. R. Halliday in *Folk-Lore*, xxiv, 359.

broken glass, flour, and honey, and a handful or two of dry pease. As I was going to examine them, a Greek in company exclaimed, "Don't touch them, Affendi, they are the Devil's goods—they are magical". On enquiry, he assured me that some old women of Athens, well known to be witches, came often to this cavern in the dead of the night, and there performed their incantations, leaving these remnants for offerings to the evil spirit.'¹

Dodwell, by a lucky chance, came into still closer contact with the cult of the so-called 'Tomb of Cimon' near the church of S. Demetrius 'Loumbardieris':

'While I was drawing the outside of this sepulchral chamber, two Turkish women arriving seemed much disconcerted at my presence; and after some consideration and conference, desired me to go about my business, as they had something of importance to do in the cave, and did not choose to be interrupted. When I refused to retire, they called me dog and infidel! One of the women then placed herself on the outside for fear I should intrude, while the other entered; and after she had remained there about ten minutes, they both went away together; warning me at my peril not to enter the cave!

'The Greek who was with me said he was certain they had been performing magic ceremonies, as the cavern was haunted by the *Μοίραι*, or Destinies: nothing would have tempted him to enter, and when I was going in, he threw himself upon his knees, entreating me not to risk meeting the redoubted sisters; who he was confident were feasting on what the Turkish women had left for their repast. I found in the inner chamber a small feast, consisting of a cup of honey and white almonds, a cake, on a little napkin, and a vase of aromatic herbs burning, and exhaling an agreeable perfume. This votive offering was placed upon a rock, which was cut and flat at top. . . . When I returned from the sepulchre, I found the Greek pale and trembling, and crossing himself very frequently. When he saw that I had brought out the contents of the feast, he told me he must quit my service, as he was confident that I should shortly experience some great misfortune for my impiety in

¹ Hobhouse, *Albania*, i, 325.

destroying the hopes and happiness of the two women, by removing the offerings they had made to the Destinies, in order to render them propitious to their conjugal speculations. I gave the cake to the ass, who had brought my drawing apparatus; and by whom it was devoured without any scruples; but unfortunately, as we were returning home, this animal . . . ran away braying and kicking till he broke my camera obscura in pieces. I collected the fragments as well as I could; while my Greek, who was quite sure that the accident was owing to my intrusion into the cave, triumphed in his predictions!

‘Almost every cavern about Athens has its particular virtues; some are celebrated for providing its (*sic*) fair votaries with husbands, after a few sacrifices; others are resorted to by women when advanced in pregnancy, who pray for prosperous parturition, and male children; while others are supposed to be instrumental in accomplishing the dire purposes of hatred and revenge. But those evil spirits, whose assistance is invoked for vengeance and blood, are not regaled upon cakes and honey; but upon a piece of a priest’s cap, or a rag from his garment, which are considered as the most favourable ingredients for the perpetration of malice and revenge.’¹

Of the cave-cults at Athens mentioned by Hobhouse and Dodwell several have survived Turkish dominion. Kambouroglous, writing in the second half of the nineteenth century, cites a cult at the cave of the Stadium (τρύπιω λιθάρι)² and two on the Pnyx Hill, one directed to the Fates (Καλοκιουράδες) which is, or was, used by girls as a charm for obtaining husbands (probably that mentioned by Dodwell),³ and another called the ‘Cave of the old man’ (σπηλιὰ τοῦ Γέρου).⁴ Here ‘old man’ is evidently a translation of the Turkish ‘Baba’, which implies that the spirit of the cave was conciliated as far as the Turks were concerned and fell short of official sainthood only in so far as he had no building in his

¹ Dodwell, *Tour through Greece*, i, 396 ff.

² *Ἱστορία*, i, 222.

³ *Tour through Greece*, i, 221.

⁴ *Ibid.* i, 207, 222. This is the ‘Tomb of Cimon’; it has now no signs of being regarded with superstitious reverence, rather the reverse.

honour or organized attendance. In the same way Delikli Baba, a cave-saint under the Palamidi fortress at Nauplia has for the Greek narrator of his story all the attributes of the 'Arab' *jinn* of folk-lore.¹

When the cave-cult is fully accepted as 'white', the *jinn* takes rank as a saint and may or may not be identified with an historical or pseudo-historical person. The cave is then looked upon as (1) the scene of some event in the saint's life,² (2) his refuge or habitual abode,³ or (3) his grave. The tendency is towards the last, but the various phases may be fused as at Kruya, where Sari Saltik kills the dragon who inhabits the cave, retires to the cave, and lives in it, leaving traces of his presence in the shape of a miraculously petrified melon!⁴ At Kaliakra [Kilgra] the same saint is buried in the cave formerly inhabited by the local dragon.⁵

We remark by the way that dervish ascetics not infrequently inhabit caves and ancient rock tombs. For example, the 'tomb of Mithridates' at Amasia was thus used in the fifties by a dervish from Samarkand who had seen the place in a dream.⁶

It is obvious that all three aspects of caves in relation to holy men are equally applicable to Christianity, in which we find the same dragon-caves, refuge-and dwelling-caves,⁷ and tomb-caves as in Islam. Indeed, the

¹ Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 446; see further above, p. 89, n. 5.

² For birth-caves see below, p. 225 and n. 1.

³ For this there is a Moslem prototype in the Meccan cave of Jebel Nur, where the Prophet retired for inspiration (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i, 320). Cf. the case of Hasan 'Chelife' above, p. 169.

⁴ Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, pp. 236 ff.; below, pp. 434 ff.

⁵ Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 72; below, pp. 429 ff.

⁶ Skene, *Anadol*, p. 105; cf. Anderson (*Stud. Pont.* i, 64) and van Lennep (*Travels in Asia Minor*, i, 323) for S. Chrysostom's retreat in a classical rock-cut tomb near Niksar.

⁷ The common Christian persecution *motif* has led also to the conception of the prison-cave ('Prison of S. Polycarp' at Smyrna, in de Burgo, *Viaggio*, i, 461, &c.).

religion of such sites depends on no more than the name of the hero of the legend, which in turn depends on his *clientèle*: Sari Saltik's grave in the Kilgra cave is called S. Nicolas's as well for the benefit of a mixed population. But the mere improbability would not have impeded the Christian identification as is seen by the existence of a corresponding apocryphal cave-tomb of S. Stephen outside Chalkis, which seems to be a development without a Moslem interlude from a secular cave cult.¹

Interesting as an example of the arbitrary methods by which caves may be associated with historical persons is the following account of the so-called 'Shop of David', who is regarded by Moslems as the patron of armourers:

'Mr. Austen Layard . . . observed near Ser Pul Zohab, to the north-west of Kermanshah, an ancient chamber excavated in a rock. This excavation is known throughout the mountains of Luristan as the "Dukkiân Daoud" (David's shop). It is here, according to popular report, that the psalmist carried on his humble trade. . . . His shop is situated in a spot so difficult of access, that both he and his customers must have been daily placed in most critical positions. The "Dukkiân Daoud" is, nevertheless, a well-known place of pilgrimage for the inhabitants of the surrounding country, who are mostly of the sect called Daoudee. . . . Sacrifices of sheep are constantly offered before the Dukkiân, and few undertakings are commenced without invoking the benediction of the psalmist. . . . The excavated chamber is evidently the tomb of a prince or high-priest of the Sassanian epoch. Beneath the excavation is a small sculpture, representing one of the magi near a fire-altar, in the act of adoration. This is *supposed by the tribes to portray David preparing his anvil and furnace.*'²

¹ This is mentioned by Stephani (*Reise des Nördlichen Griechenlandes*, p. 22), who says pious offerings were laid there as in the Athenian caves. Buchon (*Voyage dans l'Eubée* [1841], p. 71) says *paras* were offered. The cave has now developed into a full-fledged church. (F. W. H.)

² White, *Constantinople*, i, 190 f.; cf. Mrs. Bishop, *Journeys in Persia*, i, 85.

Summing up, we find that caves are naturally merely bogey-ridden, but under suitable influence they blossom out in connexion with (1) hermit saints as retreats, (2) persecuted saints as refuges, (3) martyr saints as dungeons, and (4) all saints as possible burial-places. Under special influences, which I do not yet understand, caves are regarded as birthplaces. Mithras is probably very important here and may have influenced Bethlehem. It is curious that most of the birthplaces of Mohammedan saints (Mohammed, Fatima, Ali), at Mecca, which are at least relatively historical, are underground.¹

¹ Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i, 313. Did the women bring forth underground to avoid the evil eye or some other malignant influence? Or was the after-birth or navel-string, both being important, buried in such places?

TOMB AND SANCTUARY

THE ordinary Moslem grave in Turkey is marked by stones at the head and foot, and, if circumstances allow, by what is practically a copy in stone of the bier in which the dead are carried to the grave. A small space, corresponding to the size of a man, is surrounded by slabs, the head and foot being indicated by upright stones, imitating the wooden uprights which occupy the same position in the wooden bier. As on the bier the head-piece carries the turban of the deceased, so the head-piece of the grave reproduces it in stone. Dervishes' graves are marked by the *taj* or mitre of the order to which they belonged in life, and in former times the elaborate head-dresses of the various hierarchies, military, civil, and ecclesiastical, were represented in the same way. Where the grave is in a mausoleum (*turbe*) and protected from the weather, an actual head-dress occupies the same position on the tomb. Graves in the open air are generally covered by a slab which supports the head and footstones in two slots. A third aperture is made between the head- and footstones, and frequently, behind the head-stone or elsewhere, shallow sinkings are made with the avowed object of allowing the dead to practise the virtue of charity by affording drinking places for the pigeons and other birds that frequent the cemetery.

Trees, in Turkey generally cypresses,¹ are often planted

¹ The ever-green and long-lived cypress is supposed to symbolize immortality (Walsh, *Constantinople*, i, 350). In Arabia the aloe (*sabr*) is the favourite tree and is said to symbolize the patient waiting (*sabr* = 'patience') of the dead for the resurrection (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i, 317). In Syria the myrtle seems to be used (Walpole, *Travels*, p. 317); Chandler (*Travels in As. Min.*, i, 230) cites an instance of its use in Turkey also.

at the head and foot of the grave and, when thus connected with the burial place of a saint, enjoy considerable veneration. The growth of these trees is sometimes considered an indication of the fate of the deceased. Julius Griffiths was present at a funeral where, 'as soon as the grave was filled up, each friend planted a sprig of Cypress on the right, and a second on the left hand of the deceased'. On his inquiring the reason he was told by one of the followers that 'it was to ascertain by their growth whether the deceased would enjoy the happiness promised by Mohammed'. This would be known if the sprigs on the right hand took root, the opposite if those on the left only should flourish. If both succeeded, the deceased would be greatly favoured in the next world; or, if both failed, he would be tormented by black angels until, through the mediation of the Prophet, he should be rescued from their persecution.¹ It is easy to see how, with these ideas in the air, a tree growing on the grave of a saint comes to be regarded with superstitious veneration; as also, conversely, how the fine growth of a tree, especially a cypress in a cemetery, might be taken as evidence of the place of burial of a great saint.

Tombs inside *turbes* are for the most part gabled in cross-section and are generally covered with shawls. The *turbe* itself may be of any form from a simple hut of the commonest materials to the sumptuous round or octagonal domed buildings erected over the tombs of the wealthy. A characteristic form is the open dome of masonry or wrought iron which marks some well-to-do graves in cemeteries. Any ordinary grave in a cemetery may prove itself to be that of a saint by posthumous

¹ Griffiths, *Travels*, p. 54. The same idea seems to be current in Syria respecting the grave myrtles (Walpole, *Travels*, p. 317). An echo of it is awkwardly worked into the Bosnian story of Kelkele Sali Agha, where oak-twigs are planted on the grave (Carnoy and Nicolaidis, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 169).

miracles. Such a grave often comes in time to be enclosed in a *turbe*. But the holiness of a saint cannot be judged by the richness or otherwise of the tomb: some saints, e. g. the 'Joshua' of the Bosphorus, 'refuse' a *turbe* by causing it to fall down or be burnt as soon as it is erected.¹

A saint's *turbe*, even when on quite a humble scale, is often divided into two portions, the tomb chamber proper, and the place of prayer. The conjunction of mosque and *turbe* may arise in this way, as for example at Eyyub, where the mosque is strictly a convenience for pious persons desirous of praying and attending public worship at the tomb of the saint, and is of secondary importance to the *turbe*. But quite frequently also we find that the occupant of the *turbe* is the builder of the mosque, as, for example, at the Ulu Jami at Magnesia. Here the *turbe* is an accessory to the mosque. A founder often chose to be buried in or near his mosque in order to attract the prayers of the worshippers for the benefit of his soul. This might be done even when the benefaction was a secular building,² such as a bath³ or a bridge.⁴ Praying places forming part of roadside fountains⁵ are a similar incitement to prayer for the founder's soul, directly requested by the inscription on Ahmed I's fountain at Constantinople.

¹ Other examples are Deniz Abdal at Constantinople (Carnoy and Nicolaïdes, *Folklore de Constantinople*, pp. 134 f.); Burhan-ed-din in Eflaki's *Acts of the Adeptes*, tr. Redhouse, p. 17; Hasan Dede, a Bektashi saint buried near Tirana in Albania, was honoured by a local *bey* with a *turbe*, but showed his displeasure by burning it twice (F. W. H.). Mustafa Ghazi, buried at Canea (Crete) 'refused' a *turbe* four times by throwing it down. He afterwards appeared to the builder and instructed him to leave an opening in the roof (F. W. H.). A Christian parallel is that of S. Leontius, who, when the bishop of the district in which he was buried wished to honour him with an *ἀνακομιδή*, signified his displeasure by an earthquake (*N. Λευμων.* p. 460).

² Thévenot, *Voyages*, i, 182.

³ Above, chap. iv, no. 5 (Yildiz Dede).

⁴ Thévenot, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Cf. Wood, *Ephesus*, p. 138.

Of the furniture of the *turbe* we have as yet described only the central feature, the tomb itself. The minor objects of interest consist for the most part in various relics said to have belonged to the dead saint, and to a certain extent votive objects. The relics vary according to the personality of the saint; a *ghazi*, or warrior, is marked by his weapons, a dervish by his beads, club, or crutch, and so on. These objects frequently play a prominent part in the cures wrought at the tomb. Their pedigree, even where the saint is known to be historical and the tomb authentic, is far from being above suspicion, though in most cases there is no chance of testing their authenticity. Arms and other symbolical implements are very often used to decorate the walls of Turkish convents, and these might easily come to be associated with the occupant of the tomb or other famous persons on no evidence whatsoever. So the symbolic sword seen by Dodwell in the 'Tower of the Winds' at Athens, then a dervish *tekke*,¹ became for later Athenians the sword of Mohammed the Conqueror.² Even the bead chaplets supposed to have belonged to deceased dervishes may have been placed there, as were those in the mausolea of the sultans,³ for the devout to tell their prayers on. Secondly, objects originally suspended as charms against the evil eye may come into more intimate relations with the cult by confusion or design. So, for instance, at the dervish convent at Old Cairo an immense shoe or boot, connected vaguely with a 'giant' was, in the eighteenth century, hung in the entrance of the convent⁴ in accordance

¹ Dodwell, *Tour through Greece*, i, 374.

² Kambouroglous, *Ioropia*, iii, 125.

³ Covell, *Diaries*, ed. Bent, p. 182. Sultan Orkhan is believed to visit his tomb at Brusa every Friday, beat the drum, and tell his beads (Bussierre, *Lettres*, i, 154).

⁴ Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, i, 29; Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, i, 101.

with a well-known superstition that such objects are prophylactic against the evil eye.¹ A century later the boot was treasured inside the convent as a relic of the founder.² Somewhat similarly, the famous sword called by 'Franks' the 'Sword of Roland' originally hung over a gate of the citadel at Brusa³ and later became associated with the dervish warrior-saint Abdal Murad and was deposited at his tomb.⁴ At the same time the custom of suspending the arms of warriors at their tombs undoubtedly existed. Evliya, in the seventeenth century, notes that the bow and sword of Kilij Ali were preserved in his *turbe*,⁵ and in the case of a person only some fifty years dead it is unreasonable to doubt their authenticity. It is, indeed, the existence of genuine relics which has made the substitution of false ones easy.

¹ For the general use of shoes and boots with this object see, for Cairo, Hildburgh, in *Man*, 1913, p. 2, where they are said to be hung from shops and tied to camels for luck. For Turkey see M. Walker, *Eastern Life*, i, 335; Carnoy and Nicolaidès, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 351. 'Giants' boots were suspended in the gateways of *khans* at Brusa (Lucas, *Voyage au Levant*, ii, 129). A huge boot, supposed to be that of a giant who defended the town against the Venetians, formerly hung in one of the gates of Chalkis (L. Stephani, *Reise des Nördlichen Griechenlandes*, p. 16). A gilded shoe called *tsaroth* (i. e. *charik*, Gr. *τσαρούκι*) is said to have been suspended 'from the vaulte of the Temple' at Mecca (Georgewicz, *House of Ottomanno*). For shoes as relics of Turkish saints see Laborde, *Asie Mineure*, p. 65; Nikolaos, *᾽Οδησός*, p. 249; Kanitz, *Bulgarie*, p. 536. One suspects that the boots shown at Rhodes as those of Suleiman, the conqueror of the city (Egmont and Heymann, *Travels*, i, 276), were likewise prophylactic.

² Wilkinson, *Modern Egypt*, i, 287. For the plough on Murad I's grave at Brusa, its probable and its alleged origin, see above, p. 106.

³ Belon, *Observations de plusieurs Singularitez*, iii, chap. xlii.

⁴ Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 24. Tournefort, *Voyage*, Letter xxi; Sestini, *Lettere Odeporiche*, i, 117; cf. Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 153 (a garbled version of Evliya). Cf. the wooden sword of 'Neby Hocha' (Clermont-Ganneau, *Pal. Inconnue*, p. 60).

⁵ *Travels*, i, ii, 58. The saint died 988 A.H. The arms of Murad I (d. 1389) were similarly shown at his tomb in Brusa (*ibid.* ii, 21).

The custom of suspending arms as prophylactic objects in the gates of cities and fortresses has probably in many cases originated the frequent cults of saints—generally warriors (*ghazis*)—who are honoured with cenotaphs in such places. Similarly, other talismans have evoked legends of giants and folk-lore heroes. Stuffed crocodiles,¹ whales' ('dragons'') heads, and whales' ('giants'') bones,² all of which are used prophylactically, have probably been an element in the formation of legends of dragon-slayers and giant-slayers in many other places besides Rhodes.³

Prayer-mats, especially deer-skins,⁴ which are similarly part of the natural furniture of a *turbe*, may also come in time to be regarded as personal relics of the saint. These are easily brought into relation with legends of miraculous journeys⁵ of the 'magic carpet' type. Similarly, the horns of deer are often seen suspended in *turbes*, originally, doubtless, for prophylactic purposes.⁶ But in relation to a buried saint they can be explained as those of the saint's pet deer, or those of a deer which of its own free will offered itself for the Bairam sacrifice.⁷ Other horns also, such as those of

¹ Crocodiles are a well-known variety of amulet: see Elworthy, *Evil Eye*, p. 321 (stuffed crocodile in doorway of cathedral at Seville), and Hildburgh, in *Man*, 1913, p. 1 (stuffed crocodiles commonly used as charms in Cairo). For them as *ex-votos* see Maury, *Croy. du Moyen Âge*, p. 232; Millin, *Midi de la France*, ii, 546.

² Cf. Hobhouse, *Albania*, ii, 948 (Constantinople); Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 230 (whales' bones and old arms in castle gate at Angora). Cf. also Maury, *op. cit.* ii, 233, and Clermont-Ganneau, *loc. cit.*

³ For the 'dragon's' head at Rhodes see below, pp. 654-5, where also other instances of gate charms are collected.

⁴ On the special relation between deer and dervishes see pp. 460-1.

⁵ See p. 286.

⁶ For them as a house charm see White, in *Mosl. World*, 1919, p. 184.

⁷ This is said of deer-horns kept in the Khalveti *tekke* at Uskub (F. W. H.), and of others on the grave of the rustic saint Arab-oglu in Pontus (White, in *Records of the Past*, vi, 101). The miracle is a very old one (cf. Plutarch, *Lucullus*, cap. x).

goats and oxen,¹ are occasionally seen in *turbes*: these may be those of sacrificed beasts, but are probably kept and exhibited for their prophylactic value. In the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem were formerly suspended, from the centre of the dome itself, a pair of ram's horns, reputed those of the ram sacrificed by Abraham in place of Ishmael.² The purpose of the talisman in such cases is probably to ensure the stability of the dome.

Ostrich eggs are suspended in sacred buildings (churches as well as mosques and *turbes*) all over the Near East.³ Here again the original purpose seems to have been prophylactic,⁴ though, as often, more elaborate explanations have been invented. Primarily an egg is said to be sovereign against the evil eye because it has no opening and is, so to speak, impregnable; ⁵ ostrich eggs mounted as charms are generally held in a metal frame, not pierced for a string. Ostrich-eggs are in Cairo a common charm for the protection of houses and shops.⁶ Their use as *ex-votos* is early: a tree idolatrously worshipped at Mecca in pre-Islamic days had ostrich-eggs suspended from it.⁷ In Greece and Turkey, ostrich-eggs being comparatively rare, and, in addition,

¹ Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, iii, 138 (deer-horns at grave of Said Omar near Kutahia, horns of oxen and goats at Afun Kara Hisar).

² Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 147. Ibn Batuta speaks of an iron buckler, reputed that of the Prophet's uncle, in this position (*ibid.*, p. 136).

³ Moslem examples are cited from Egypt (Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, i, 31), Hebron (Grimaldi in *P.E.F.*, Q.S. for 1912, p. 149), Meshed Ali [Nejef] (J. Griffiths, *Travels*, p. 371), S. Sophia, Constantinople (Dalla-way, *Constantinople*, p. 57), 'Tower of the Winds', Athens (Dodwell, *Tour through Greece*, i, 374), *tekke* of Hafiz Khalil near Varna (Kanitz, *Bulgarie*, p. 475).

⁴ [Blunt], *People of Turkey*, ii, 244; Carnoy and Nicolaidis, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 351; Rogers, *Vie Domestique*, p. 459.

⁵ Baldensperger in *P.E.F.*, Q.S. for 1893, p. 216; cf. Jessup, *Women of the Arabs*, p. 336.

⁶ Hildburgh, in *Man*, 1913, pp. 1 ff.; they have been noticed in the Egyptian bazaar at Constantinople (C. White, *Constantinople*, i, 174).

⁷ Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 169.

curiosities¹ easily obtained by pilgrims to the Holy Places,² have developed a religious symbolism over and above their prophylactic value. Among Christians they are said to be emblems of faith, since the hen ostrich is said not to sit on her eggs, but to hatch them by looking at them.³ The Moslem interpretation of the symbolism, as given by a Turk of Sivas,⁴ is still more recondite: 'the ostrich always looks at the eggs she lays; if one of them is bad, she breaks it.' Ostrich-eggs are therefore suspended in sacred buildings 'as a warning to men that if they are bad, God will break them in the same way as an ostrich does her eggs', *i.e.* reading their hearts regardless of their outward appearance.

Lastly, an object often seen hung up in the *turbes* of Turkish saints,⁵ as also outside houses like the Greek May-garland, is a plait of corn-stalks with the ears left entire. This is quoted by Hildburgh as an evil eye charm used in Cairo for shops and houses.⁶ But, since it is essential that the corn used in the plait should be the first of the year, it seems clear that the primary idea is that of a first-fruit offering dedicated indifferently to the local saint or the house-spirit as a thank-offering, and to ensure abundance during the coming year. An interesting Christian parallel is afforded by an illustration in Kanitz' *Bulgaria*,⁷ showing the corn-plait suspended to a house-*eikon*, which may be regarded as a compromise between the pagan house-spirit and the saint of the official religion.⁸

¹ Cf. Mrs. Green, *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*, i, 153.

² Cf. Lucius, *Anfänge des Heiligenk.*, pp. 303-4.

³ Fellows, *Journal in Asia Minor*, p. 241; Tozer, *Highlands of Turkey* (Athos), i, 79.

⁴ Burnaby, *On Horseback through Asia Minor*, i, 316: cf. I. Burton, *Inner Life of Syria*, p. 447. Cf. a roc's egg in Lane, *Thousand and One Nights*, p. 484.

⁵ Hildburgh, in *Man*, 1913, pl. A, 3.

⁶ As, *e.g.*, in the *turbe* at Tekke Keui in Macedonia (Evans, in *J.H.S.* xxi, 203).

⁷ P. 409.

⁸ Frazer (*Spirits of the Corn and Wild*, ii, chap. x, xi) has shown that

A large number of saints' 'tombs' are cenotaphs, some admittedly so.¹ A saint of Monastir, named Khirka Baba, who appears to be historical, 'disappeared' from the sight of men, leaving his habit (*khirka*) on the ground. The spot where his habit was found is railed round like a tomb and the habit itself reverently kept in the 'tower' (*kula*) formerly inhabited by the holy man, both tower and cenotaph being frequented as a pilgrimage in his honour.² Similarly, Emineh Baba, a Bektashi saint of Macedonia, 'disappeared', but has, nevertheless, commemorative cenotaphs in two Bektashi convents.³ An Anatolian saint named Haji Bekir died no one knew where, with the express object, it is said, of avoiding the posthumous honour of a *turbe*. But his spirit is supposed to haunt a mill he frequented in life, where incubation is practised by pilgrims as at a formal tomb.⁴ Other venerated personages boast more than one tomb, each being locally claimed as genuine. In the case of persons historically known, it may be possible to distinguish between tomb and cenotaph. Murad I, for instance, lies buried beside his mosque at Brusa, but the spot where he fell on Kossovo⁵ is marked by a *turbe* which is said to contain his heart

all over the world first-fruit offerings are made either to the dead, the gods, or the king, all, probably, representing stages in the development of religion. In some cases the offering is anthropomorphic, as may be the case with the Bulgarian corn-plait illustrated by Kanitz. For instances in the Greek area see Georgeakis and Pineau, *Folk-Lore de Lesbos*, p. 310; cf. Miss Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 124.

¹ Cf. Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*, p. 79; Lane, *Thousand and One Nights*, pp. 339, 359.

² See below, p. 358. ³ See below, p. 527. ⁴ See below, p. 268.

⁵ His assassin, Milosh Obilich, is buried beside him on Kossovo (Miss Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 26; Boué, *Itinéraires*, ii, 175, 178). The 'Arab' who slew Constantine Palaiologos is buried beside him (Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 34 and note), as is the princess beside Sidi Ghazi, after she had (involuntarily) caused his death (see below, p. 743). Shamaspur *tekke* at Alaja probably affords another example (below, p. 573).

and bowels.¹ Suleiman Pasha, son of Orkhan, is said to be buried at Bulair in Thrace,² but his college (*medreseh*) at Yenishehr contains a *turbe* firmly held by local people to contain his remains : it is possible either that they were divided, as in the case of Murad I, or that he built himself at Yenishehr, during his lifetime, a *turbe* in which he was never buried. Local rivalry is also in part responsible for such inconsistencies. Both Bilejik³ and Eskishehr⁴ claim and show the grave of Edeb Ali, the father-in-law of Osman ; and the bones of Osman himself, buried on the acropolis of Brusa, are claimed also by his original capital, Sugut.⁵

The reputed tombs of Arab saints and heroes shown in Asia Minor are probably, as we have said elsewhere,⁶ without exception unhistorical. One at least, that of Bilal at Sinope, is a doublet of a better known grave of the same saint at Damascus.⁷ Many such doublets are evidently the results of the erection of commemorative buildings marking critical points in the hero's history, like the birth-places of Suhayb at Daonas⁸ and of Sidi

¹ Ippen, *Novi Bazar*, p. 147. It should be noted that according to strict Moslem religious law embalming is illegal and bodies must not be transported, exception being made for emperors (d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, i, 251 ; Cantimir, *Hist. Emp. Oth.* i, 46). Goldziher in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii (1880), p. 283, says that exhumation of the dead is thought a profanation by Moslems. Their feeling is so strong that the Sultan of Egypt at the time refused to allow S. Barbara's body, buried at Cairo, to be dispersed as relics in Christendom (Ludolf, *De Itinere*, p. 54). A miraculous fire prevented the removal of the Imam Shifei's body from its original tomb (Makrizi, quoted by de Maillet, *Descr. de l'Égypte*, i, 257 f.). Osman Bey (*Les Imans et les Derviches*, pp. 143-4) says persons must be buried where they die because that was the earth from which they were formed.

² Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 202 ; d'Ohsson, i, 101 ; Seaman, *Orchan*, p. 90.

³ Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 103 ; cf. Huart, *Konia*, p. 24.

⁴ Haji Khalfa, tr. Armain ii, 70 : verified by F. W. H. For Edeb Ali's connexion with Eskishehr cf. Hammer-Hellert, i, 64.

⁵ Leake, *Asia Minor*, p. 15.

⁶ Below, p. 702.

⁷ See below, p. 712.

⁸ Le Strange, *E. Caliphate*, p. 154.

Ghazi at Malatia.¹ The tangibility of a tomb alleged to contain the actual body of a saint works powerfully in favour of the substitution of tomb for commemorative memorial in popular thought. In some cases when numerous alleged tombs² of the same saint were shown, legend has evidently been called in to explain them. A saint claimed by the Nakshbandi, Hasan Baba,³ has seven tombs at various points in Rumeli. These, legend says, were erected by his disciples as 'blinds' when the saint was pursued by his enemies. The body of Sari Saltik, the Bektashi apostle of Rumeli, miraculously became seven bodies at his death, and each was buried in the capital of a separate kingdom, so that the seven tombs are found in as many towns, both of Islam and Christendom.⁴ Karaja Ahmed⁵ is another of these multiplied saints: his graves are found chiefly in western Asia Minor, and we may suggest that he represents the eponymous ancestor, or a series of chiefs, of a tribe bearing his name: though, as he has been merged into the Bektashi hagiology, it is more than probable that a more miraculous explanation is current.

¹ Haji Khalfa, tr. Armain, p. 660: were these 'birth-places' supposed to be the places where the *placentae* of the heroes concerned were interred?

² Cf. Montet, *Culte des Saints Musulmans*, pp. 19-20. In *P.E.F.*, *Q.S.* for 1877, p. 89, Conder says the different tombs were sometimes supposed to represent 'stations' of the saint.

³ Below, pp. 356-7. ⁴ Below, pp. 430-1. ⁵ Below, pp. 404-5.

INVIOLABILITY OF SANCTUARY

INTRODUCTORY

A SAINT'S grave and its immediate surroundings are sacred and inviolable. Even after a casual discovery of a supposed saint through the fall of a wall, according to Professor White, 'no robbery or other depredation may be committed there, and if a grove is near by its trees cannot be cut'.¹ For such inviolability there is a precedent from the source of Islam. Mohammed himself prescribed that a radius of twelve miles round the holy city of Medina should be held inviolate: no game should be killed in it, no trees cut, and no murder or act of violence committed.²

Among rough communities the inviolability of a saint's precinct may be used for the protection of person and property. Sir Mark Sykes noted an instance of this in Kurdistan, at the pass of Hasan Ghazi, which he says is

'named after a Kurdish saint whose tomb is there. The Djziey Kurds hold him in great reverence and deem it a merit to be buried there; the graveyard is a refuge from feuds and robbers: no one who flees thither will be slain, and any person may leave his goods there without a guard in perfect safety. The sincerity of this extraordinarily accommodating belief is proved by the fact that the whole graveyard is littered with odds and ends, cradles, bales of cotton, bags of rice, stocks of firewood, doors, rafters, fencing, wattle, hurdles, pots and pans, left by various persons who have gone on journeys or removed owing to the temporary abandonment of the villages.'³

¹ In *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xxxix (1907), p. 155.

² Burckhardt, *Arabia*, ii, 220.

³ *Dar-ul-Islam*, p. 189; similar sanctuaries (*makams*) in Syria, Pales-

It will be recalled that a somewhat similar use of a sanctuary on Lampedusa, violation of which rendered departure from the island impossible, is mentioned by several authors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This is of special interest as the inviolability of the place was respected both by Christians and Moslems.¹

§ I. SACRED TREES AND GROVES

We have seen that one of the prohibitions of the sacred territory of Medina refers to the cutting of trees. This prohibition is sometimes applied very strictly to the trees near saints' graves. In the grave enclosure of Helvaji Dede at Constantinople grow a cypress, a plane, and a laurel. These are never cut, and even when the branches fall they are not removed.²

There are a great many instances of small groups of trees or 'sacred groves' which must not be cut. These are sometimes to be considered religious, as connected with Mohammedan (or Christian) saints, sometimes secular, as a form of tree-worship. It is often impossible to say whether the sacredness of these groves is primitive and their connexion with saints evolved from it, or whether it is secondary and due to their proximity to saints' graves. This is a dilemma which must often meet us in other fields. Instances of these sacred groves are :

1. At Sandal, a Turkish (Kizilbash?) village near Kula in Lydia. Here the antiquity of the *tabu* is certified by a Greek inscription.³

tine, and elsewhere are mentioned by Baldensperger in *P.E.F.*, *Q.S.* for 1893, p. 215 ; Conder, *ibid.*, *Q.S.* for 1877, pp. 89, 91 ; Warren, *ibid.*, *Q.S.* for 1869, p. 300 ; Schumacher, *ibid.*, *Q.S.* for 1888, pp. 138, 160, 163 ; Burckhardt, *Syria*, pp. 95, 525 ; Goldziher in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* 1880, p. 346 ; Loftus, *Travels in Chaldaea*, p. 322 ; Petachia, in *Nowv. Jour. As.* viii, 302 ; Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*, pp. 5, 300, 305 ; G. E. White, in *Mosl. World*, 1919, pp. 10-11.

¹ See above, pp. 46 ff. and below, pp. 755 ff.

² Carnoy and Nicolaidis, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 174.

³ Tsakyroglous in *Μουσεῖον*, 1880, p. 164, no. τλβ'.

2. At Ebimi, a Kizilbash village in Pontus, a small eminence is crowned with a grove of pines never cut. There is a *panegyris*, with the usual sacrifice of a sheep in May.¹ The grave of a saint, Buyuk Evliya, is said to exist there.² The site was, in antiquity, sacred to Zeus Stratios, but the connexion is probably fortuitous.

3. At Tulum Bunar (on the Kasaba line) Oberhummer found a similar grove connected with the *tekke* of Jafer Ghazi.³ The list could probably be added to indefinitely.⁴ Taylor remarks that the sacred groves of the Kurds are mostly poplar and connected with the names of Mohammedan saints.⁵ The cult of sacred groves in Circassia seems to be highly developed.⁶ Similar groves also exist among the Yezidi of the Jebel Siman in Syria.⁷ These may be important in the present connexion on account of the possible connexion between the Syrian heterodoxies and those of Asia Minor.

Christian parallels for these sacred groves are to be found :

1. In Albania at Tepelen. Here, in a Mussulman country, a Christian saint's *tabu* still protects the grove.⁸

2. In Greece, on the Euripus, a grove of S. George is noted which avenged the cutting of its trees by the death or wounding of the cutter.⁹

3. In Asia Minor, at Tashna (Pontus), is a grove sacred to Elias.¹⁰

¹ Perhaps 23 April (O.S.), the day of Khidr—S. George.

² Cumont, *Stud. Pont.* ii, 172. A similar sacred hill with trees exists near the Kizilbash village of Bajileh (*ibid.*, p. 187).

³ Oberhummer and Zimmerer, *Durch Syrien*, p. 398.

⁴ At Seïdeler local women prevented Choisy from cutting a switch from a willow in the village square (Choisy, *Asie Mineure*, p. 199).

⁵ In *J.R.G.S.* xxxv (1865), p. 41.

⁶ Spencer, *Turkey, Russia, and Circassia*, p. 383.

⁷ *Mél. Fac. Or.* (Beirut), ii, 367 (Jerphanion).

⁸ Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 222.

⁹ Walpole, *Travels*, p. 70.

¹⁰ Cumont, *Stud. Pont.* ii, 129.

4. In Cyprus a grove of *Zizyphus Spina Christi* is dedicated to S. Catherine: the site may have been anciently sacred to Aphrodite. This grove is cut for the Easter bonfire.¹ The exception to the prohibition in favour of a ritual use in this last example is characteristic and ancient.² Similarly, trees on Mohammedan saints' graves are used for ritual purposes. For example, the leaves of the laurel which grows on the tomb of Joshua on the Bosphorus are used for the fumigation of sick pilgrims.³ Leaves from the laurels on the grave of Deniz Abdal are similarly used for the sick. But a carpenter who removed some branches from the tree without such motive, though ordered to do so by the guardian of the tomb himself, fell from the tree during the operation and was in bed for months after.⁴

§ 2. PROTECTED ANIMALS—GAME

For the game *tabu* at Medina we may compare in Asia Minor the protection of wild birds on the mountain in Cappadocia named after and sacred to Tur Hasan Veli,⁵ and of the wild sheep on the hill of the saint Fudeil Baba near Konia.⁶ Dire consequences attended the killing of the latter except for the purpose of sacrifice. Deer in general are more or less sacred animals. Gazelles, roedeer, and stags must not be

¹ Magda Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Gr. Sitten und Gebräuche auf Cypern*, p. 38; Max Ohnefalsch-Richter in *J.H.S.* iv, 115. Cf. another case in Jessup, *Women of the Arabs*, p. 318.

² Cf. the inscription which I published in *J.H.S.* xxvii, 66 (13), and in *Cyzicus*, vi, 54. Compare the Cedars of Lebanon, for which see d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 415; La Roque, *Voyage de Syrie*, i, 71.

³ F. W. H.

⁴ Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 134.

⁵ *Id.*, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 217.

⁶ Haji Khalifa, tr. Armain, p. 670. Similarly, the Christian saint Mamas of Cyprus keeps the number of *moufflons* up to seven hundred, and it is dangerous to hunt them on his day (M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Gr. Sitten und Gebräuche auf Cypern*, p. 162).

hunted on account of their close connexion with dervish saints. Dervishes are supposed to take the form of deer, and ascetics are said to have tamed them and lived on their milk.¹ A dervish named Geyikli Baba is said to have been present at the siege of Brusa riding on a stag.² Their skins and horns are frequently found in *turbes*.³ In Pontus stags built the enclosure of a saint's grave.⁴

We may here conveniently discuss the *tabu* against the hare which exists among the Albanian Bektashi sect and elsewhere. The explanations given are various. Some say that the soul of Yezid, the wicked caliph who was responsible for the murder of Hasan and Husain, passed into a hare; ⁵ others that the *secretary of the Prophet* had a cat which was changed into a hare.⁶ Macedonian Bektashi say that, being all blood and without flesh, it is not to be eaten.⁷ The Bektashi of Capadocia say that Ali himself kept a tame hare as others keep cats; they call the hare on that account 'the cat of Ali' and treat it with particular respect.⁸ Another explanation given by the Kizilbash of the *tabu* is that by a miracle of Ali the caliph Omar was turned into a woman and bore two children; when Omar resumed his sex, his children were turned into hares, which are on this account sacred to the Kizilbash.⁹ The Bektashi

¹ Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de Constantinople*, p. 10; F. W. H., below, pp. 460 f. For the superstition as to killing deer in practice see L. Garnett, *Greek Folk-Songs*, p. 86, note; Baker, *Turkey in Europe*, p. 378. Stories of dervishes and deer in both the above connexions are given below, pp. 460-2.

² Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 24.

³ See p. 231.

⁴ Prof. White, in *Mosl. World*, ix, 11.

⁵ Brailsford, *Macedonia*, p. 246.

⁶ Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 234; there seems to be a confusion here between the word for secretary (*Yaziji* يازجى) and the name of the caliph Yezid.

⁷ M. M. H.

⁸ Crowfoot, *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xxx, 315. Dr. Hogarth kindly informs me that in Iraq the 'cat of Ali' is the maneless lion.

⁹ H. Grothe, *Vorderasienexpedition*, ii, 152; it will be noted that this profane story is told at the expense of one of the caliphs not recognized by the Shias; the miracle of the transformation, however, is

Albanians explain the hare *tabu* by a story that the wife of a dervish wiped up some impurity with a cloth and put the cloth in a hollow tree. A hare sprang out and left the cloth stainless, being thus the incarnation of the impurity.¹ Most of the legends thus make the hare accursed rather than sacred ; but the existence of both ideas side by side is interesting and not incompatible with primitive thought. In practice certainly the hare is abhorred. The Bektashi will not eat it and, if their path is crossed by one, turn back.² An Albanian *kavass* in one of the consulates at Monastir is said to have threatened to leave because a hare was brought into the house.³ A shop-keeper in Constantinople found that the keeping of a tame rabbit at once lost him his Bektashi customers.⁴ I have not been able to find that Christian Albanians have any feeling against eating hares,⁵ but the Shia tribes of Asia Minor share the prejudice,⁶

held to Ali's credit. In de Lorey and Sladen, *Queer Things about Persia*, p. 272, there occurs a similar story in which Omar is transformed into a bitch, has six puppies, and goes through humiliating experiences. The story in the text is evidently one of a series of scurrilous tales circulated to discredit the hated caliph, who ousted Ali. The unbelieving sultan El Hakim was changed into a woman and bore three children (Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, ii, 198).

¹ Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 235.

² *Ibid.*, p. 234 ; cf. Gédoyne's *Journal*, p. 55, where a story illustrating this is told of a Janissary : the connexion between the Janissaries and Bektashi is well-known. In Algeria it is unlucky to see a hare running away from you (Prignet, *À travers l'Algérie*, p. 74).

³ From Mr. W. H. Peckham, formerly H.B.M.'s consul at Uskub.

⁴ Carnoy and Nicolaïdes, *Trad. de Constantinople*, pp. 7 f. Cf. de Vogüé, *Hist. Orient.*, p. 198.

⁵ Cf. the story in Bérard, *Turquie*, p. 308, where a hare crosses the road : Bérard's Christian Albanian servant crosses himself, but his Bektashi Albanian curses the hare heartily ; cf. also p. 73. Greeks think it unlucky : cf. Georgeakis and Pineau, *Folk-Lore de Lesbos*, p. 339.

⁶ For the Takhtajis of Lycia, who consider that bad souls are metamorphosed into hares (or turkeys) after death, see von Luschan, in Benndorf, *Lykien und Karien*, ii, 201 ; for the Nosairi see Dussaud, *Nosairis*, p. 93. Ibn Batuta (tr. Sanguinetti, ii, 353) notices that the

as do the Persians.¹ Certain of the wandering tribes of Persia do not scruple to eat hares, but it is considered pagan and barbarous on their part.² So far, then, the *tabu* on the hare seems to be religious and peculiar to the Shia forms of Islam.³ But it should be noted that the Christian Armenians are no less averse to the hare than the Persians.⁴ This may be due to Persian influence, but the same point of view is shared apparently by the Georgians, who are much less exposed to such influence.⁵

Sinope people eat it, but that the Shia Rafidhites of the Hejaz and Iraq do not.

¹ Chardin, *Voyages*, iv, 183: 'le lièvre leur est défendu. . . . Les Persans ne peuvent pas seulement entendre nommer le Lièvre, parce qu'il est sujet à des pertes comme les femmes.' Cf. Tavernier, *Rel. of the Seraglio*, p. 28.

² Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia*, ii, 432.

³ For Sunni Moslems the hare is not unclean, though it is forbidden by the Mosaic law 'because he cheweth the cud but divideth not the hoof' (*Levit.* xi, 6). The hare is among the figures of animals in synagogues (Kitchener in *P.E.F., Q.S.* for 1877, p. 124).

⁴ Rycaut, *Greek and Armenian Churches*, p. 395: 'They account it a sin to eat Hares, and their flesh is almost as abominable to them, as Swines-flesh to a Jew or Turk. I have asked them the Reason for it; to which they replied, that a Hare was a melancholy Creature, and therefore unwholesom; besides it was accounted unlucky, and portending evil to any man who met one, and moreover that the Female was monthly unclean' (cf. Tavernier, *loc. cit.*). Cf. Villotte, *Voyages*, p. 536, who says neither Armenians nor Jews eat it.

⁵ Cf. Sir Dudley North's anecdote of a Georgian slave brought to England: 'A maid servant, provoked by his leering at her, laid a fresh rabbit-skin cross his face; which was such a pollution that he ran straight to the pump, and they thought that he would never have done washing' (*Lives of the Norths*, ii, 151). Few Damascus Christians will eat it (Mrs. Mackintosh, *Damascus*, p. 54). In the Ukraine and among modern Greeks it is considered a creature of the Devil (Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, i, 153). The position of the *tabu* may therefore be set out thus: the Bektashi in general abhor it; Christian Albanians eat it; while Bektashi Albanians abhor it, so that in Albania the ban on it seems to be a Bektashi importation. Among Christians, the Armenians avoid it, while the Greeks eat it. A transformation of Buddha into a hare is recorded (Baring Gould, *Curious Myths*, 1st series, pp. 203-4).

§ 3. SACRED FISH

The fish of sacred springs and rivers are sometimes protected in a similar way by religious scruple. Instances of sacred fish in Turkish lands appear to be rare. The best-known example is to be found in the fish kept in the fountain of the Shamaspur *tekke* near Alaja in Paphlagonia.¹ Fishes are or were also kept in the fountain of the Ulu Jami at Brusa.² A Christian parallel is to be found in the well-known sacred fish of Balukli near Constantinople.³ Here the fish have no real religious significance and are merely a peg to hang folk-stories on.

For the full understanding of the veneration of sacred fish we must look farther east. In Syria particularly sacred fish have received extraordinary honours from ancient times to our own. There Xenophon⁴ saw river-fish which were 'regarded as gods' by the inhabitants, and a pool full of fish sacred to the Dea Syria at Bamyke is noticed by Lucian.⁵ This particular pool seems to have lost its religious significance,⁶ but the well-

¹ Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, i, 403: 'a beautiful fountain of clear cold water in a deep marble basin, in which were many fish, apparently a species of carp'; H. J. Ross, *Letters from the East* (1856), p. 243; Wilson, in Murray's *Asia Minor*, p. 36. The fish mentioned by Hamilton (i, 98) at Mohimul near Taushanli may also have been sacred. Cf. Calder, in *J.R.S.* ii, 246.

² Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 6; Texier, *Asie Mineure*, i, 65.

³ For the popular stories regarding these fish see Carnoy and Nicolaidis, *Folklore de Constantinople*, pp. 54 ff. From the historical notices of the foundation collected by the priest Eugenios ('*Ἡ Ζωοδόχος Πηγή καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ αὐτῆς προσαρτήματα*, pp. 15 ff.), it appears that the fish are not an original but a comparatively late feature of the sacred spring. I note in passing that a Christian *ayasma* containing sacred fish is to be found at Gemlek (Bithynia) at the church of Panagia Pazariotissa. For the fish of a cursed place see Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 62.

⁴ *Anabasis*, i, §§ 4, 9; cf. Rubens Duval, in *Journ. Asiat.* viii, ser. xviii, 230 ff.

⁵ *De Dea Syria*, 483.

⁶ Hogarth, in *B.S.A.* xiv, 187 ff.; G. L. Bell, *Amurath to Amurath*, p. 21.

known fish-pool of the Mosque of Abraham at Urfa is probably a direct survival from antiquity.¹ Other instances of sacred fish-pools are to be found at Tripoli,² and elsewhere.³ Similar *tabus* in favour of river fish within a certain distance of saints' tombs are found at Susa, the burial-place of Daniel,⁴ and in Kurdistan.⁵

Robertson Smith⁶ is probably right in considering the Syrian instances of sacred fish as survivals of a much earlier stratum of religious thought. The divinity of the waters was conceived of as a fish,⁷ the inhabitant of the waters, just as earth gods are thought of as snakes which live in the ground. The fish-divinities are eventually

¹ The first modern writer to mention it seems to be an Italian merchant (c. 1507: see *Italian Travels in Persia*, ed. Hakluyt Soc., p. 144). See also Barkley, *Asia Minor*, p. 254; Buckingham, *Trav. in Mesopotamia*, i, 111; Warkworth, *Diary*, p. 242; Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, II, i, 160; Tavernier, *Voyages*, p. 68; Olivier, *Voyage*, iv, 218; Sachau, *Reise in Syrien*, p. 197; S. Silvia, ed. Geyer, p. 62; Thévenot, *Voyages*, III, 141; de Bunsen, *Soul of a Turk*, p. 218; Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, II, 330.

² Lortet, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui*, pp. 58 f.: these sacred fish are protégés of the convent of Sheikh Bedawi. See further d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, II, 390-1; Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 166; Kelly, *Syria*, p. 106; Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 130; Soury, *Études sur la Grèce*, p. 66.

³ Sam, near Aintab (Hogarth in *B.S.A.* xiv, 188); Acre? (Baldensperger in *P.E.F.*, Q.S. for 1893, p. 212). The fish called *sallur* may not be fished in the lake of Antioch (Dussaud, *Nosairis*, p. 93). Niebuhr (*Voyage en Arabie*, II, 330, 137) notices, besides the sacred fish at Urfa, others at Diarbekr (cf. Garden, in *J.R.G.S.* xxxvii, 1867, p. 186) and at Salchin, near Antioch, also at Shiraz; the last are under the protection of the Sheikh Zade. For Palestine see Wilson and Warren, *Recovery of Jerusalem*, pp. 349, 352 (cf. Kitchener, in *P.E.F.*, Q.S. for 1877, p. 122), 376. See for Bartarza in Mesopotamia Sykes, *Dar-ul-Islam*, p. 151.

⁴ Le Strange, *E. Caliphate*, p. 240; cf. below, p. 301.

⁵ Evliya, *Travels*, II, 179 (village Osmudum Sultan at the source of the Euphrates). 'Umudum Sultan the Saint, who is buried here, protects these fish, so that it is impossible to catch them.' They were red with green spots and could be caught below. For the similar *tabu* on the fish of Elisha's spring near Jericho see d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, II, 204.

⁶ *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 174 ff.

⁷ For an Anatolian river-god represented as a fish see Anderson, in *J.H.S.*, 1899, p. 76.

anthropomorphised through an intermediate fish-tailed form. The sacred fish may therefore be conceived of as (1) a god or saint, or (2) the protégé of a god or saint. In secular folk-lore we find the corresponding conceptions of (1) the magician-fish¹ (often the 'king of the fishes') and (2) the bewitched fish,² the former having power of its own, the latter acting as the *famulus* of a magician or higher power. The magician-fish or king of the fishes may presumably be propitiated as the 'king of the serpents' is to-day at his castle in Cilicia.³

The sacred fish of Syria seem to receive more veneration than would be accorded to mere protégés of the saint and to be regarded in some vague way as manifestations of the saint himself. Febvre, speaking probably of Syria, says :

' Ils ont une espece de respect & de veneration pour les poissons de certains lacs & fontaines, où qui que ce soit n'ozeroit pescher, si ce n'est pas de nuit & en cachette, le plus secretement qu'ils peuvent ; ce qui fait qu'ils s'y multiplient en très-grande quantité, & qu'il y en a de monstrueux. Ils les appellent Chec[s *i. e.* *Sheikhs*] qui est la qualité qu'ils donnent à leurs principaux Religieux, & leur allument la nuit des lampes par devotion.'⁴

At the Shamaspur *tekke* in Turkey the fish are fed with eggs by the guardian, and one is pointed out as the

¹ For magic fish in folk-lore see Cosquin, *Contes de Lorraine*, i, 60 ; Hartland, *Perseus*, i, 24 ; Legrand, *Contes Populaires Grecs*, p. 161.

² As in the well-known Arabian Nights' story (the first in Burton's edition). The Orthodox fish of Balukli are of the same sort with a touch from the 'Well of Life' legend cycle.

³ Langlois, *Cilicie*, p. 469 ; cf. Davis, *Asiatic Turkey*, p. 75. A confused echo from Constantinople is given in Carnoy and Nicolaïdes' *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 160.

⁴ *Théâtre de la Turquie*, p. 35 ; cf. Jessup, *Women of the Arabs*, pp. 296-7, who says one black fish at Tripoli is the sheikh of the saints, whose souls are in the fish of the pool. Death is supposed to follow the eating of these fish, but the sceptical Jessup experimented without any untoward results. During the Crimean War many of the fish went off under the sea to Sebastopol and fought the infidel Russians, some returning wounded.

'sultan';¹ whether the word is used in its political sense (for the 'king of the fishes') or as a religious title is uncertain. Popular thought is probably hazy on this as on many other such points; the main idea present in the mind of a pilgrim to the shrine is that anything closely connected with a holy place is infected with the sanctity of the place, has potential influence, and may be propitiated. It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that living things as such are more regarded in Islam than by Christendom considered as a whole. To benefit even a fish connected with a saint is meritorious, and some vague idea that the fish *is* the saint may have filtered in through dervish teaching as regards the transmigration of souls and the unity of nature. But the present popular attitude with regard to the sacred fish does not of course preclude the possibility of their worship antedating that of the human saint Husain Ghazi on this spot.

In the folk-lore of the Near East fish have two roles: they are finders or, though dead and even cooked, they fall into water and revive. Solomon had a talismanic ring which he used to entrust to one of his servants on going to the bath. A devil one day stole this ring from her, took Solomon's shape, and supplanted him, throwing the ring into the sea. A fish swallowed it so that, on the fish being caught and opened, the ring was found, and Solomon recovered his kingdom.² In another story a fish finds a key. The king Armenios unwittingly committed incest so retired from the world, binding his feet with a chain which he padlocked: the key he threw into the sea. After some years a deputation, which was seeking a suitable monk for patriarch, found the key in

¹ Ross, *Letters from the East*, p. 243.

² Sale's *Koran*, p. 342, n. The story of Polycrates is another instance of the same sort. Goldziher (*Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii, 309) says the Egyptian and Syrian Nevruz commemorates the finding of Solomon's ring. Further, see Goldziher, *loc. cit.* ii, 273.

a fish and so recognized the monk as Armenios, who thus became patriarch.¹ Numerous secular folk-stories repeat the *motif*.

An allusion to the revival of a dead fish occurs in the Koranic story of Moses' search for Khidr. Joshua, servant of Moses, was carrying a cooked fish in a basket : at the rock where they were to find Khidr, the fish leapt from the basket into the sea. Joshua, washing soon after at the Fountain of Life, chanced to sprinkle a little of the water on the fish, which at once revived.² In one of the Apocryphal Gospels the Infant Christ revives a salt fish by putting it into a basin of water.³ The *motif* is copied in the original legend of Balukli. A Thessalian pilgrim in search of health arrived dead at Balukli, then a famous place of healing. A salt fish his companions had brought fell into the pool and came to life. The dead man did the same.⁴ The story is found at Tripoli of Syria in a slightly different form : a dervish was frying fish, but had fried them only on one side when they sprang from the frying-pan into the fountain of Sheikh El Bedawi and came alive again : their descendants still bear on one side the marks of frying.⁵ This is

¹ Amélineau, *Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne*, i, 184.

² Sale's *Koran*, p. 222, nn. e and g.

³ *Nativité de Marie* in Migne's *Dict. des Apocryphes*, i, 1078. Egyptian tradition makes the Infant Christ revive a roast cock (Migne, *Évang. de l'Enfance*, in *Dict. des Apocryphes*, i, 976 ; Thévenot, *Voyages*, ii, 805). The cock reappears at Santo Domingo de la Calzada. A man was hung for thirty-six days, at the end of which time he was found innocent. The authorities said it was useless to take him down, and that they might as well expect the roast fowls on the table to revive. The fowls did revive and their descendants are still shown at Santo Domingo (Baumann, *Trois Villes Saintes*, pp. 150 ff.). The story is given, with parallels from Brittany, by Sébillot, *Folk-Lore de France*, iii, 251, citing A. Nicolai, *Monsieur Saint Jacques de Compostelle*. For a photograph of the fowls at Santo Domingo see frontispiece, vol. ii.

⁴ This story is already in the Byzantine authors.

⁵ D'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 390 f.

the tale now current of Balukli and told either of Constantine or of a monk.¹

With regard, therefore, to sacred fish the position may be summed up as follows. Urfa is very likely a true survival, its sanctity being documented almost continuously from antiquity, and it has most probably influenced other places in its radius. An intermediate stage is marked by the fish at the tomb of Daniel.² The river in which he is supposed to be buried at Susa is *tabu* for fishing a certain distance up and down stream in his honour.³ Others, such as the sacred fish of Afium Kara Hisar⁴ or of Shiraz,⁵ derive their sanctity from their association with a holy place. Balukli has in all probability no connexion with a survival of fish worship.

¹ Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, nos. 31-2; Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, pp. 54 ff. Possibly the whole thing starts from an ornamental fish-pond after the oriental manner; cf. the 'piscinae Salomonis' in Fabri, *Evagat.* ii, 185; the round fountain mentioned by Kitchener in *P.E.F.*, *Q.S.* for 1877, p. 122 (also by Wilson and Warren, *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 352); Gregorovius, *Wanderjahre*, iii (*Siciliana*), p. 95, mentions a fish-pool made at Palermo for an Arab king's pleasure; he cites others at Zitzia (*loc. cit.*, p. 93) and at Cuba (*loc. cit.*, p. 92). It will be remembered that the palace of Pegai was at Balukli. Naturally something a little out of the way like goldfish would be put in such a pool. Later, when the pool had become considered an *ayasma*, it was easy to bring in the imagery of the Virgin as the Fountain of Life (the *πηγή Σιλοάμ*, an idea which occurs in the *οἴκοι τῆς Παναγίας*) and of Christ as a fish, with all the dependent ideas (a fish was apparently used in Holy Communion by certain sects). S. John mentions an almost ritual meal of fish and bread after the Resurrection, which is not given by the synoptics, who all have the Last Supper omitted by S. John. Later still, two strata of legend formed to explain the fish at Balukli, the earlier being the Thessalian given in the text and the other the modern Balukli legend. This miracle is supposed to have taken place at the capture of Constantinople, but it would be surprising to find a monk cooking fish at Balukli, if the Turkish Army were before the walls.

² See below, p. 301.

³ Benjamin of Tudela, *Itinerary*, ed. Asher, i, 117 ff.; Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, p. 459.

⁴ Calder, in *J.R.S.* ii, 246 (a nameless *dede* protects these fish).

⁵ Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 137 (Sheikh Zade protects the fish).

XVII

CULT OF THE DEAD

THE great Turkish pilgrimages and holy places are commonly tombs or cenotaphs of saints and heroes, who are popularly conceived of as having the power of intercession, particularly when invoked at their graves.¹ The procedure with regard to saints' tombs is greatly illuminated by the practices actually or formerly in vogue with regard to graves of the ordinary dead.

The popular belief in a kind of life in the grave for some days after death is sanctioned by orthodox practice. Immediately after burial the *khoja* stays by the grave and instructs the dead as to the cardinal points of his religion : the soul thus seems considered as not yet dispatched to the other world. It is further held that the dead are catechized in the grave by a good and an evil spirit,² the latter trying by blows dealt with a red-hot hammer to induce the dead man to deny his faith. A bad Mussulman, to whom Paradise is denied, succumbs to this treatment, whereas a good Mussulman is enabled to resist it. These 'tortures of the tomb' are so far part of the official faith that they are mentioned in the *khoja's* prayers for the dead.³ It is generally believed that the souls of the dead are detained for forty days in the neighbourhood of the grave, and that the reading of the Koran there is beneficial to them, since it assists the archangel Gabriel to defend them against the devil.⁴

¹ Jews also invoke the dead, see Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, p. 182 (quoted below, p. 257, n. 1) and p. 243.

² Cf. Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, ii, 265, for their names (Munkar and Nakir).

³ D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, i, 239.

⁴ Cantimir, *Hist. Emp. Oth.* i, 142.

In conformity with this belief in a life in the grave, the relations of the dead are accustomed to resort to the tomb in order to pray for his soul, reciting especially the *fatihā* or opening chapter of the Koran.¹ It was also formerly the custom to leave food on the tomb,² the original idea being, as we shall see from the procedure at some saints' tombs, that the dead actually partook of it. Less credulous ages explained the custom as being devised to enable the deceased to exercise a vicarious charity to men (graves being commonly on frequented roads) and beasts, and to stimulate the human participants in the posthumous charity to pray for the soul of the deceased.³ The sinkings in the covering slabs of Turkish graves were doubtless intended originally for the deposit of these offerings, though their purpose is now said to be to collect rain and dew for the birds to drink, the same principle of vicarious charity being

¹ According to Kremer (*Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islams*, p. 303), this reading of the Koran is a substitute for sacrifice to the dead. At the upper end of Arab graves there is an opening through which the prayers and blessings of the relatives reach the dead (*ibid.*).

² At Elbassan in central Albania Bérard found that Christians had left food on tombs (*Turquie*, p. 46). In this connexion Mrs. Romanoff's description of the Russian funeral feasts is interesting (*Rites of the Greco-Russian Church*, p. 249).

³ Cf. Georgewicz, *House of Ottomanno*, p. E III *vs*o: 'They often resort thither [*i.e.* to the tombs] in wepinge and mournynge and certaine infernall sacrifices layde on the monumente, as bread, fleshe, cheese, Egges, milke, and the banket continewinge by the space of nyne dayes, accordynge to the Ethnicke Custome, it is al deuoured, for the diseased soules sake, eyther by Pismares and the birdes of heauen or poore people'; Sandys, *Travels*, p. 56: '[Turkish women] many times leave bread and meat on their graves . . . for Dogs and Birds to devour, as well as to relieve the poor, being held an available alms for the deceased'; Thévenot, *Voyages*, i, 192: 'Le Vendredi plusieurs apportent à boire et à manger, qu'ils mettent sur le tombeau, et les passans y peuvent manger et boire avec liberté. Ils font cela afin que ceux qui y viendront, souhaitent la bénédiction de Dieu à celui pour l'amour duquel on fait cette charité'; cf. also Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, p. 157; d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 342.

alleged in support of the usage. Similarly, the perforations commonly made in grave-slabs may have been provided originally for pouring drink offerings for the dead. Both sinkings and perforations are now often used for planting flowers and small shrubs in.

Life in the grave,¹ though only dimly imagined in the

¹ A barbarous belief in life in the grave appears widespread in Mohammedan countries. Eyyub at Constantinople proved his presence by sticking his foot out of his tomb (Carnoy and Nicolaidès, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 156). Niebuhr cites several cases from Arabia (*Voyage en Arabie*, i, 255, where the sainted Ahmed puts his hand out of his grave; *ibid.* ii, 243, where Abdal Kadir hurls his clogs at some brigands). At Damascus Pambuk Baba claimed to be a prophet, which people denied on the grounds that he was a Kurd and no Kurd ever was a prophet. To prove his sanctity he protruded his foot from his grave, and the ritual now is to wrap this foot (?) in cotton wool (F. W. H. from Husain Efendi of Chotil in Macedonia). In a Moslem cemetery at Cairo the dead several times in the year left their graves for a day, sinking back into them at night (Fabri, *Evagat.* iii, 47; cf. Thévenot, *Voyages*, ii, 459; de Maillet, *Descr. de l'Égypte*, ii, 205). De Brèves (*Voyages*, p. 273) relates the same story, saying he had heard it told by both Christians and Moslems; in his account the miracle took place on Good Friday only, which suggests a comparison with *Matt.* xxvii, 52 ('And the graves were opened; and many bodies of the saints which slept arose'). Two secular parallels occur in Kunos, *Forty-Four Turkish Fairy Tales*, pp. 13, 189-90. In the former a hand emerges from a grave to terrify a fearless man; in the latter a mother extends her hand to comfort her daughter, an idea found also in the Moslem tradition that Rachel spoke from her grave to comfort Joseph weeping at being led captive into Egypt (Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, p. 1139; cf. Spiro, *Hist. de Joseph*, p. 40). In western Christendom there is found what seems at first sight to be a derivative from the East, but has probably evolved quite differently. A shepherd boy, born with only one hand, is miraculously given another, dies in the odour of sanctity, and after his death protrudes the God-given hand from his tomb (Saintyves, *Reliques et Images Légendaires*, p. 277). There may be contamination with the oriental story, but more probably the idea arose from a hand-reliquary in the form of an arm and hand upright in the act of benediction. Such hand-reliquaries are called 'mains angéliques' or 'manus de caelo missae'. On coins of Edward the Confessor a 'main angélique' issues from clouds in the act of blessing. It is to be noted that in many places it is customary to place such

case of ordinary people, is to some extent considered characteristic of great saints and great sinners.¹ Thus, the falling of an old wall is sometimes held to indicate the presence of a buried saint who turns in his sleep.² On the other hand, signs of life in a tomb may be held to show that its occupant is unquiet on account of his sins.³ Sir Dudley North tells us that 'the Turks have an opinion, that men that are buried have a sort of life in their graves. If any man makes affidavit before a judge that he heard a noise in a man's grave he is by order dug up and chopped all to pieces'.⁴ Michele Febvre gives a definite example of this belief and practice. Cries were alleged to have been heard from a certain tomb. The local governor, having heard of it, had the corpse exhumed and decapitated, whereupon the cries ceased.⁵ Any accidental circumstance might confirm this belief, as the following anecdote shows: 'The merchants of Smyrna, once airing on horseback, had (as usual for protection) a janizary with them. Passing by the burying place of the Jews, it happened that an old Jew sat by a sepulchre. The janizary rode up to him and rated him for stinking the world a

reliquaries on the tomb of the saint concerned at his festival. This would naturally generate the notion of the saint sticking his hand out of his grave. The barbarous Moslem traditions probably originate in a country such as Arabia, where the dead are buried in graves so shallow that exposure of their remains is only too easy and frequent a phenomenon.

¹ A dead saint can on occasion embarrass the living. Saint Ismail Milk once gave a beggar who asked him for alms a written order on the Governor, duly sealed, for a hundred crowns' worth of stuff; since that date no one has been allowed to approach the saint's tomb (Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, i, 301-2).

² White, in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xxxix (1907), p. 155.

³ The ambiguity is exactly paralleled by the popular Greek belief as to saints and excommunicated persons. The bodies of both classes do not putrefy but remain intact: see below, p. 456.

⁴ *Lives of the Norths*, ii, 147.

⁵ *Théâtre de la Turquie*, p. 28.

second time, and commanded him to get into his grave again.'¹

The restlessness of the sinful dead might also be manifested less crudely. Wheler at Constantinople

'observed one *Turbe* with the Cuppalo, covered only with a Grate of Wyer; of which we had this Account: that it was of *Mabomet Cupriuli*, Father to the present Vizier . . . concerning whom, after his Decease, being buried here, and having this stately Monument of white Marble, covered with Lead, Erected over his Body; the Grand Signior, and Grand Vizier, had this Dream both in the same night; to wit, that *Cupriuli* came to them, and earnestly beg'd of them a little Water to refresh him, being in a burning heat. Of this the Grand Signior and Vizier told each other, in the Morning, and thereupon thought fit to consult the Mufti, what to do concerning it; who according to their gross Superstition, advised that he should have the Roof of his Sepulcher uncovered, that the Rain might descend on his Body, thereby to quench the Flames tormenting his Soul.'²

Some forms of restlessness in the grave are thus considered characteristic of sinners, others of saints. All the dead alike are thought to have a vague and shadowy life in and about their graves, especially during the forty days after burial. At all times the cemetery is a mysterious borderland of the spirit-world, where miracles are apt to occur since they are half looked for, or at least readily accepted, by those who devoutly visit the graves of their relations. It is thus possible for a dead man to become a saint posthumously, if certain phenomena considered characteristic of the resting places of saints, in particular luminous appearances, occur at his tomb. Certain popular saints seem, indeed, to have acquired their reputation merely from the alleged miraculous consumption of food left at their tombs, which, as we have seen, was in more credulous times probably con-

¹ *Lives of the Norths*, ii, 147.

² Wheler, *Journey into Greece*, pp. 182 f.

sidered neither miraculous nor extraordinary. Such was Kara Baba at Athens,¹ and such is Jigher Baba at Monastir: the latter is propitiated with liver (*jigher*) which is said to disappear in the presence of the suppliant.² The practical distinction, therefore, between the ordinary pious dead and the more or less recognized saints becomes purely a matter of miracles. Once vindicated by a miracle, any tomb may claim the honours of a saint's.

One of the main differences between saints of Islam and those of Christendom lies in the fact that the cult of the former is independent of central authority and to a certain extent considered by the orthodox as heretical or at least equivocal.³ Whereas in the Greek Church sacred spots are associated with the name of a saint in the official church calendar, or, as in the case of neo-martyrs' graves, are consecrated by the authority of bishop or patriarch,⁴ the cult of Turkish saints is purely popular in origin and development, and its organization so far as this exists, comes rather from the dervish orders than from the more strictly orthodox clergy. The

¹ Dodwell, *Tour through Greece*, i, 305.

² F. W. H. A similar tale is told of the Bektashi saint, Haji Hamza at Kruya (Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 223).

³ So Goldziher in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii, 268. In 1711 a young fanatic at Cairo tried to put down saint worship (*ibid.*, p. 335).

⁴ Similarly, the canonization of a Roman Catholic saint depends ultimately on the Pope's sanction: see Hutton, *English Saints*, p. 163, for Henry VI (cult forbidden by Edward IV on the plea that the Pope had not authorized the canonization), *ibid.*, p. 234 (formal canonization of S. Alphege delayed), *ibid.*, p. 272 (Robert Grosseteste failed to be canonized, owing probably to the Pope's hostility). Joachim de Flor (*Acta SS.* 7 May) has a local cult but is not canonized (Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii, n. 242). Maury (*Croy. du Moyen Age*, p. 341) says that canonization was by bishops until 1179, when the Pope became the only source; Joan of Arc was canonized for her hallucinations, but Thomas Martin was only ridiculed for his regarding his mission to Louis XVIII in 1816 (Maury, *op. cit.*, p. 347, citing the *Relation concernant . . . Thomas Martin* par S., anc. magistrat, Paris, 1831).

saint's name is immaterial: in many cases it is not known, and he remains to the end either 'the Baba', 'the Dede', and so on, or, where differentiation is necessary, he takes a name derived from some attribute as Kara Baba ('Black saint'), Kanbur Dede ('hump-backed saint'), Geyikli Baba ('Stag saint'). Many so-called 'dedes' and 'babas', as we shall see, were never real persons but began their religious existence as vague spiritual beings or even less. The line therefore between 'religion' and 'folk-lore', always vague, is in Turkey unusually ill-defined. But the presence of a tomb, whether cenotaph or no, is felt to redeem the cult from paganism, since the veneration of the sainted dead is to some extent sanctioned by Mohammedan tradition. As to the position of orthodox Islam in theory and actual practice in regard to the cult of the dead, I cannot do better than quote the following passage from Gibb's *Ottoman Poetry*:¹

'Although not countenanced by the Koran, the practice of visiting the tombs of holy men is common in Muhammedan countries. The object of these pious visitations varies with the intellectual status of the pilgrim. The most ignorant members of the community, more especially women of the lower classes, go there in order to implore some temporal or material favour (very often a son), and sometimes these even address their prayers to the saint himself. Persons somewhat higher in the intellectual and social scale look upon such spots as holy ground and believe that prayers offered there have a peculiar efficacy. The better educated among the strictly orthodox visit such shrines out of respect for the holy man and in order to salute the place where his remains repose. The object with which the mystics make such pilgrimage is that they may enjoy what they call muráqaba or 'spiritual communion' with the soul of the holy man. The pilgrim in this case fixes his heart or soul wholly on that of the saint, the result being that it experiences an ecstatic communion with this in the Spirit World, whereby it is greatly strengthened and rejoiced on its return to

¹ i, 180, note 2.

the earthly plane. It is not, we are expressly told, because the soul of the saint is supposed to linger about his tomb that the mystic goes thither for his *muráqaba*; but because it is easier for the mystic to banish all outside thoughts and fix his heart wholly and exclusively on that of the saint in a place which is hallowed by associations with the latter.'

A lively and instructive commentary on the above is furnished by Covel's adventure at Eski Baba, where a famous Moslem saint, reputed the conqueror of the town, is venerated.

'He lyes buried,' says our author, 'in St. Nicholas's church. . . . It is made a place of prayer, and he is reckoned a great saint amongst the common people. When we went into it to see his tomb we met another old Turk, who had brought three candles, and presented them to an old woman that looks after it, and shews it to strangers. He said he had made a vow in distress to do it. The old woman told us: Yes, my sons, whenever you are in danger pray to this good holy man and he will infallibly help you. Oh fye! sister, quoth the old Turk, do not so vainly commit sin, for he was a mortall man and a sinner as well as we. I know it, quoth the old wife, that onely God doth all, and he doth nothing; but God for his sake will the sooner hear us; and so ended that point of Turkish divinity.'¹

Though a man renowned in his lifetime for piety or learning becomes after his death naturally and almost

¹ *Diaries*, ed. Bent, p. 186. With these passages may be compared Carmoly's account (*Itinéraires*, p. 182) of Jewish belief in the cult of the dead. 'D'après,' he says, 'un usage assez antique, les israélites visitent les sépulcres dans un double but: l'un domestique, lorsque des parents ou des amis vont pleurer leurs morts; l'autre religieux, lorsqu'ils visitent les tombeaux des patriarches, des prophètes ou des docteurs de la synagogue. Chacun par ses prières, la face tournée vers la ville sainte, recommande le défunt à Dieu et lui souhaite une heureuse résurrection, ou implore l'assistance des héros de la foi. Car selon la doctrine des rabbins, ce ne sont pas seulement nos mérites, mais aussi ceux d'autrui, qui servent de moyens d'apaiser, de propitiatoire, et par l'intermédiaire duquel nous nous réconcilions avec Dieu notre père.' Carmoly adds that the most moving appeal that could be made to the sainted dead was the recitation of passages from their own works.

automatically a saint, it is, as we have seen, quite possible for a dead man of no particular eminence to enjoy a posthumous vogue, since the practical distinction of a saint's grave from another lies ultimately in its power to work miracles.¹

The ritual practices attached to a saint cult naturally vary greatly from place to place: in some it is very simple, in others apparently very complicated. But in nearly every case examination reveals that the apparent complication is in reality no more than an accumulation of familiar elements, derived partly (*e.g.* prayer for the soul's repose and tangible offerings) from the cult of the ordinary dead, partly from secular magic: the 'magic' rites in turn are traceable to quite primitive and widely spread ideas.

As prayers, and especially the *fatihā* or opening sentences of the Koran, are regularly said for the repose of the departed soul, so in the case of the sainted dead prayer may be made as it were an offering and a means of obtaining their intercession² irrespective of the period at which they died. Persons about to travel, for instance, are recommended to touch the door of S. Sophia which is supposed to be made of wood from the Ark, and say a *fatihā* for the repose of Noah's soul.³ The dead may also be honoured, their intercession solicited, or its efficacy acknowledged, by lighting candles on their tombs, by repairing or adding to the tomb building, or by the establishment of foundations for perpetual prayer and Koran reading at their tombs. A third method of invocation (though it is made use of also in other senses) is sacrifice or *kurban*.

The origins of this Semitic practice have been very

¹ Similarly, English saints have been recognized as such merely in consequence of miracles wrought at their graves: for examples see Hutton, *English Saints*, pp. 136, 153-4, 155, 159 (Henry VI), 266 ff.

² White, in *Mosl. World*, 1919, p. 11.

³ Cf. above, p. 10.

fully investigated by Robertson Smith, and do not here concern us. In modern Turkish practice, which is of course based on wider Mohammedan use, it is considered mainly as a vicarious sacrifice, a life given for a life threatened or a life spared: it is essential that the victim should bleed. Elaborate rules for the performance of *kurban* are laid down by the Islamic code in the regulations for the sacrifices of Kurban Bairam¹ and of the Pilgrimage. Sacrifice for life spared is made after escape from danger² or the termination of a dangerous business: it is usual on the return from the Mecca pilgrimage.³ Sacrifice to arrest a threatened evil is made during sickness,⁴ after ominous dreams,⁵ in times of danger, and to check fire or pestilence.⁶ It may also be made at any critical period of life, as commonly at a boy's circumcision⁷ or a bride's entry into her new home,⁸ or at the commencement of any operation regarded as critical or dangerous, such as the erection of a building, the opening of a mine,⁹ a railway,¹⁰ or tramway,¹¹ the beginning of a journey or a war.¹² In

¹ At Kurban Bairam fanatical Moslems smear their faces with the blood of sacrifice (Le Boulicaut, *Au Pays des Mystères*, p. 112).

² De la Magdeleine, *Miroir Ottoman*, p. 56.

³ M. Walker, *Old Tracks*, p. 121.

⁴ De la Magdeleine, *loc. cit.*; White, in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xl (1908), p. 232.

⁵ De la Magdeleine, *loc. cit.*

⁶ White, *loc. cit.*, xxxix (1907), p. 155.

⁷ C. White, *Constantinople*, iii, 243.

⁸ G. E. White, in *Trans. Vict. Inst.*, xxxix, 153. As an extreme case of this sort, amounting almost to human sacrifice, may be cited the case of two gypsies, who at the wedding of one of the sons of Ali Pasha jumped from a high tower at Yannina, taking on themselves to be scapegoats for Ali and his son. They were, as it happened, not much hurt, and were pensioned off by the Pasha for their feat (Ibrahim Manzour, *Mémoires*, p. 131).

⁹ White, *ibid.* For *kurban* at the digging of the Lemnian earth see below, p. 675. For it at Armenian requiem masses see Boucher, *Bouquet Sacré*, p. 434.

¹⁰ Curtiss, *Prim. Semitic Relig.*, p. 184.

¹¹ As at the recent inauguration of the electric tramway at Pera.

¹² White, in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xxxix, p. 153. Before Rogers began to

this spirit Murad II, at the conquest of Salonica, sacrificed a ram on first entering S. Demetrius,¹ and former sultans were wont to immolate whole flocks of sheep at their coronation.² In Persia particularly *kurban* is performed on behalf of great men entering a town. Sir Mark Sykes was complimented in this way at Altin Kūpru and notices that the sacrifice was so made that the victim's blood spurted over his horse's hoofs.³

In these cases as in many others the sacrifice tends to degenerate into a free meal,⁴ since the victim is always eaten and the great man complimented is expected to pay for it: consequently he gains both the spiritual benefit of a *kurban* made in his honour and the merit of charity. It is this latter view of *kurban* as a meritorious act which must have given rise to the curious superstition recorded by Belon that animals sacrificed will pray for their sacrificer in the Day of Judgement.⁵ The

excavate a large artificial mound near Damascus the people of the neighbourhood told him that he would make no discoveries if he did not 'first propitiate the Sheikh, whose tomb is on the top of the Tell, by sacrificing a sheep in his honour' (Rogers, in *P.E.F.*, *Q.S.* for 1869, p. 44). Arabs make *kurban* with a kid to preserve their camels and to ensure the luck of the journey in general: with the blood they make *crosses* on the camels' necks (Robinson, *Palestine*, i, 269).

¹ Ducas, p. 201 B.

² Gerlach in Crusius, *Turco-Græcia*, p. 67.

³ *Dar-ul-Islam*, p. 192: 'Just before entering the town I was subject to a curious and interesting method of paying honour and extorting baksheesh. A man darted forward and cut a sheep's throat, so that the blood spurted on to my horse's hoofs, crying "Avaunt evil!" The explanation of this is that if ever a man of consequence should pass a town an animal should be killed in the fashion described, so as to give fate a life in lieu of one of the honoured person's animals; and the gentleman in question is bound in honour to pay for the sheep, whose flesh is distributed to the poor'; cf. also Walpole's *Travels*, p. 230. Samaritans at their Passover feast the official killers and daub children's and some women's faces with the sacrificed lamb's blood (Mills, *Three Months*, p. 254). Are these women pregnant?

⁴ Cf. Georgeakis and Pineau, *Folk-Lore de Lesbos*, p. 325.

⁵ *Observations de Plusieurs Singularitez*, iii, chap. vi.

Shias of Pontus sacrifice to their saints regularly, not only on extraordinary occasions, but ordinary Turkish custom regards *kurban* as a mode of doing special honour to a saint, generally in acknowledgement of benefits received or expected.¹

So far as my limited experience goes *kurban* in honour of a saint is never performed on his grave or inside his *turbe*. In some cases, as at the *turbe* of Ghāzi Baba at Uskub, a special sacrificial pit is provided to receive the victim's blood, with a wooden frame for hanging and carving it.

From the Mohammedans this practice of *kurban* has spread to the Christian races with whom they came in contact; this was aided by the Easter usages, derived at an earlier period by the Christians from the Semites, and on the other hand by pagan elements surviving, especially on the folk-lore side, among Christians as well as Mohammedans. Both Armenian and Greek Orthodox Christians are familiar with the idea of apotropaic bloodshed and the half religious consumption of the victim.²

Prayer, care of the tombs, and sometimes *kurban* may thus be regarded as the approaches to the favour of the saints. The tangible results of their intercession are thought to be obtained by means of certain ‘super-

¹ White, in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xxxix, 154. Cf. the invocation of Aaron when sacrificing a goat to him (Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 430).

² For the practice among Anatolian Christians in general see White, in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xxxix (1907), p. 154; Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 196 (Armenian sacrifice of cocks); Ainsworth, *Travels*, i, 131 (Greek miners' sacrifice of cocks to mine-spirits). For sacrifices by the Orthodox in connexion with the Church see G. Megas, in *Λαογραφία*, iii, 148-71 (sacrifice of bulls and goats by priest in Thrace); cf. Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 503 (sacrifice to S. George at Kalamata). *Kurban* seems formerly (in the sixteenth century) to have been made inside Orthodox churches (Polites, in *Δελτίον Ἱστορ. Ἐταιρείας*, i, 106). The modern Greek word for sacrifice is *ματώνω* (‘bleed’), emphasizing the importance of shedding blood.

stitious' processes, notably 'bindings', contact with relics (especially earth from the saint's grave), incubation, and circumambulation—all, be it remarked, common to popular Eastern Christianity as well as to popular Islam. As to 'binding', the common forms of the ritual acts here included under the name of 'binding' are the tying of knots and the driving of nails (the ancient *dēfixio*): both acts typify and are thought actually to bring about the transference of the suppliants' ills from himself to the object knotted or nailed. Binding with this object is one of the commonest superstitious acts all over the world, and is prominent among the secular magic usages of Christians as well as Moslems throughout the Near East. Knotted rags, threads, and shreds of clothing are the commonest of all outward signs of a popular cult in Turkey. The knot is tied to the most convenient object on or in the immediate vicinity of the grave.¹ It is popularly believed that 'in proportion as these rags rot and disappear, so will maladies decrease in this world, or sins be effaced in the next.'² If a rag be untied, the evils bound by the knot fall upon the untier.³ After tying the knot, the suppliant must go away without looking back. There is probably some connexion in the popular mind between rags and infectious diseases, since, when a migrant stork returns to a Turkish village with a rag in his bill, an epidemic is prognosticated.⁴

The commonest medium in the curative rites classed generally as contact with relics is earth from a saint's grave. Earth from graves is regularly, and apparently throughout Islam, used for superstitious purposes. Earth from the Prophet's tomb at Medina is commonly brought

¹ For the origin of rag-tying see e.g. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 317 f. For it in practice see e.g. Walsh, *Residence*, ii, 463.

² White, *Constantinople*, iii, 348.

³ Carnoy and Nicolaidis, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 196.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 298.

home by pilgrims,¹ and cures are wrought with earth from saints' graves either by drinking it in water² or by applying it to the part affected.³ Among the Shia Turks of Pontus earth from graves is sprinkled on the fields to prevent a plague of mice.⁴ The water which collects in the circular depressions regularly cut in tombstones appears also to acquire miraculous virtues.⁵ A most interesting account of the ritual at the tomb of S. Demetrius, Salonica, is given by de Launay. His words are as follows :

' Le Turc allume un cierge à la lampe . . . l'un des Grecs, qui sait le turc, dit quelques mots au sacristain, et celui-ci prend une longue ficelle ; il se baisse, il étend, le plus qu'il peut, ses vieux bras raidis ; il mesure, dans un sens, la pierre du tombeau ; il fait un nœud ; puis mesure dans l'autre sens et coupe.

" *To onoma, ton nom ?* " dit le Turc, qui vient de mesurer, avec la ficelle, un des ornements du tombeau et a commencé, en ce point, un nœud encore lâche. Il tient, en se courbant, l'anneau, que forme la corde, sur le haut du cierge allumé et attend qu'on lui réponde. " Georgios," répond le Grec ; et le Turc, répétant " Georgios," serre le nœud dans la flamme ; il fait remarquer au Grec, d'un air satisfait, que le chanvre n'a pas brûlé.

' Une seconde fois il a mesuré, à la suite, le même ornement et, renouvelant la même cérémonie, demande : " Le nom de ton père, de ta mère ? "—" Nikolas, mon père ; Calliopé, ma mère." En répétant les deux noms, le Turc serre encore le nœud dans la flamme. Puis il continue : " Tes enfants ? " Et, quand il a fait ainsi trois nœuds soigneusement, il met la ficelle sacrée en

¹ Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, ii, 160 ; Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i, 256 (dust of the Kaaba sold for this purpose) ; see also below, pp. 684-5.

² Evans, in *J.H.S.*, xxi, 203.

³ *Turbe* of Sahib Ata, Konia (F. W. H.), and doubtless elsewhere. For the use of earth from saints' graves for medicinal purposes see also Seaman's *Orchan*, p. 116 (Karaja Ahmed). The earth of the ' place of the dragon ' at Elwan Chelebi was used for fever (Busbecq, *Life and Letters*, i, 170).

⁴ White, in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xl (1908), p. 235, and in *Mosl. World*, 1919, p. 10.

⁵ See above, p. 210 and n. 2.

un petit paquet, qu'il trempe dans l'huile de la lampe ; il ajoute quelques parcelles de la terre du tombeau ; il enveloppe le tout et le remet au Grec, qui paraît tout heureux. Il lui explique d'ailleurs : "Si tu es malade, toi, ton père, ta mère, tes enfants, le nœud sur la partie souffrante et vous serez guéris." Le Grec se fait donner des détails, tâche de bien se rendre compte ; puis la même cérémonie se répète pour son compagnon.¹

In this account note (1) the complete fusion of cults : a Turkish dervish serves out magic to Christians in a Christian church, which has been diverted to Moslem use. Note (2) that the ritual is secular magic grafted on a common fund of religious belief in tombs, earth from graves, oil of sacred lamps, offerings of candles. The secular part is composed of several well-known beliefs : (a) *μέτρον λαμβάνειν*, and (b) 'binding' of disease and evils²

¹ De Launay, *Chez les Grecs de Turquie*, pp. 183-4.

² The interesting practice of 'binding' churches may here be noticed. E. Deschamps describes the ritual fully as he saw it in Cyprus (see *Tour du Monde*, 1897, pp. 183 ff.). His words are : 'En sortant . . . je suis tout étonné de voir la base de la coupole entourée d'un cordon blanc dont les extrémités pendent jusque sur le toit. J'avais vu un gros paquet de cette *mèche* dans une anfractuosité de l'autre église S. Marina et je questionnai les indigènes sur la raison de cette singulière ceinture. . . . Un jour, un habitant du village vit en songe sainte Catherine, qui lui annonça qu'il allait arriver un grand malheur, une maladie terrible qui atteindrait tous les habitants. Pour en être préservés, il fallait incontinent entourer chaque église d'un épais cordon et les relier l'une à l'autre. Il fallait aussi que tous les habitants achetassent ce même coton, qui n'est autre chose qu'une mèche, chacun pour autant que ses moyens lui permettraient. Ce qui fut dit fut fait, et le village passa à côté du malheur. Un jour le cordon cassa : les parties qui entouraient les monuments restèrent à leur place, pourrissaient lentement ; celle qui servait à les relier fut religieusement ramassée et mise dans un trou du mur de l'église de Sainte-Catherine, où la pluie en a fait un gâteau'. Here what seems to have been the original purpose of the rite, viz. defence against sickness, has been preserved, as also in the cases cited by E. Deschamps, *Au Pays d'Aphrodite*, pp. 89-90 ; A. J. B. Wace, in *Liverpool Ann. Arch.*, iii, 23 (at Koron, Greece) : possibly also by Koechlin Schwartz, *Touriste au Caucase* (chain at Tiflis). The 'cordon' which was run round the town of Valenciennes

in general. As regards the first, the dimensions of a thing have similar virtue to the thing itself. At Athens the picture of S. John at S. John of the Column is 'measured' in the same way,¹ while the measurement (*boi* = stature) of a man may be used instead of a victim for the foundation of a building.² Note further (3) the degradation of these two usages evinced by the second measuring and especially in the knot. Strictly speaking, a knot is not a holy thing, it is the action of tying which, 'binding' the evil, has the effect desired. Here, the

during a plague in 1008 was still preserved in 1820 and carried in procession round the town on 8 September, the anniversary of the miracle (Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, ii, 323). The same method of defence against a human enemy might also be employed; during the captivity of King John after the battle of Poitiers in 1356 the *échevins* of Paris presented Notre Dame de Paris with a candle as long as the *enceinte* of Paris; this became a yearly offering until 1605 (Collin de Plancy, *op. cit.* i, 302). In the West the idea of defence against trouble seems largely lost: *cf.* de Quetteville, *Pardon of Guingamp*, p. 387 ('on the day of the Pardon [at Huelgoat in Notre Dame des Cieux] it is not unusual to see a votive offering in the shape of a girdle of wax, running three times round the exterior of the church. I saw one subsequently at the Pardon of the Mère de Dieu, near Quimper, but the string was single. . . . A poor woman there told me . . . that she would gladly give one on the following year if her prayers were granted' [to get her daughter out of prison]. Sébillot (*Folk-Lore de France*, iv, 137) gives instances from Paris, Chartres (*cf.* P. R., in *Notre Dame*, iv, 123), and Quimper, saying it is, as might be expected, common in Brittany. See also Saintyves, *Reliques et Images Légendaires*, pp. 256 ff. (Valenciennes), 259 (Montpellier), 260 (Tournay), and on the whole subject van Gennep, *Religions, Mœurs, et Légendes* (chapter on *La Ceinture de l'Église*).

¹ See above, p. 195.

² See below, p. 732, n. 5. A bath at Ephesus was haunted by the spirit of a young girl who had been buried alive 'for luck' in the foundations (Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii, 767, *cf.* p. 862). After Pittard had measured a number of gypsies in the Dobruja a monk from a neighbouring convent terrified them by saying Pittard and his friends wished to build a monastery across the Danube, beginning *par y installer des âmes dans ses murs*. The measurement of their heads had had this end in view. 'Leurs âmes allaient les quitter et passer le fleuve. Ils les perdraient ainsi à jamais.' See Pittard, *Dans le Dobrodga*, p. 131.

evil to be bound does not yet exist, it is anticipated only, the knot has become merely a sacred object in the second degree, like any other object which has partaken of the virtue of a holy place. The patient also is only anticipated. Lastly, (4) note that such mummery could be varied *ad lib.* with an ignorant *clientèle* by the same or succeeding dervishes. The only real essential is some kind of 'hocus-pocus, the more apparently elaborate the better, bringing in the tomb of S. Demetrius.

At other healing shrines various articles sometimes said to have belonged to the dead saint are used for cures in a similar manner. Typical is the shrine of Sultan Divani at Afium Kara Hisar, where the iron shoes of the saint are worn for apoplexy.¹ Similarly, at the *tekke* of Husain Ghazi, at Alaja in Paphlagonia, headache is cured by leading the patient seven times round the tomb and placing a string of beads on his head, each of which is struck by a mace.² Both beads and mace, we may be sure, are reputed those of the hero Husain. At the *tekke* of Imam Baghevi at Konia contact with two ancient worked stones is supposed to effect cures.³ Such relics as these may be held to work miracles independently of the presence of the tomb. Of this a good example is the cup of Maslama at Arab Jami in Constantinople, a drink from which is said to benefit mothers in childbirth and nursing.⁴

Further, a handkerchief or garment left in contact with the tomb is thought to absorb the virtue of the saint and becomes itself a secondary relic. This is the procedure used at the tomb of Abu Sufian in the 'under-

¹ Laborde, *Asie Mineure*, p. 65.

² White, in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xxxix (1907), p. 159.

³ F. W. H. : *cf.* above, p. 82.

⁴ D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, i, 285 ; Byzantios, *Κωνσταντινούπολις*, ii, 46-7. On the Christian side also similar beliefs exist, *cf.* Antoninus martyr, *De Locis Sanctis*, ed. Tobler, p. 25 (xxii), who drank *pro benedictione* from the skull of the martyr Theodota.

ground mosque' at Galata¹ and other places.² A kill-or-cure remedy for chronic illnesses in general exists at Monastir, in the habit (*kbirka*) of Kulali Mufti Sheikh Mahmud Efendi, called Khirka Baba.³ The virtue of the *kbirka* is transferred, like that of the Prophet at Constantinople,⁴ to water in which it has been dipped. This water is given to patients who at once take a turn for the better or for the worse.⁵ Earth from the graves of Fatima and Zeinab at Constantinople is used for the same purpose.⁶

Circumambulation has been mentioned as a sub-rite at the tomb of Husain Ghazi at Alaja⁷ and is fairly common elsewhere. The practice is consecrated for Islam by its use at Mecca, where encircling (*tawaf*) the Holy House is a regular part of the pilgrims' ceremonies. It seems also to be practised by Christian pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre. Leaving aside mystical interpretations of the act, we may probably assume that it is designed to secure the maximum amount of blessing from the sacred object in question by allowing all sides of it to act on the worshipper. It is thus a diluted form of contact with relics.

Incubation is practised as commonly in Moham-medan as in Christian sanctuaries. We may instance the shrine visited by Evans at Tekke Keui in Macedonia,⁸ the *tekke* of Hafiz Khalil near Varna,⁹ the cave

¹ F. W. H. : see further below, p. 727. Cf. the Jewish practice of scribbling one's name on a holy place, for which see d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 225, 294.

² Tekke Keui, Macedonia (Evans, in *J.H.S.* xxi, 204); cf. Lucius, *Anfänge des Heiligenk.*, p. 195.

³ For this sheikh see below, p. 358. ⁴ See below, p. 358, n. 2.

⁵ Similarly, a sulphurous well between Angora and the Halys was formerly supposed a 'kill-or-cure' remedy for madmen; similar cures are practised at Sipan Dere in the Taurus; see above, p. 52, n. 2.

⁶ Carnoy and Nicolaidis, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 117.

⁷ Above, p. 266 and n. 2.

⁸ In *J.H.S.* xxi, 204.

⁹ Nikolaos, *'Οδησός*, pp. 248-50.

of the Seven Sleepers near Tarsus.¹ Outside the sphere of religion proper we find a bath reputed haunted by beneficent *peris*, which is used for incubation in the same way.² A similar secular incubation of three nights is practised by men³ and especially animals⁴ in Cappadocia.

Owing to the influence of classical parallels, especially Aesculapius worship, too much stress has been laid on the use of incubation as a cure for bodily or mental ailments. The root idea is more general. Sleep in a sacred place is regarded as a means of closer communion with the beneficent spiritual influence of the holy place through the dream state, which is not differentiated from the ecstatic trance. Though this closer communion is most often made use of for healing, it may be sought for other purposes. For example, the cave of the Seven Sleepers near Tarsus is used for incubation by women desirous of children,⁵ and Catholic pilgrims formerly incubated in the church of the Sepulchre for the general beneficial results supposed to be obtained thereby:⁶ this is still an important part of the pilgrimage for Russians.⁷ Similarly, in ancient times incubation was practised at Oropus as a preliminary to receiving an oracle from Amphiaraus.⁸

It is interesting and characteristic that animals share with men the benefits of communion with the saints.

¹ Schaffer, *Cilicia*, p. 29.

² [Blunt], *People of Turkey*, ii, 226-9; cf. above, p. 109.

³ Carnoy and Nicolaidès, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, pp. 335 ff.; this cult seems vaguely connected with the Syrian saint Haji Bekir (*ibid.*, p. 210).

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 203-4.

⁵ Schaffer, *loc. cit.* Barren women also patronize the *ojak* of Haji Bekir (Carnoy and Nicolaidès, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 335). Cf. the incubation for children at Eski Baba in Thrace and at Musa Tekke near Kachanik in Macedonia (F. W. H.).

⁶ Lithgow, *Rare Adventures*, p. 237; Casola's *Pilgrimage*, p. 261.

⁷ Stephen Graham, *With the Russian Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, pp. 131 f.

⁸ On incubation see further below, pp. 689-95.

Sick animals are brought by their masters, Christian and Moslem, to the monastery of S. John the Baptist¹ and to the church of S. Makrina² in the district of Caesarea. In Rumeli the *tekkes* of Choban Baba at Kumanovo and Ishtip are famous for their cures of animals by laying upon them the staff of the saint.³ Conversely, the tomb of the Horse at Skutari works miracles for men,⁴ who also frequent with reverence the graves of Suleiman Pasha and his horse at Bulair.⁵

Of oracles and divination in connexion with the cult of the dead few examples have been published. At Haidar-es-Sultan Crowfoot found a wise woman in the service of the village *tekke*, who acted the part of a Pythian priestess, inhaling the fumes of a sulphurous spring, and, thus inspired, predicted the future.⁶ The spring of Bakmaja near Ainegueul (Brusa district) also

¹ Carnoy and Nicolaidès, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 203.

² *Ibid.*, p. 204.

³ F. W. H. (from information obtained from local residents).

⁴ Especially young children, see M. Walker, *Eastern Life*, i, 277 (below, pp. 272 f.). The horse is variously said to be that of Sultans Osman (Burgess, *Greece and the Levant*, ii, 194) or Mahmud (Meyer's *Konstantinopel*, 7th ed., p. 315; Hope, *Anastasius*, iii, 12). G. Temple (*Travels*, ii, 189) says there are two tombs of Osman II's and Mahmud I's horses. Similar memorials to dogs are found in Palestine, see Kitchener in *P.E.F.*, Q.S. for 1877, p. 171, and Schumacher, *ibid.*, Q.S. for 1888, p. 216.

⁵ Fife-Cookson, *With the Armies of the Balkans*, p. 163. Cf. Abu Zenneh's in the Sinai peninsula (Robinson, *Palestine*, i, 102): of this grave Stanley writes (*Sinai*, p. 68) that it is believed the tomb of the horse of Abu Zenneh, who was killed in battle. Battle and master are alike unknown to history, but he is said to have commanded that every Arab, who passed the cairn, should throw sand on it as if it were barley, and say, 'Eat, eat, O horse of Abu Zenneh'. Stanley saw for himself that this is still done. Palmer states that, while the pagan Arabs had brought offerings to the grave, under the influence of Islam the grave had become regarded as devil-haunted and passers-by kick up sand with the words, 'Eat that and get thee gone' (*Desert of the Exodus*, p. 42). For the memorial to Shoehman's mare see Kelly, *Syria*, p. 445.

⁶ In *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xxx, 307.

exhales vapours which are credited with healing properties not used for divination.¹ A well at Eyyub used for divination is described by Evliya² in the following terms :

‘ There is an old well that goes by the name of Ján Koyússí, the well of souls.³ If a person who has lost any thing performs here a prayer of two rika’at⁴ devoting the merit of it to Yussúf,⁵ and asking that great Prophet to describe to him what he or his relations have done amiss, a voice is heard from the bottom of the well describing the place where the lost thing or person is to be found. This well answers to everything except about the five hidden things (which as the Prophet declared nobody knows but God), as for example, if any one should ask, “ Whether the child in the mother’s womb is a boy, or a girl ? ” in that case no answer is returned but “ stay a little ”. I, the humble Evliyá, having myself inquired one day at this well, where my uncle Osmán then was, and what he was doing, received the answer, that he was buying flour at Aidinjik, and would soon join me ; he having arrived thirteen days after, I asked him where he had been, and what he had been doing on such a day, he replied, “ that he had been buying flour at Aidinjik ”.’

Divination without a *medium* is reduced to its simplest elements, a ‘ yes ’ or ‘ no ’ answer to certain stereo-

¹ Cuinet, *Turquie d’Asie*, iv, 38.

² *Travels*, i, ii, 34.

³ Derived from the well of souls (*Bir-al-Arwab*) in the Haram at Jerusalem (Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 132) ; it was said to descend to Hades (Conder, *Jerusalem*, p. 254). It occupies the site of the altar of Sacrifice and according to some Moslem divines the souls of the just rest in the well till the Day of Judgement. This is all part of the idea that caves, cisterns, and wells, which are all dark and echoing places, are haunted, probably by *jinns* in ordinary cases, but holy wells could naturally be haunted only by holy beings. This is seen most plainly perhaps in the case of caves (or crypts, for a cave is often only a natural crypt, as a crypt is sometimes an artificial cave) ; see above, p. 223.

⁴ *Rika’at* = prostration during prayer.

⁵ The connexion is of course with the (pit or) well, into which Joseph was let down by his brethren (see Sale’s *Koran*, p. 170, and commentary).

typed questions being all that is required. At Eski Baba there is said to be a round stone on which sick people sit to obtain oracles of health : if they are to recover the stone turns to the right, if not, to the left.¹ At Tekke Keui near Uskub the sacred stone seen by Evans gives oracles of the same kind, if the suppliant can so embrace it that the fingers of his two hands meet, his wish is granted, if not, the reverse.²

Divination with pebbles for the return or otherwise of absent friends is practised at the *turbe* of Ghazi Baba at Uskub. Pebbles are kept on the tomb : the inquirer takes a handful at random and counts them. If the number is even, the answer is in the affirmative, if odd, negative.³ In the *turbe* of a Bektashi convent at Juma, near Kozani in Macedonia, there is a simple wishing-oracle derived from the swinging of a porcelain ball or polyhedron suspended from the ceiling of the *turbe*. If this ball, swung away from the suppliant, strikes him on the rebound, his wish will be granted, otherwise the reverse may be expected.⁴ Similarly, a ball in the

¹ F. W. H. from a local Christian in 1909.

² Cf. Evans, in *J.H.S.* xxi, 203 : 'The suppliant utters a prayer for what he most wishes, and afterwards embraces the stone in such a way that the finger tips meet at the further side.' On this oracle see further below, p. 277.

³ F. W. H. (1914). I saw a small pile of pebbles also on the tomb of Jafer Ghazi in his *turbe* (now closed) in the citadel. Pebble divination is also practised at Zile in Pontus (White, *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xxxix, 162, stones thrown on a flat stone with a prayer) and at Tekke Keui near Uskub (Evans, *loc. cit.*, p. 204). Secular divination for news of absent friends by means of beads, with a rather more elaborate code, is mentioned in Carnoy and Nicolaïdes, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, pp. 343 f.

⁴ F. W. H. : see below, p. 529. Cf. Murray's *Asia Minor*, p. 255, where is mentioned a blue porcelain ball suspended from a mosque dome at Divriji (near Sivas) with miraculous powers. It is probable that both balls were originally charms against the evil eye. In Syria widows commonly use their husbands' tombs as oracles. 'The question is placed at the tomb and 'son feu mari ne manque pas de lui venir donner [la réponse] la nuit suivante' (Lhévenot, *Voyages*, iii, 80).

Bektashi *tekke* of Bujak near Juma gives information about the health of absent friends.¹

Another example of the ritual at a popular Turkish shrine is given by Mrs. Walker in her description of the 'Tomb of the Horse' at Skutari. Her words are as follows :

'Towards the south-western limit of the great Scutari burial-ground, and almost hidden among moss-grown graves, rank weeds, and cypress stems, you come upon a venerable monument—a stone vaulted roof, supported on columns, that covers nothing but a plain surface of trodden earth, with a small upright stone marking the headplace of the occupant. The people of the neighbourhood call it the tomb of a horse, and point to another burial-place enclosed in a railing, heavily trimmed with votive rags, as the grave of a saintly man, the owner² of the much-honoured steed.³ This monument . . . is very similar to the tomb erected to commemorate the horse of Mohammed the Conqueror,⁴ this latter in the cemetery of Eyoub, on the summit of the hill called Sandjakdjilar, the "standard-bearer" . . . this spot is endowed, they affirm, with the miraculous power of giving firmness and strength to the legs of weakly crippled children. The application of the charm takes place on Fridays, in the afternoon.

'A very dilapidated imām officiated on the day of our visit there, two or three women of the humbler class had assembled, holding their sickly babies very tenderly and anxiously. Each party brought a new whisk broom, with which the officiating priest swept carefully round the area three times ; then, taking the child under the arms, proceeded to drag it round backwards, so that its legs should come as much as possible in contact with the strength-giving earth. This was done three times, with a pause at the head of the grave, when the little limbs were flapped down—also three times.

'A penny was the charge for this inexpensive if ineffectual remedy, and the mother bore away her child, taking great care

¹ M. M. H.

² See above, p. 269, n. 4.

³ The combination of the graves of a 'holy man' and his horse with a Christian *ayasma* seem to point to a cult of S. George-Khidr.

⁴ For other horses' tombs see above, p. 269, nn. 4-5.

not to turn her head as she departed, lest the charm should be broken. On leaving the horse's grave the patient is carried to a small building near at hand, that contains, under one roof, the tomb of a Turkish Saint and a Christian *ayasma*, or holy well. An old woman, singularly alive to the merits of backshish, presides over the fountain, at which both Mussulman and Christian drink, after which the ancient lady produces a monstrous chaplet—a *tesbih*—of large dark beads, which she passes three times over the head of the visitor and down to the feet—like a skipping-rope. As the operation is paid for, any one that pleases may enjoy the privilege; in the case of the children who had been dragged round the horse's grave, it is a necessary and completing part of the cure.¹

As a suggestion of origin for the tomb the following may be considered. The so-called *Horse's Tomb* has no appearance of being a tomb at all. It is merely a *kubbeh* of no very ancient date, such as are commonly built as a work of charity by women in graveyards, to serve as a retreat and shelter for mourning women.² A mosque was built at Skutari by a dowager sultana and named after her Valideh Atik (*elder*) Jamisi. Did the same lady build this *kubbeh*, it being called after her Valideh Sultan Atik Kubbesi, degenerating into *Sultan Ati Kubbesi* ³ (*kubbeh* of the sultan's horse)?

As to the ritual at the Horse's Tomb, it will be seen at once that it is merely an accumulation of various acts supposed to be beneficial. Contact with, and proximity to, sacred objects form the base, the sacred objects being in this case (1) the earth of the tomb, (2) the water of the well, and (3) the beads of the saint. The effects of these are enhanced by (1) encircling the horse's tomb and (2) passing through the beads; the root idea of both acts ('circumambulation'⁴ and 'transition'⁵) is common to the folk-lore of many countries.

¹ *Eastern Life*, i, 277 ff.

² See below, p. 325, n. 4.

³ See also below, p. 327.

⁴ See above, p. 267.

⁵ See above, pp. 182-5. To be inside of, or encircled by, the holy

The encircling is done an auspicious number of times, and the whole ceremony takes place on an auspicious day, Friday, on which the greatest number of Moslem souls commune with God. This latter is the sole real contact of the cult with orthodox Islam.

The only record known to me of an elaborate sequence of Turkish ritual practices which is at all comparable to Mrs. Walker's for minuteness of observation is Evans's description¹ of the *tekke* and cult at Tekke Keui near the village now called Alexandrovo and not far from Uskub. The *tekke* is described as a humble building divided into an anteroom and sanctuary. The central object of the latter is a square stone pillar with bevelled edges. Behind it (from the antechamber door) is a sunken hearth occupied by candles, in front of it a square base on which the pilgrim stands when he makes his preliminary prayer. The procedure is as follows :

' Taking his stand on the flat stone by the pillar, the suppliant utters a prayer for what he most wishes, and afterwards embraces the stone in such a way that the finger-tips meet at its further side. A sick Albanian was walking round the pillar when I first saw it, kissing and embracing it at every turn.

' The worshipper who would conform to the full ritual, now fills a keg of water from a spring that rises near the shrine—another primitive touch,—and makes his way through a thorny grove up a neighbouring knoll, on which is a wooden enclosure surrounding a Mahommedan Saint's Grave or Tekke. Over the headstone of this grows a thorn tree hung with rags of divers colours, attached to it—according to a widespread primitive

object is obviously a more favourable position for receiving blessing from it than to encircle it. This is reflected in a higher plane of thought by a passage of Saadi quoted by Burton (*Pilgrimage to Meccah*, 1906, ii, 165): ' he who travels to the Ka'abah on foot makes the circuit of the Ka'abah, but he who performs the pilgrimage of the Ka'abah in his heart is encircled by the Ka'abah '. Whereas every pilgrim makes the *tawaf*, very few are admitted to the interior of the Holy House.

¹ In *Mycenean Tree and Pillar Cult*, J. H. S. xxi, 202 ff.

rite—by sick persons who had made pilgrimage to the tomb. . . . In the centre of the grave was a hole, into which the water from the holy spring was poured, and mixed with the holy earth. Of this the votary drinks three times, and he must thrice anoint his forehead with it. . . .

‘It was now necessary to walk three times round the grave, each time kissing and touching with the forehead the stone at the head and foot of it. A handful of the grave dust was next given me, to be made up into a triangular amulet and worn round the neck. An augury of pebbles, which were shuffled about under the Dervish’s palms over a hollowed stone, having turned out propitious, we now proceeded to the sacrifice. This took place outside the sepulchral enclosure, where the Priest of the Stone was presently ready with a young ram. My Albanian guide cut its throat, and I was now instructed to dip my right hand little finger in the blood and to touch my forehead with it.

‘The sacrifice completed, we made our way down again to the shrine, . . . it was now necessary to divest one’s self of an article of clothing for the Dervish to wrap round the sacred pillar, where it remained all night. Due offerings of candles were made, which, as evening drew on, were lit on the sunken hearth beside the stone. We were given three barley corns to eat, and a share in the slaughtered ram, of which the rest was taken by the priest, was set apart for our supper in the adjoining antechamber. Here, beneath the same roof with the stone, and within sight of it through the open doorway, we were bidden to pass the night, so that the occult influences due to its spiritual possession might shape our dreams as in the days of the patriarchs.’

Here, as at Skutari, the religious importance of the sanctuary is divided between three sacred objects, of which two are a saint’s tomb and a sacred water. The third—at Tekke Keui a pillar—usurps the lion’s share of the interest. To it we shall return. Most of the ritual turns directly or indirectly on contact with these holy objects. The pillar is embraced and circumambulated, the water of the spring and the earth of the grave are both swallowed on the spot and taken away to be

worn as an amulet ; similarly, a garment which has been in contact with the pillar is worn to perpetuate its beneficent influence. The corn and the sacrificial flesh are conceived of as hallowed by the connexion with the sacred place. The sacred number, here three, occurs twice. Finally, the patient, permeated by the influence of the holy place, sleeps through the mysterious night in close proximity to the sacred stone.

Some few new points which I have gleaned after Evans give an added interest to this sanctuary. First, the name of the buried saint is Karaja Ahmed and the *tekke* is in the hands of the Bektashi. Karaja Ahmed¹ is a famous saint of this order and his 'tombs' are numerous in the Sangarius valley and elsewhere in Asia Minor: the likeness of the name 'Karaja' to the Slavonic form of 'George' may have aided the saint's identification by Christians with S. George, at which Evans hints and which, since the Serbian conquest of this part of Macedonia, is so far accepted by local Christians that a cross has been erected at the place. Secondly, the sanctuary in which the pillar stands is a simple form of the Bektashi 'house of prayer' (*ibadet hane, meidan*) or 'lodge' and all its furniture, including pillar, square base, candle-stand, and sheepskins, is in harmony. The pillar and 'base' (called by the Bektashi *meidan tash*) seem to be essential to Bektashi ritual. The pillar is sometimes a real part of the structure of the 'lodge', sometimes a movable piece of furniture: I have seen it square and twelve-sided. The *meidan tash* likewise varies in form, being sometimes square, sometimes eight-sided, and sometimes a twelve-pointed star formed by segmental excisions from a circular stone. The *meidan tash* is supposed to symbolize the altar of Ishmael and at the initiation of a Bektashi the candidate stands on it.² The variation in the shape of the stone may be dependent on the grade of

¹ See below, pp. 404 f.

² J. P. Brown, *Dervishes*, p. 167.

the 'lodge'. In large 'lodges' there are twelve sheepskins (at Tekke Keui Evans saw only five), which are the seats of the twelve major officials of the *tekke*; ¹ similarly the Bektashi *taj* or mitre has four divisions on its rim and twelve above. It thus seems evident that the 'sacred stone' of Tekke Keui has an esoteric meaning for the Bektashi and the fables of its 'flying from Khorasan' or being 'brought by a holy man from Bosnia' ² heard by Evans are probably for rustic consumption.

Lastly, a small point in the ritual which seems to have escaped Evans, but which bulked large in the accounts of my local informants, is that the preliminary 'embracing' of the sacred stone is in itself an oracle of the success or otherwise of the suppliant; if his petition is not to be granted, he is unable to clasp the stone so that his finger-tips touch, a distinct embargo on the corpulent. The point is of some interest as apparently coming not from the Sunni but from the Shia side of Islam, to which the Bektashi belong. A column of the mosque of Ali at Kufa has the same oracular properties, used in this instance to confirm doubtful legitimacy or the reverse.³ A connexion between the two seems certain.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

² Above, p. 197, n. 2.

³ Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 216. See further below, p. 635.

XVIII

SAINTS AND THEIR MIRACLES

§ I. CATEGORIES OF SAINTS

THE saints of the Turks fall into several fairly well-defined categories, and may be divided into

- (1) Prophets of the Jewish tradition (*e.g.* Noah and Joshua);¹
- (2) Koranic saints (*e.g.* Khidr and the Seven Sleepers);
- (3) Men of holy life, including preachers and learned men, dervishes and anchorites;
- (4) *Ghazis* or warriors who have fallen in fight against the infidel, generally either 'Arabs' of the early centuries of Islam or heroes of the Turkish conquest;
- (5) Tribal saints;
- (6) Lay founders of religious establishments, who have acquired merit, and therefore influence in heaven, by this pious act.

The tomb and memorials of all these, irrespective of their function in life, are felt to have power and all may

¹ Other interesting Jewish figures adopted by the Moslems are Nimrod (see below, p. 317, n. 4) and Samson. Samson bargained with his compatriots that, if he destroyed the church, and the Christians in it, at Ain Shemes [Samson's country], he should have a quarter of the revenues of the country. When the Christians had assembled in the church, he went to it and, crying, 'Ya Rabb,' knocked down the column which supported it, burying himself and them in the ruins. They buried him at Sara, and the sheikh attached to the tomb takes a quarter of the olives grown between Deir Eban and Ain Shemes: one *fellah* who refused to pay the toll found his olives, when pressed, exude blood (Clermont-Ganneau, *Pal. Inconnue*, p. 58). Story (*Roba di Roma*, ii, 248) was told that the blind man Samson had pulled down the church at Siena. One of the Greek temples at Metapontum is called *Chiesa di Sansone* (Baedeker, *S. Italy*, p. 242). I heard somewhat the same tale at Kastoria, Macedonia.

ease by their intercessions the troubles of their suppliants. In addition, in death as in life, an obscure person may prove himself a saint by manifesting his power to work miracles. Further, as elsewhere, ignorance and chicanery have added to the number of genuine graves a number of cenotaphs and bogus sanctuaries of superstitious saints.¹

The vogue of a saint depends on many conditions. Certain saints are definitely associated with certain trades, professions, or sects.² Every guild in Constantinople, like every dervish organization, has its special patron saint (*pir*), who is claimed as founder. The illustrious admiral Khair-ed-din ('Barbarossa') was regularly invoked yearly, for no other reason than the success of his arms, by his successors before they put to sea with their fleets.³ Sidi Ghazi in former days and Haji Bektash still⁴ are associated with the profession of arms. Khidr, the half-divine guide of Moses in the Koran, becomes naturally enough the protector of travellers.⁵ Such saints have a certain prescriptive right to veneration from their particular followers, and so to a limited extent the Turkish pantheon is departmenta-

¹ Cf. above, pp. 234-6.

² This is well seen in the West, with its more abundant material for study, cf. Hasluck, *Letters*, pp. 31-2.

³ This custom began at least soon after Khair-ed-din's death in 1569 (Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* vi, 332, quoting a Venetian *Relazione*; cf. Hammer-Hellert, xviii, 81 (703)). See also Canaye (1573), *Voyage*, p. 139; Thomas Smith in Ray's *Voyages*, ii, 48 ('[At Beshiktash] lies buried the famous Pyrate *Ariadin*, whom the Christian Writers call *Barbarossa*. . . The Captain *Bassa* usually, before he puts to Sea with his Armata of Gallies, visits the tomb of this fortunate Robber . . . and makes his prayers at the neighbouring church [!] for the good success of his Expedition'). The grave is now little regarded, cf. Slade, *Travels*, p. 63; Temple, *Travels*, ii, 210.

⁴ Decourdemanche, in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* lx (1909), p. 66.

⁵ George of Hungary, *De Moribus Turcorum*, cap. xv, quoted below, p. 498. Breuning, *Orient. Reys* (1579), p. 106, probably copies from the former. See below, p. 323, n. 1.

lized. In general, however, the popular fame of a Turkish saint depends on his power to work miracles, especially of healing, and his reputation for the cures of particular afflictions depends on chance successes, accidents of name,¹ or astute organization.

§ 2. MIRACLES AND LEGENDS OF THE SAINTS

• The miracles of the saints are primarily tokens of the favour of God obtained by the saint's intercession with God on his own behalf or on that of others. The saints most renowned for miracles are dervishes, who possess or affect to possess occult knowledge as well as holiness, and a supposed miracle is generally attributed to a dervish. The dervish is conceived of as a person not far removed from a magician, who works through *jinns* or demons and may without prejudice claim power over *jinns*. Solomon himself, who is conceived of as perfectly orthodox and specially favoured of God, is not considered inconsistent for exercising his power over *jinns*,² and indeed the favour of God, combined with learning of a special sort, is supposed to give such power.

¹ A conspicuous example is Ashik Pasha, whose tomb at Kirshehr was a pilgrimage for persons afflicted by love-troubles (*ashk* = 'love'): for this see George of Hungary, *De Moribus Turcorum*, cap. xv (below, p. 496).

² *Jinns* built Baalbek for Solomon (cf. Benjamin of Tudela, ed. Wright, p. 91; de Volney, *Voyage*, ii, 119; Warburton, *Crescent and Cross*, p. 309, &c.); see above, p. 200. They also built the vaults under the Haram at Jerusalem for him (de Vogüé, *Syrie*, p. 204); the work being finished, Solomon 'les a écroués pour l'éternité aux pierres de leurs piliers'. The Bordeaux pilgrim already mentions the crypt *ubi Salomon daemones torquebat* (in Chateaubriand's *Itinér.* iii, 242). Migne (*Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii, 854) gives the incident of the demon Sakhr at the building of the Temple. The Koran (Sale's edition, p. 284) mentions his armies of demons, birds, and men. He retained his power over the *jinns* after he died by concealing his death for some time. (Conder, *Jerus.*, p. 254; cf. Sale's *Koran*, p. 323). Migne further (*op. cit.*, ii, 839 ff.) says that both Jews and Greek Christians attributed magic powers over demons to Solomon.

The learning in question comes partly from innate qualities, partly from meditation and instruction.

The dervishes of hagiological folk-lore have many 'fairy' characteristics. They can take various shapes,¹ are endowed with supernatural strength,² and, to judge by their tombs, supernatural size also. They thus approximate very closely to the *dev* of secular folk-tales, and many supposed saints may have originated as white-washed *devs*. The dervish of legend generally falls into one of two fairly well-marked categories, *i.e.* (1) the warrior and (2) the hermit or contemplative: characteristics of both may of course be combined in one person. In general, however, it may be said that the warrior type took root with the Osmanli, while with the Seljuks the mystic learned branch was in favour.

The warrior dervish can be dismissed in a few words. The conception is of course based on the actual practice of using dervishes to inspire the troops in battle. The association of the Janissaries with the Bektashi dervishes is the outcome of this practice, which doubtless goes back to the time when every Turkish tribal chief was both the leader in war and the medicine-man of his tribe. Dervishes still marched with the troops till quite recent times, even after the fall of the Janissaries.³ The miracles proper to the warrior dervish naturally consist in supernatural feats of arms generally accomplished with dummy weapons and the power of the spirit.⁴

¹ Cf. the saint in Goldziher, *Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii (1880), p. 278. Accused of not saying his prayers, he took various forms and posed his accusers with the question, 'In which form have you seen me neglect prayer?'

² Cf. the sheikh in Goldziher, *loc. cit.*, p. 271.

³ Cf. Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* vii, 267; Peyssonnel, *Mémoires de M. le Baron de Tott*, pp. 34 ff.; Wittman, *Travels*, p. 10; Burnaby, *On Horseback through Asia Minor* (1877), i, 318. Bektashi *babas* were specially brought to encourage the Albanian troops at the battle of Kumanovo in 1913 (F. W. H.).

⁴ A dervish's wooden sword is hung up at the tomb of Sersem Ali at Kalkandelen (F. W. H.); other wooden weapons are in a Cappadocian

As characteristic of the 'hermit' type of dervish we may specially remark miracles based on their complete union with the world of nature, including the taming of wild animals, especially deer, and, as a further extension of the same powers, supernatural power over inanimate objects.¹

Outside dervish circles a very favourite hero for miraculous legends is the unknown saint,² whose miracles³ are the vindication of his unexpected claim to veneration. They may be worked during his lifetime or after his death. The 'unknown saint of God' is generally a conspicuously unlikely person, of very obscure station,⁴ apparently negligent in his religious duties,⁵ even a Christian,⁶ or a drunkard.⁷

Of hagiographical legends a very large class is composed of aetiological legends devised to account for prominent natural features or natural curiosities of certain localities. The existence of mountains, springs, and lakes is frequently attributed to the direct action of saintly personages. Thus, the summits of the Trojan Ida are due to the sifting of Sari Kiz, a female saint to

tekke (Crowfoot in *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xxx, 307). For a story turning on the same motif see Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, pp. 74 ff.

¹ Cf. especially the *kutb* in Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, i, 291.

² See below, p. 293.

³ In Algeria, if a miracle takes place at the traditional burial-place or cell of a saint, whose name is unknown, a chapel of Sidi 'l Mokhfi ('My Lord the Hidden One') is dedicated (Montet, *Culte des Saints Musulmans*, p. 21; cf. also p. 22). Cf. Conder, in *P.E.F.*, Q.S. for 1874, pp. 23 f., for Haj Alian, a poor, obscure saint vindicated by a miracle.

⁴ Ephraim Teuvelu in (x); Emrem Yunuz in (vii); cf. Miss Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 309 (butcher saint of Alessio); P. Guérin, *Vie des Saints*, s.d. Jan. 17 (S. Anthony the Great and the leather curer of Alexandria). For other eastern motifs in the West see below, p. 632.

⁵ Imam Baghevi in (viii); Laleli in Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, pp. 144 f.

⁶ *Mesnevi*, tr. Redhouse, p. 34.

⁷ Carnoy and Nicolaides, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

whom considerable reverence is paid by the surrounding Yuruk populations:¹ those of the Ali Dagh, near Caesarea, to similar action on the part of the nephew and successor of the Prophet :² and three tumuli at Sestos, according to ' a silly fable related by the *Turks* ', were ' formed by the straw, the chaff, and the corn of a Dervish, winnowing his grain '.³ The spring at Ivriz was called forth by a companion of the Prophet,⁴ and numerous other springs are attributed to the action of dervish-saints.⁵ The lakes of Egerdir and Beyshehr were formed by Plato (' Eflatun ', a figure standing half-way between saint and magician in Oriental legend), who blocked their outlet.⁶ Sheikh Arab Gueul, near Dineir, represents the site of a wicked town overwhelmed by an ' infidel dervish '.⁷ Some similar story probably connects Hasan Dede with the salt lagoon in Cilicia bearing his name.⁸

This type of legend is apt to take a moral colour. The saint, insulted or angered, curses the country by an inundation. Plato, with a curious incompetence, obtains the same effect by accident or miscalculation, his aim being purely beneficent.⁹ Such manipulation of water, whether for utilitarian or destructive purposes, is specially characteristic of the oriental magician.¹⁰

¹ See Leaf, in *Geog. Journ.* xl (1912), p. 37 ; above, p. 100.

² See above, p. 102, n. 3.

³ E. D. Clarke, *Travels*, iii, 86.

⁴ For references see above, p. 106, n. 1.

⁵ Cf. e.g. Hammer, *Brussa*, p. 14 ; Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 244 ; Kanitz, *Bulgarie*, p. 535 ; Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 226.

⁶ Below, p. 366.

⁷ Laborde, *Asie Mineure*, p. 105.

⁸ For the lagoon see Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, ii, 41. Hasan Dede may be historical : see the inscription in his honour published by Langlois, *Cilicie*, pp. 330-1.

⁹ The same phenomena may be variously interpreted. The saltings of Larnaka represent, like most of the lakes cited above, the *vengeance* of a saint (Lazaros) ; but the saltings of Haji Bektash are the outcome of his beneficent forethought for a saltless people (Cuinet, *op. cit.*, i, 342). A salt marsh in Persia was caused by the mere presence of the guilty Shimr (F. C. Sykes, *Persia and its People*, p. 168).

¹⁰ For ' Belinas ' (Apollonius of Tyana) in this connexion see below

Supposed evidences of ancient inundations on a larger scale are generally connected with the cutting of the Bosphorus and the Strait of Gibraltar by Alexander the Great, a purely secular figure. According to the western account Alexander, incensed at the conduct of a king of Carthage, who refused to accept him as suitor to his (already betrothed) daughter, revenged himself by cutting the Strait of Gibraltar, and thereby flooding the low-lying districts of the stiff-necked king's territory.¹ The eastern version is for aetiological purposes more satisfactory. Alexander was opposed in Asia by Kadife, queen of Smyrna, who either refused him passage for his troops on their way to India, or declined to do him homage. He retaliated by cutting the channels of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, and flooding Kadife's country with the water of the Black Sea. Afterwards relenting, on account of the damage done to innocent nations, he drained off some of the water by cutting the Strait of Gibraltar.²

This version has the merit of accounting both for ruins still submerged on the coast and for all local traces or supposed traces of the sea found inland. Thus, at various points near the Black Sea, now left high and dry, rings or pillars are pointed out as originally intended for the mooring of ships :³ the theory is confirmed by any

p. 366, n. 6. Cf. the fish-pools of Solomon at Jerusalem (Fabri, *Evagat.* ii, 185). A professor at Padua moved a well bodily from one place to another (see Fabri, *op. cit.* iii, 391, who thinks he must have had a nymph in his power). This is in the oriental manner of thinking, all these things being worked ultimately by *jinn*s. To my mind Solomon is the prototype of all, Christian and Moslem : see above, p. 280, n. 2.

¹ N. Davis, *Carthage*, pp. 40-1.

² Carnoy and Nicolaidès, *Folklore de Constantinople*, pp. 16 ff. ; cf. Rycaut, *Greek and Armenian Churches*, p. 39, and Tsakyroglous in *Z. f. Volksk.* ii (1890), p. 103.

³ Near Amasia (Haji Khalfa, tr. Armain, p. 685) ; near Ineboli (Carnoy and Nicolaidès, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 18) ; on the summit of Mt. Argæus (Carnoy and Nicolaidès, *Trad. de l'Asie*

chance discoveries of petrified shells.¹ Of the former extent of Alexander's inundation of the Aegean, the name of Denizli² and the discovery of mooring-rings at Aidin³ are adduced as evidence. The existence of petrified shells on Mount Pagus⁴ at Smyrna, and of a colossal marble head formerly built into the castle, have probably been sufficient to bring its queen into the cycle.

Beyond the aetiological, some other favourite hagiographical *motifs* are illustrated by the selected stories which follow. These *motifs* include :

1. Competition between saints ; 5
2. The symbolic act or acted parable,⁶ often combined with (1) ;
3. Multiplication of food ; 7
4. Miraculous journeys and transportations.⁸

The 'miraculous journey' is specially characteristic of Turkish saints⁹ and doubtless of Moslem saints in general,¹⁰ perhaps owing to the existence of a prototype

Mineure, p. 223) ; at Paravadi in Roumania (Evliya, *Travels*, i, i, 6 ; Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, iii, 173 ; Haji Khalfa, *Rumeli und Bosna*, p. 32) ; at Menkub in the Crimea (Evliya, *loc. cit.*).

¹ Evliya, i, i, 7.

² Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 18 ; the name is probably derived from a Turkish tribe *Tingbizlu*, which has become confused with *deniz* (= 'sea').

³ P. Lucas, *Voyage fait en 1714*, i, 162.

⁴ H. E. Strickland, *Memoirs*, ii, 14, 18.

⁵ Exemplified in no. iii below (Ahmed Rifai and Haji Bektash).

⁶ See no. vi below (Kaigusuz and the Stag-Dervish).

⁷ See no. vii (Emrem Yunuz). The *motif* is commonplace enough. Such miracles are related of Tur Hasan Veli (Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, pp. 212 ff.) and of the nameless 'Baba' of Ida (F. W. H.).

⁸ A detailed classification of Moslem saints' powers according to Al Munawi, an author of the tenth century (A. H.), will be found in Goldziher, *Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii (1880), pp. 275 ff.

⁹ Christian examples, however, are known. Benjamin of Tudela (ed. Wright, p. 108) records the passage of a river on his shawl by a false Messiah.

¹⁰ For Haji Ephraim Teuveltu, Muzur, and S. John 'the Russian'

in Mohammed's miraculous journey to Jerusalem. In our own day the great-grandson of a Khalveti dervish sheikh has told us how the deerskin, which formed the prayer-rug of his ancestor and is still treasured in the family, was confidently believed to have belonged to a stag which carried the sheikh regularly to attend Friday prayers at Mecca.¹ Though the prayer-rug is not the only vehicle of these journeys, it is easy to understand how it has been singled out.² Pious persons, engaged in intense prayer, must often have imagined themselves transported to the Holy Places,³ and if the

and their miraculous journeys see below, p. 293, n. 2. Solomon and his suite went on pilgrimage to Mecca on a large carpet (Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii, 857). The *kutb* or chief of the 'welees' is believed to transport himself from Mekkeh to Cairo in an instant, and so, too, from any one place to another' (Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, i, 292). Durmish Dede miraculously crossed the Bosphorus on foot and established himself at Rumeli Hisar (F. W. H.). Sari Saltik miraculously crossed the lake of Okhrida on a straw-mat: see below, p. 583 and n. 4 (with reference to Saintyves, *Saints Successeurs des Dieux*, p. 254). On the transportation of Moslem saints in general see Goldziher, *Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii, 275, and for levitation in general see below, pp. 665-8. Inanimate objects also were miraculously transported. The picture by S. Luke of the Virgin at Pursos came miraculously from Brusa in the iconoclastic period (Buchon, *Grèce Continentale*, p. 349). Genazzano possesses a miraculous picture of the Virgin which flew there from Skutari of Albania (Gregorovius, *Rome et ses Environs*, p. 93). The Virgin was seen by an old man in the act of transporting from Constantinople a church now in Russia (Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, i, 267). In Catholicism the Holy House of Loretto is the most famous case; see Collin de Plancy, *op. cit.* ii, 286 f.; U. Chevalier, *Lorette*.

¹ Halil Halid, *Diary of a Turk*, p. 5.

² Essentially carpets are not prayer-mats but the things Easterners sit on. For similar stories Westerners would have thought of flying chairs. As Mohammed used a flying horse for his miraculous journey, it may be inferred that the idea that a rug was the vehicle of transportation was later and ultimately depended on the Moslem use of mats in praying.

³ Catholic examples also occur. In an ecstatic trance S. Lidwine visited the Holy Land (Maury, *Magie*, p. 363), while Marie d'Agreda, a Spanish mystic, went to Mexico (*ibid.*, p. 364). Their visions seemed

prayer-rug chanced to be a deerskin, it is but a small step for their descendants to imagine an actual deer, tamed by the saint, as the agent.¹

(i) *The Spittle of Haji Bektash*²

Haji Bektash, travelling through the village of Ermeni, entered a peasant's cottage and was hospitably entertained by its occupants with a meal of *yoghurt* and honey. In recognition of their courtesy he blessed them and spat out a mouthful of the food, which at once hardened into stone. This, he gave them to understand, would furnish them with a perpetual livelihood. Such is the origin of the veined agate found near Nevshehr, the carving of which into buttons, cups, and other small objects is a local industry to this day.³

to them absolute fact, and were accepted as such by their public, who may even have seen them rigid and apparently lifeless, their souls being rapt away elsewhere. It is to be noted that religious abstraction is much more practised in the East.

¹ On the special connexion between deer and holy men see below, pp. 460 f. There is an ascending scale both for stags and carpets: (a) a saint of the forest rides on a stag, a wild beast but capable of domestication, see Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 24; (b) a saint of the desert such as Ahmed Rifai (Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 229) rides on a wild and carnivorous animal, a lion, for instance; (c) Haji Bektash outdoes him by riding on an inanimate object, a wall (Cholet, *Arménie*, p. 47). Carpet-riding corresponds to (c), being in the same relation to flying horse as (c) is to (a) or (b). The flying horse appears already in early Aryan mythology, and is common in the Persian cycle of stories.

² Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 230.

³ The stone referred to is that known as *bagram* ('spittle') and is mentioned by Texier (*Asie Mineure*, ii, 88) and the archbishop Cyril (*Περιγραφή*, p. 8); cf. also Strabo, xii, ii, 10. This stone is worked especially at the convent of Haji Bektash, and is worn in various forms by the Bektashi dervishes. A twelve-pointed star of it is the *teslim tash* worn on the breast (Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 340); a seven-pointed star hangs round the neck (Leake, *N. Greece*, iv, 284) or is used as a girdle-stone ([Blunt], *People of Turkey*, ii, 275; Brown, *Dervishes*, p. 145); a crescent-shaped carring of the same material (sometimes also of metal) is the mark of the celibate Bektashi dervishes (Cuinet,

A somewhat more elaborate story based on the same theme relates that Haji Bektash asked and received hospitality in a Turkish house but afterwards discovered that his host had poisoned him. He therefore obtained at the house of a Christian an emetic which caused him to spit blood : his spittle mixed with his blood hardened into the red-veined variety of the local agate.¹

This version gains additional point from the fact that the persons who carve the stone in question at Haji Bektash are without exception Christians, and that the relations of the Bektashi are more friendly with Christians than with orthodox Mussulmans. It seems certain, moreover, that in Degrand's version of the story 'the village of Ermeni' indicates a village of Armenians (Tk. *Ermeni*).

(ii) *The tides of Negropont*

'Not a great many years ago this water was like any other part of the sea, and did not flow at all ;² but a Hadji, being a prisoner in that tower,³ when the Infidels had the place, and confined in a dark cell, where he could see nothing but the water below, through a hole in his dungeon, begged of God to send him some sign by which he might know when to pray. His request was granted, by the change which immediately took place in the flowing and reflowing of the stream ;

Turquie d'Asie, i, 343 ; cf. Nicolay, *Navigations*, cap. xvii). A reference to a Bektashi necklace of the same material is probably to be found in MacFarlane, *Turkey and its Destiny*, i, 496 ; cf. d'Ohsson's cut of a Bektashi dervish (*Tableau*, ii, pl. 114). A similar story seems to be told of meerschaum (cf. Clarke, *Travels*, ii, 283). Covel (*Diaries*, p. 153) found a six- or eight-sided agate girdle-stone worn by dervishes to divine the health of their absent friends. ¹ F. W. H.

² The irregular and violent tides of the Euripus have always excited curiosity, especially among the peoples of the almost tideless Mediterranean.

³ *i.e.* the old water-castle on the bridge, since destroyed.

and since that time, the current has altered its course at each of the five seasons of prayer.'¹

(iii) *Haji Bektash and Ahmed Rifai*

During the sojourn of Haji Bektash at Mecca it was announced to him that Ahmed Rifai, already a saint of established reputation, was coming to visit him riding on a lion and using live snakes for reins and whip. At the approach of the saint thus mounted, Haji Bektash ascended to the top of a wall, and conjured it to move under him towards Ahmed Rifai. The latter, realizing the greatness of the feat, from this moment acknowledged the saintship of Haji Bektash.²

¹ Hobhouse, *Albania*, i, 454. The story may owe something to that of Joseph, who is credited with the invention of watches, from the same pious motive, while imprisoned in a dark cell in Egypt (Evliya, *Travels*, i, ii, 190). With this compare the story of Christ keeping Ramazan on Mt. Quarantania, fasting all day and eating only after sundown. As the sunset could not be observed from Mt. Quarantania He made a bird of clay and gave it life (this incident probably comes from the *Évang. de l'Enfance*, see Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, i, 976, and Thévenot, *Voyages*, ii, 805). This bird is the original of bats: bats, coming out at dusk, gave the true hour of sunset (Pierotti, *Légendes Racontées*, p. 13; Eng. ed., pp. 70 ff.). The Moslem tale adds that every night, when the fast ended, God sent down a table from Heaven with food for Christ and His disciples. This is a crude interpretation of *Matt.* iv, 11 ('Angels came and ministered unto him'), aided perhaps by paintings of the Last Supper and the *Μυστικὸν Δεῖπνον*. It is curious to find the incident repeated about the house of Simon the Tanner at Joppa, where it is a perversion of the Christians' story of the great sheet seen by Peter, containing the clean and unclean animals.

² The story is told in Degrand (*Haute Albanie*, p. 229), and is one of the most popular legends of their Master among the Bektashi, though its chronology does not bear scrutiny. It is also told of Haji Bektash and Haji Bairam (Cholet, *Voyage*, p. 47), and it was retailed to Prof. R. M. Dawkins by Cappadocian Greeks of S. Charalambos and Mohammed (for the equation of Haji Bektash and S. Charalambos see above, pp. 83-4). Further afield, among the Kizilbash Kurds of the Dersim, the same competition is said to have occurred between the 'Seyyids' or holy men of two rival tribes (Molyneux Seel in *Geog. Journ.* xlv, 1914, p. 58). Very interesting is the Jewish pilgrimage a

(iv) *Abdal Musa and Geyikli Baba*

' It is related that on a certain time Abdal Musa put a live cole into cotton,¹ and sent it to *Ghenglu Baba* ² who in return hereof put milk into a cup, and sent it to him. Now the messenger admiring at the action of the Reverend *Abdal Musa*, he demanded of him, what strange mystery is there in sending of milk, and to what purpose is it as to your action? he answered, the milke which he sent is Deeres milk; the taming of a wilde beast is very difficult.'³

(v) *Jelal-ed-Din and the Monk*

A Christian monk once asked Jelal-ed-din, the founder of the Mevlevi dervishes, what was the advantage of Islam over Christianity, since it was written in the Koran that all men alike should come to hell-fire. Jelal replied by putting the monk's habit, wrapped in his own, into an oven; when the packet was taken out, the monk's habit was found to be charred and blackened, Jelal's only purified by the fire.⁴

(vi) *Kaigusuz and the Stag-Dervish*

Kaigusuz, the dervish founder of the Bektashi *tekke* on the Mokattam at Cairo,⁵ while he still lived in the month after Passover to the tomb of Rabbi Ephraim Angaua at Tlemcen in Algeria. He was a refugee from Spain of the fourteenth century, and the only thing known of him is that he entered Tlemcen riding a lion, with a snake for bridle (Van Gennep, *En Algérie*, pp. 41 ff.). Roman Catholics also frequent the shrine (*ibid.*, p. 45). This obvious borrowing of one saint's legends by another occurs because the name and personality of a saint form the least stable element in tradition.

¹ This miracle (the cotton being unburnt by the coal) is reported of the Christian saint Amphilochius of Iconium by Symeon Metaphrastes (*Migne, Patr. Gr. cxvi, 960*).

² *Ghenglu Baba* is a mistake for *Geyikli Baba*, a saint of Brusa renowned for his success in taming deer: see below, p. 460, n. 5.

³ Seaman's *Orchan*, pp. 118 f.

⁴ Eflaki, *Acts of the Adepts*, in Redhouse's *Mesnevi*, p. 87 (81). See further below, p. 372.

⁵ See below, pp. 514-16.

world before his conversion, was devoted to the chase. One day he shot at and wounded a stag. He was shocked and astonished to see the stricken animal assume the form of a venerable dervish; and, overcome with remorse, he retired to a convent and took the habit of a dervish.¹ During his noviciate he was put to menial tasks, which included the hewing of wood for the fraternity. In the course of his work, he arrived at such a point of perfection in his union with the life of Nature that one day he returned from his daily task saying that he had heard the tree he was cutting cry out 'Why strikest thou me?' On this he was at once recognized as a great saint.²

(vii) *Emrem Yunuz*

It is related of Emrem Yunuz that he served the same convent as woodcutter without promotion for forty years. Then in a fit of despondency at his apparent lack of progress in the Way, he left the convent and began to travel, joining himself to two strangers, also dervishes. The first evening they were in company they had no food. One of the strangers prayed, and, in answer to his prayer, food was miraculously provided. On the second evening the second of the strangers did the same. The wondering Yunuz was convinced by this that the strangers were great saints, till they confessed that this favour of God was shown them for the sake of a holy man named Yunuz, who had served his convent as woodcutter for forty years. Whereupon, having learnt his lesson, Yunuz retired once more to monastic seclusion.³

¹ The incident is repeated in the lives of the Christian saints, Eustathius and Hubert of Liège, doubtless from oriental (see below, p. 464), perhaps Buddhist (see the *Jatakas*, tr. Cowell,) sources.

² The point lies in the contrast between the saint's previous callousness and the extreme sensibility attained by the religious life. I heard the story from Mr. W. H. Peckham, formerly H.B.M.'s consul at Uskub: the name of the hero was given me by a Bektashi dervish in Crete. On stags and saints see below, pp. 460 ff.

³ Told me in Candia by Afentaki Zade Hilali, sheikh of the Khalveti. For Emrem Yunuz see below, p. 504.

(viii) *Ala-ed-Din and the Imam Baghevi*

IN the reign of Ala-ed-din, sultan of Rum, there lived outside the walls of Konia a pious Kadri dervish called the Imam Baghevi. The neighbours, scandalized to find that the Imam did not attend prayers in the mosque of the quarter, complained of him on this count to the sultan, alleging also that he was given to drinking. The sultan sent a messenger to summon him to the court to answer these charges. It being a Friday, the Imam proposed to the messenger that they should first say their prayers. The messenger consented, and they mounted their horses. By a miracle of the Imam, however, they were carried in the twinkling of an eye not to any mosque in Konia but to Mecca itself. The sultan's messenger, who had not visited the Holy Place before, lingered, and was left behind at Mecca till the Imam came for him on the following Friday. Ala-ed-din, hearing of these marvels, did not wait for the coming of the saint, but rode out in person to do him homage; but when he arrived, he found the object of his reverence already dead.¹ The horses which had made the miraculous journey were turned to stone and stand by the tomb of their saintly master, working miracles of healing for the faithful and believing to this day.²

(ix) *Eskiji Koja*

'When Timur marched against Brussa the inhabitants, being alarmed, inquired of Emir Sultan what was

¹ This is characteristic of the saint who has attained perfection; cf. e.g. Ainsworth, *Travels*, i, 187-8.

² F. W. H.: see above, p. 82. A variant of the same tale is told of the cobbler Laleli at Constantinople (Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 144). Jonas, archbishop of Novgorod in the seventeenth century, was tempted by a devil, but made the devil as a horse carry him to Jerusalem and back in one night (D'Oppenheim in *Tour du Monde*, 1899, p. 618). On levitation see above, p. 285, n. 10.

now to become of the town. The Saint said, "The commander of the town having recommended it to Eskiji Koja and Khizr, they must be informed of it." Ilderim [Bayezid I] being defeated, Emir Sultan wrote a note which he sent by one of his Dervishes into the camp of Timur, with an order to deliver it to Eskiji Koja, that is to the chief of the tailors who mend old clothes. Having read the Saint's note, he said, "Emir Sultan shall be instantly obeyed;" he stuck his needle in his turban, and before he could put up his things in his bag, all the tents of the camp were broke up by the power of his command, because this old tailor happened also to be a pole of poles, or great Saint.'¹

(x) *Haji Ephraim Teuveltu*

Haji Ephraim Teuveltu is buried in a *turbe* at Havatan, a village in the Taurus. In his lifetime he was a shepherd in the service of a local *bey*. One day, while his master was absent on pilgrimage, Ephraim's wife, having prepared a tasty meal, happened to exclaim, 'How I wish the Master were here to enjoy this!' Her husband persuaded her to give him a portion of the food in a covered dish, which he conveyed, still smoking hot, to his master at Mecca. The same evening he came back to his home. When the master returned from the pilgrimage, he brought with him, as evidence of the miracle which had taken place, the covered dish, and Ephraim's reputation as a saint was thenceforward established.²

(xi) *Ali Efendi and the Wolf*

A certain Ali Efendi was appointed *kadi* of Tokat : he was very modest and very poor, having nothing in

¹ Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 25 f.

² Carnoy and Nicolaidès, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, pp. 218 ff. The same story forms part of the cycle of a Kurdish shepherd saint, Muzur (Molyneux Seel in *Geog. Journ.* xlv, 1914, pp. 60 f.), and, curiously of

the world but a basket (*zumbul*) of books, from which he was nicknamed 'Zumbullu'. The people of Tokat were disgusted at the appointment to their city of a man so apparently undistinguished. It happened, however, one day that a shepherd had to report to his master that a wolf had stolen a ewe from his flock: the master, believing the shepherd had himself stolen the ewe, threatened to stop the price of it from his wages, and referred the case to the *kadi* of Tokat for a decision. Ali Efendi, taking pity on the shepherd, wrote officially to the wolf, citing him to appear before the court to answer for his misdemeanour in accordance with the sacred law of Islam. The letter was duly delivered by the shepherd, the wolf duly appeared before the *kadi*, acknowledged his guilt, and was sentenced to replace the stolen ewe. The result is not stated, but 'the people of Tokat wondered at the miracle and understood that their *kadi* was a holy man and favoured by God and His Prophet'.¹

(xii) *Sheikh El-Bedawi*

Sheikh El-Bedawi 'being denied a Privilege by the *Basha*, which he had before enjoy'd, he by moving his Cap on one side caused his [the *Basha's*] Castle to lean on one side ready to fall, which affrighting the *Basha*,

the (modern) Christian saint, S. John 'the Russian' of Urgub (Oberhammer and Zimmerer, *Durch Syrien*, p. 212, note). The *motif* is found in the *Apocrypha* (*Bel and the Dragon*, pp. 33 ff.).

¹ Carnoy and Nicolaïdes, *Folklore de Constantinople*, pp. 183 ff. A similar story was told to Cholet (*Voyage*, pp. 40 f.) in which Haji Bek-tash figures as the hero. The saint, it is said, was wrongfully accused in his youth of stealing a lamb, and summoned as witnesses in his favour first the wolves who were the actual culprits and then the stones of the valley where the theft took place. Another Zumbul Efendi is buried near Constantinople: a dervish *tekke* looks after his tomb and the adjoining grotto is famous as a pilgrimage for barren women, who crawl to the extreme end of the grotto (Osman Bey, *Les Imans et les Derviches*, p. 125).

he granted him his Privilege, and he by putting his Cap to rights by little and little set the Castle upright again.¹

It will be seen from these examples that the legends of Moslem saints range from quite simple rustic tales, embodying well-known folk-lore *motifs* or explaining local peculiarities, to stories of a learned and instructive nature, devised to point a moral or to increase the prestige of a saint or his order. Similarly, the traditions of a religious centre may be a literary collection of stories regarding local saints, like Eflaki's *Acts of the Adepts*,² which centres round the personality of Jelal-ed-din of Konia, founder of the Mevlevi order; or, like the *Story of Sari Saltik*,³ they may be a sophisticated *réchauffé* of genuine folk-legends or, again, pure folk-legend, handed down by word of mouth and never committed to writing. A good example of the latter is the legend of the Bektashi *tekke* of Demir Baba, near Razgrad in Bulgaria. This is a clumsy patchwork, apparently untouched by literary tradition, in which the saint of the *tekke*, a (probably mythical) warrior dervish, originally conceived of as a contemporary of the Turkish conquest, is inextricably confused with the founder, an early nineteenth-century pasha of Rustchuk,⁴ and is supposed to have lived under Sultan Mahmud II (1808 to 1839). This story, rescued from oblivion by Kanitz, runs as follows :

(xiii) *Hasan Demir Baba Pehlivan s*

Hasan Demir Baba Pehlivan lived four hundred years

¹ Thévenot, *Travels*, in Harris's *Navig. Bibl.* ii, 429 (vol. ii, 803, in the Amsterdam 1727 edition). On Sheikh El Bedawi see further below, pp. 663-70.

² Translated by Redhouse and published with his version of the *Mesnevi*.

³ Discussed below, pp. 429 ff.

⁴ Hasan Pehlivan Baba, on whom see further below, p. 593.

⁵ Kanitz, *Bulgarie*, p. 535.

ago. He was a holy dervish, who was able to make water gush from the most arid rocks, as he did at Kral Bunar, his original dwelling-place, and in the gorge where he built his *tekke* and his tomb. He was the father of the seventy-two nations of the earth. One day a terrible giant having drunk all the water of the army of the Czar of Russia, the ally of Sultan Mahmud [1808 to 1839], Demir Baba, killed the fearful monster, and the Czar recognized this service by giving him 18,000 *okes* of salt yearly. As the Russian armies were also suffering from hunger, the dervish brought, in a sheet knotted at the four corners, bread, hay, and barley, and lo! when men and horses had eaten, there remained over and above. But when the dervishes sided against the sultan in favour of the Janissaries, the true believers, Demir Baba stopped sending victuals to the Russian Army. Ibrahim Pasha, governor of the province, in his anger, would have chastised the rebel. The latter escaped by scaling a sheer rock. Converted by this miracle, the Pasha ordered that the repose of the hermit should not be disturbed. The *tekke*, however, suffered under the impious reign of Sultan Mahmud, and it was abandoned and neglected under Abdul Mejid. The springs dried up, and this drought lasted thirty years. But the pious Abdul Aziz confirmed the ancient rights of the sacred place, and for the last four years the springs have again flowed into the Danube.

The rough classification of religious legend here attempted has some importance, if of a negative character, for the student of tradition in its relation to history. The story of Demir Baba, nearly unadulterated folk-tradition, is obviously worthless historically on account of the low intellectual calibre of its composers. The half-sophisticated legend of Sari Saltik has been shown¹ to be quite as unreliable, as being 'edited' for the purposes of propaganda. The *Acts of the Adepts*, a purely

¹ In *B.S.A.* xix, 203 ff.; cf. below, pp. 429 ff.

literary collection, was composed much less for historical purposes than for moral instruction : any historical value it may have is derived from its early date, nearly contemporary with that of the mystic philosophers it celebrates. The result of the examination is thus a serious warning against the use of religious legend as an independent historical source.

XIX

OLD TESTAMENT SAINTS

§ I. DANIEL

THE prophet Daniel is revered by Mohammedans generally as the patron of occult sciences.¹ His grave was shown at Susa at least as early as the sixth century,² and is still a Moslem pilgrimage. Notices of a second reputed tomb at Tarsus begin in the eighteenth century. Lucas, who visited the town in 1705, says :

‘ Les Habitans assurent que c’est chez eux où est mort le Prophète Daniel : j’entrai dans une Mosquée, sous laquelle on pretend qu’il a été enterré. Les Turcs y ont mis sur une grande tombe un cercueil de bois, qu’ils reverent ; et ils le font voir euxmêmes, à ceux qui viennent, à Tarse, comme une rareté. Ce cercueil est toujours couvert d’un grand drap noir en broderie.’³

W. B. Barker, an old resident in Tarsus, gives the following notice of the supposed tomb of Daniel :

‘ The Turks hold in great veneration a tomb which they believe contains the bones of this prophet, situated in an ancient Christian church, converted into a mosque, in the centre of the modern town of Tarsus. The sarcophagus is said to be about *forty feet below* the surface of the present soil, in consequence of the accumulation of earth and stones ; and over which a stream flows from the Cydnus river, of comparatively modern

¹ For Daniel’s book of prophecies see Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii, 188, and Polites, *Παράδοσεις*, ii, 665 ff. ; see also p. 471, n. 4 below.

² Theodosius, *De Situ Terrae Sanctae*, ed. Geyer in *Itin. Hieros.*, p. 149 ; ed. Tobler, p. 359.

³ *Voyage dans la Grèce*, i, 272 f. Haji Khalfa is silent. The legend of Daniel in Cilicia at Shah Meran Kalesi (see below, p. 750, n. 1) is omitted in Bianchi’s translation of Menasik-el-Haj (in *Rec. de Voyages*, ii, 103).

date. Over this stream, at the particular spot where the sarcophagus was (before the canal was cut and the waters went over it) stands the ancient church above mentioned; and to mark the exact spot of the tomb below, a wooden monument has been erected in the Turkish style. [This monument is covered with an embroidered cloth, and stands in a special apartment built for it, from the iron-grated windows of which it may occasionally be seen when the Armenians take occasion to make their secret devotions; but generally a curtain is dropped to hide it from vulgar view, and add by exclusion to the sanctity of the place]. The waters of this rivulet are turned off every year in the summer in order to clear the bed of the canal. . . . It is a curious coincidence that the supposed tomb of Daniel the Prophet at Susa is said to be, like the one above described, under a running stream.'¹

The mosque in question is, according to Langlois, called Makam Jami, or, in full, Makam Hazreti Daniel:² the same author distinguishes it from the Ulu Jami, which is said to occupy the site of the church of SS. Peter and Sophia³ and stands, like the mosque of Daniel, in the middle of the town. Cuinet seems to identify the Ulu Jami and the mosque of Daniel.⁴

It is evident that the association, late so far as we know, of the name of Daniel with the tomb of Tarsus must be connected in some way with the Susan sanctuary.⁵ The latter, which is still an important Mohammedan pilgrimage, is situated on the eastern bank of the Shaur river.⁶ We are comparatively well informed as

¹ *Lares and Penates*, pp. 17 f.

² *Cilicie*, p. 329.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 317. The present building dates from A.D. 1385 (*ibid.*, p. 329).

⁴ *Turquie d'Asie*, ii, 47-8: 'Dans [la mosquée] nommée "Oulou-Mekami Chérif-Djamissi" la tradition place le tombeau du prophète Daniel'.

⁵ This connexion is simple, see below, p. 303.

⁶ A plan is given by Loftus in *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.* v (1856), to face p. 422, a view by Flandin and Coste, *Voyage en Perse*, pl. 100. For the tomb of Daniel at Susa see *Jewish Encycl.* iv, 430, s.v. *Daniel, Tomb of*; for details of its legendary history Asher's edition of Benjamin of

to its history. It is first mentioned by Theodosius about 530. According to the translation by Mustawfi (c. 1300) of Ibn Asim († 735) the coffin of Daniel was found in the palace of the Persian governor when Susa was taken by the Arabs (640): it was said to be that of a holy man from Iraq, who had been summoned thence by the Susans in a season of drought. The Arab general, acting on orders given by Ali, turned the river of Susa temporarily from its bed and buried the body there; 'The waters of Sus now flow over the body of Daniel.'¹ Benjamin of Tudela (late twelfth century) gives an entirely different version. In his time the sepulchre of Daniel was in front of one of the synagogues, but the coffin was afterwards removed and suspended by chains from the middle of the bridge over the river. The reason for this is given as follows: the possession of the coffin of Daniel was supposed to bring prosperity to the Jewish quarter of the town which originally possessed it. The poor quarter on the other side of the river, therefore, requested that it should be given to them temporarily, and eventually it was arranged that the coffin should be yearly transferred from one side of the river to the other.² Sanjar Shah of Persia (d. 1158), considering the arrangement derogatory to the Prophet's remains, had the bridge measured and suspended the coffin by chains from the exact middle, 'and the coffin of Daniel is suspended from the bridge unto this very day. The King commanded that in honour of Daniel nobody should be allowed to fish in the river, one mile

Tudela, i, 117 ff., and for its present state Ouseley, *Travels*, i, 420; Loftus, *Travels in Chaldaea*, pp. 416 ff.; de Bode, *Travels in Lauristan*, ii, 190; Rawlinson, in *J.R.G.S.* ix (1839), pp. 69, 83; Layard, in *J.R.G.S.* xvi (1846), p. 61. Cf. Carmoly's *Itinéraires*, pp. 489 ff.

¹ From Ouseley's translation in Walpole's *Travels*, p. 429.

² Similarly, the body of Joseph brought prosperity to the bank of the Nile on which it was. To prevent the desolation of the other bank, it was finally buried in the river (Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii, 424).

on each side of the coffin.'¹ Mustawfi, in the thirteenth century, describes the tomb of Daniel as standing west of the river : in his honour none of the fish in the river were ever molested by man. Medieval tradition generally asserted that Daniel's grave was in the bed of the river and that the Mosque of Daniel marked the nearest point to his supposed grave.²

The discussion in detail of these stories related by Ibn Asim in the eighth, and Benjamin of Tudela in the twelfth, century need not detain us. For our purpose two facts are important, viz. the supposed burial of Daniel in the bed of the river and the preservation of the fish.³ Both these suggest an original river cult, though both are explained as due to historical persons by nearly contemporary authors.

The sole link with Tarsus is the fact that both ' tombs of Daniel ' are supposed to be in river-beds, and this is probably more than a coincidence. Down to the thirteenth century, when Tarsus was under the Christian kings of Armenia, the chief, if not the only, Moslem pilgrimage in the city was the grave of the caliph Mamun who, dying in 833 at Podandus (Bozanti), was carried to Tarsus and there buried ' on the left hand side of the Friday Mosque ', which seems under Armenian rule to have been the church of SS. Peter and Sophia in the middle of the city.⁴ This grave was still

¹ Benjamin of Tudela, *Itinerary*, ed. Asher, i, 117 ff. The account of the coffin suspended from the bridge is confirmed by the contemporary Rabbi Petachia (*Tour du Monde*, tr. Carmoly, in *Nouv. Jour. As.* viii, 1831, p. 366). Asher's note on Benjamin of Tudela's *Itinerary*, ii, 152, cites the tenth-century Ibn Haukal as mentioning the coffin of Daniel.

² Le Strange, *E. Caliphate*, p. 240.

³ Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, p. 459, says the fish are preserved a bowshot up and down from the bridge for Daniel's sake and a particular fish is fed for the royal table. Carmoly is quoting Jichus Ha-Abot (A. D. 1564), ed. Uri de Biel; Uri, however, places the tomb at Bagdad.

⁴ See Willebrand of Oldenburg, in Allatius, *Σύμμικτα*, i, 137; cf. below, pp. 698, 702.

known in 1225 ;¹ in 1705² the tomb of Mamun is not mentioned and that of Daniel replaces it as the Moslem cult of the town.

The circumstances of Mamun's death,³ as related by a tenth-century Arab historian, were curious. At Podandus was a stream of very cold water, so clear that the legend of a coin thrown into it could be clearly read. Mamun saw in the stream a fish which he desired should be caught and cooked for him. The fish was caught, but managed to slip back into the water, splashing the caliph as it did so : the caliph shivered, and, when the fish was again caught, was unable to eat it : he died shortly after.⁴ Whether the story is true or not, it seems clear that the stream at Podandus was sacred. The coin thrown in was probably an offering :⁵ to catch the fish was a sin and Mamun suffered accordingly.

It is surely more than a coincidence that we find much later the incident of the fish transferred to Tarsus itself, where the caliph was buried,⁶ and the place recognized as under the protection of the *jinns*.⁷ Whether from confusion of the Tarsus river with that of Bozanti (to some extent explicable by the fact that the road from Tarsus through the Taurus passed Bozanti) we

¹ The date of Yakut's *Lexicon*, quoted by Le Strange, *E. Caliphate*, p. 133.

² The date of Lucas's visit to Tarsus. ³ See below, p. 696 f.

⁴ Not, however, as Ramsay, because the water (*Geog. Journ.* xxii, 1903, p. 392) or the fish was poisonous, since it is not recorded that he drank the one or ate the other. On sacred fish see above, pp. 244-9.

⁵ For this world-wide practice see Frazer's note on *Paus.* i, 34 (4) ; for Asia Minor see V. de Bunsen, *Soul of a Turk*, p. 173. Niebuhr (*Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 281) records that the Yezidis are reported to throw gold and silver into a cistern at Sheikh Adi in honour of their saint and compares the Jebel Sinjar practice.

⁶ For Mamun at Tarsus see Haji Khalifa, tr. Norberg, ii, 360.

⁷ Otter, *Voyage*, i, 67, note : ' P'on montre à Tarsous un endroit que l'on dit être à la garde des Génies, & à cette occasion l'on fait ce conte ; qu'un jour le Khalif Meémoun se promenant vers ce lieu, etc.' [follows the incident of the fish].

cannot tell, but evidently the fish of the river of Tarsus, like that of Susa, were considered sacred. The location of Daniel's tomb at Tarsus probably rested on its two similarities to that at Susa: (1) that it was in a river and (2) that the fish in this river were preserved. To these must be added a third factor, viz. the likeness of the last syllable of 'Tarsus' (Tersûs) to the name of Susa (Sûs), where lies the traditional grave of Daniel.¹ Is it too much to assume that the great Moslem pilgrimage of the thirteenth century and the great Moslem pilgrimage of the seventeenth were identical, *i.e.* that the 'tomb of Daniel' is in reality the tomb of Mamun?

§ 2. JOSHUA

The veneration of Joshua by Mohammedans is due particularly to an obscure reference to him in the fifth book of the Koran ('The Table'). Commentators, drawing on Jewish sources,² tell in this context the story of the Twelve Spies, of whom only two (Joshua and Caleb) were faithful in keeping secret the gigantic stature of the inhabitants of Jericho, to the end that the Israelites might not be unduly depressed. The incident of the staying of the sun till Joshua had made an end of slaying³ is also recorded, with the addition that the day of the victory was a Friday, on which account Joshua was unwilling to prolong the slaughter, since by so doing he would break the Sabbath.⁴

His position in the Mohammedan world being thus assured, many tombs of Joshua are pointed out in the

¹ This suggestion comes to me from a learned Mohammedan of Tarsus through Mrs. Christie.

² Cf. *Num.* xiv, 6.

³ Cf. *Josh.* x, 12.

⁴ Sale's *Koran*, p. 76, note; d'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orientale*, s.vv. *Joschova*, *Falasthin*. Clermont-Ganneau heard the legend told near Jericho of some ruins called the 'City of Brass' because it had seven brass walls. The hero is the imam Abu Taleb, whose grave is near the ruins. The tale includes the staying of the sun (Clermont-Ganneau, *Pal. Inconnue*, p. 61).

lands of Islam.¹ But the only 'tomb of Joshua' recorded in the Turkish area is the well-known sanctuary on the summit of the Giant's Mountain (*Jebar Dagħ*,² now more commonly *Yusha Dagħ*), on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus.³ This has generally been identified, but on insufficient evidence, with the Greek 'Bed of Herakles' and more vaguely with the tomb of the giant Amykos, slain hereabouts by Pollux in the course of the Argonautic expedition. On general grounds it is probable that we have here to do with a site associated from very ancient times with some sort of cult, since the mountain in question is conspicuous and commands a wide view, especially of the entrance to the much-feared Black Sea. It is therefore marked out as a place of rain-making and weather-survey,⁴ and the constant inhabita-

¹ Five reputed tombs are shown in Palestine, according to Le Strange (*Palestine*, pp. 337, 404, 425, 496, 531). There are others in North Africa (R. Basset, *Nédromah*, pp. 74 ff.) and at Constantinople; to the last we shall return later.

² Walsh, *Constantinople*, i, 293. *Jebar* is the Arabic for the Persian *dev*, the giant or monster of the Turkish folk-tales.

³ The tomb of Joshua is mentioned by the following authors besides those cited below: Comidas, *Descr. di Costant.*, p. 79; E. D. Clarke, *Travels*, ii, 441; Andréossi, *Constantinople*, pp. 326 ff.; Hammer, *Constantinopolis*, ii, 288; Fontanier, *Voyages en Orient*, p. 25; Grenville Temple, *Travels*, ii, 77; Brayer, *Neuf Années à Constantinople*, pp. 133 f.; *Constantiniade*, p. 183; Byzantios, *Κωνσταντινούπολις*, ii, 203; Skene, *Anadol*, p. 16; Sestini, *Lettres*, iii, 464; Goldziher in *Z.D.P.V.* ii, 13-17. None of these, however, adds materially to our knowledge.

⁴ Walsh (*Journey*, p. 23) states clearly that the mountain was so used in his day, a dervish on the summit signalling the approach of rain clouds in time of drought and doubtless invoking them by his prayers. 'A dervish', he says, 'stands on the top . . . and when he sees a cloud, he announces its approach. I one day climbed to the same place, and saw the dervish on the watch, and, "I looked towards the sea, and beheld a little cloud rising out of the sea, like a man's hand, and gat me down that the rain stopped me not". In effect, it immediately followed.' Such another weather-saint is Yaghmur Baba ('Rain-Father'), for whom see Ainsworth, *Travels*, i, 143, and Barth, *Reise*, p. 82.

tion of the district and frequentation of the strait by shipping would naturally give it a double vogue.

The mosque and tomb of Joshua stand on the summit of the mountain in a grove of trees. The mosque is modern and in no way remarkable. Adjoining it on the south side is a walled enclosure containing the alleged grave, which is about sixteen metres long, enclosed in a stone coping, and planted with trees and shrubs. Several trees and a railing at the north end are hung with threads and rags against fever, and the leaves of a bay tree near the other end are used for the fumigation of fever patients.¹ Around it are the houses of the (Nakshbandi) dervishes in charge of the sanctuary. They say that a *turbe* was once built over the grave, but the saint 'did not accept it' and it fell down.² Beneath the mountain in the valley of Beikoz are the tomb and grave of Joshua's (anonymous) standard-bearer, who himself revealed the site to a dervish.

The first mention of a religious establishment on the mountain is in the middle of the seventeenth century.³ Galland, who made the ascent in 1672, found then 'un Turc seul avec sa femme, lequel nous dit qu'il estoit là pour garder ce lieu qui est un Tekié ou monastère nommé "Joucha peyamber": c'est à dire Josué.'⁴ Wonderful accounts of the prodigious size of the buried prophet were current then as in our own day.⁵ The

¹ For this fumigation (with olive leaves) cf. Halliday, in *Folk-Lore*, xxiv, 357. It is probably no more than a coincidence that a laurel with magic properties grew from the grave of Amykos (Schol. in Apoll., *Argonautica*, ii, 59).

² See above, p. 228.

³ Evliya, *Travels*, i, ii, 73. 'People ascend the mountain of Josue to visit his tomb . . . there is a convent and some fakirs attached to it.' Cf. Haji Khalfa, *Djiban numa*, tr. Norberg, ii, 490: 'Sepulcrum Juschae gigantis . . . cui plurimum religionis tribuitur'.

⁴ *Journal*, ed. Schefer, ii, 128.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 133: 'Joucha doit avoir esté un furieux géant; car, les barreaux que l'on a faits pour l'environner ne viennent que jusques à son ombilic, le reste de son corps venant se terminer vis-à-vis un arbre

idea of gigantic dead and gigantic graves comes from the folk-lore side,¹ and is based primarily perhaps on the conception of a mountain as a grave-mound,² reinforced in some cases by the discovery of megalithic remains or fossil bones. The giant of Turkish, as of other, folk-lore is generally conceived of as 'black' or hostile.

A mosque was built in connexion with the 'tomb of Jeshua' in 1755 by the grand vizir Mohammed Said,³ who was also responsible for the restoration of the 'Mosque of the Leaded Store' (*Kurshunlu Jami*) at Galata, in which alleged tombs of Arab warrior saints were discovered by the contemporary Nakshbandi sheikh

qu'une vieille femme nous monstra.' Cf. Temple, *Travels*, ii, 77. Walsh (*Constantinople*, i, 294) was told that the grave contained only the foot, Prokesch only the heart, of the prophet.

¹ Cf. the legend of Digenes Akritas' tomb in Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 131; Nebi Osha in Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 353, and Kelly, *Syria*, p. 446; Noah in Browne, *Nouveau Voyage*, ii, 244, and in Kelly, *Syria*, p. 95; Arba at Hebron, in Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, p. 242; Seth in Stanley, *Sinai*, p. 414. According to the Christian way of thinking, gigantic stature is characteristic, not of saints, but of 'men of old time', especially warriors, who are rarely canonized: Roland, for instance, remains secular. The whales' bones at Rhodes are attributed by Greeks to Digenes (see Chaviaras in *Λαογραφία*, i, 278), who is again the paladin type; a gigantic sword at Brusa was attributed by Franks to Roland (Belon, *Observations de Plusieurs Singularitez*, III, xlii; Thévenot, *Voyages*, i, 282) and was afterwards associated with a Turkish dervish warrior-saint (cf. Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 24, and p. 230, above). Probably the grave of 'Antenor', still to be seen in a street of Padua, was so named from a discovery of gigantic (*i.e.* fossil) bones (see Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 42). Turks, in contrast to Christians, readily believe in gigantic saints: Sidi Battal, warrior and saint (below, pp. 705-10 ff.), was gigantic; many of the dervishes in religious folk-lore were, or by their arts could become, gigantic. This is part of the general vagueness of their division between hagiology and folk-lore, a division vaguer even than it is in the West. If the Turks find fossil bones, they attribute them either to a saint or to a dragon. In the former case they bury them, it being considered indecent and impious to keep the dead above ground (see above, p. 45, n. 5).

² See above, p. 99; cf. Grosvenor, *Constantinople*, i, 214.

³ *Jardin des Mosquées*, tr. Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii, 108.

Muradzade Mohammed.¹ As the present foundation at the 'tomb of Joshua' belongs to this same order, it is not improbable that the same combination of dervish and minister was responsible for the work undertaken here.

The author of the *Jardin des Mosquées* differentiates the Joshua of the Bosphorus clearly from the Joshua of scripture ('the Joshua buried in this place is not the prophet, but another holy man'). On the other hand, a writing which existed till recently at least in the mosque insists on the identity of the two saints, and appears to transfer the scene of Joshua's victory from Canaan to the Bosphorus. A translation of this writing, given by Walsh,² runs as follows :

'Here is the place of his Excellency Joshua, the son of Nun (Usha-ben-Noon), on whom be peace, who was not of the priests but of the prophets. Moses, on whom be peace, sent him against the Greeks (Roum). Now while his Excellency Joshua, on a certain day, fought with this nation, in the first battle the sun went down on account of the Greeks, but while he was fighting the sun rose again after it had gone down, and the Greeks could not be saved. They saw this miracle of his Excellency Joshua the son of Nun, on whom be peace, and at the time, had he taught them the Faith, they would have received it.³ Should any one, either male or female, deny it, there is in this holy temple a history : let them look to that, and believe that he became a prophet. The end.'

In Cuinet's version of the text are appended the author's signature and date—'Djeziré Moustafa Chakir Hâfez de Chypre des successeurs de l'émir Vasif, en l'an 1231 [1815-16]'. The name *Djeziré* suggests that the author was of Algerian origin, which perhaps accounts for his insistence on the identity of the Bosphorus Joshua

¹ See below, p. 728.

² *Constantinople*, i, 294. A French version is given by Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, iv, 618, apparently from Timoni, *Promenades*, p. 73.

³ Cuinet has 'lorsqu'il leur proposa la vraie foi, ils l'acceptèrent'.

and the son of Nun. Of the Algerian tomb of Joshua it is related that a native who once expressed doubt as to its authenticity was punished¹ by the saint himself, who appeared to him in a dream, ordered him to put out his blasphemous tongue, and burnt it, the culprit dying three days after.²

The original relation between Joshua and the giant was evidently that of victor and vanquished. The grave itself was probably at first considered the grave of a wicked giant³ slain by Joshua, afterwards that of Joshua himself. A hint of the transition is preserved in the legend that after Joshua 'had conquered the Promised Land [or the Land of Rum?], God granted him as his earthly reward the privilege of living, dying, and being buried here.'⁴ Somewhat similarly, in the legend of Sari Saltik, the cave of the dragon slain by the hero becomes the dwelling-place or the burial-place of the hero himself.⁵ We may suspect, but cannot prove, that the grave of Amykos became the 'bed of Herakles' in some such way.

¹ For the punishment by God of offence given to saints see Goldziher in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii (1880), p. 278.

² For the Algerian tomb of Joshua and its legends see R. Basset, *Nédromah*, pp. 74 ff.; like that on the Bosphorus, it is represented as too small for the saint's body.

³ In Turkish folk-lore several tombs of wicked giants are recorded. In his *Travels*, ii, 115, Evliya thus describes the tomb of the wicked giant Balaam on the Egerli Dagh near Erzerum: 'I saw on the top a large tomb, on which I first said a fatihah, and, having measured it by my steps, I found it eighty paces in length, with two columns, which marked the situation of the head and the feet. . . . Ja'afer Effendi of Erzerum . . . warned me not to visit this place any more, because it was the grave of Balaam, the son of Baur, who had died an Infidel by the curse of Moses.' For the grave of a wicked giant on the Bithynian Olympus cf. Hammer, *Brussa*, p. 86; cf. Pardoe, *City of the Sultans*, ii, 83; Evliya, ii, 17, says the giant 'Sa'dan' took refuge there from Hamza.

⁴ Grosvenor, *Constantinople*, i, 213.

⁵ Below, p. 435.

KORANIC SAINTS

§ I. THE SEVEN SLEEPERS

I HAVE discussed elsewhere¹ the development of 'the Forty' in Near East folk-lore and religion. 'Forty' is in the first place a mystical number which plays an important part in magic and ritual. This number is connected with certain groups of persons, including both saints and secular figures, by Christian and Mohammedan alike. The Christians have a predominating 'Forty' group in the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste.

The 'Seven' group is on a similar footing.² Here again we have a mystical number applied to certain groups of persons, with the important difference that the prototype is a group recognized officially in the religion of both Christian and Mohammedan, the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, or 'Companions of the Cave'.

In the case of the Forty we have seen that caves and crypts, if sufficiently large or elaborate, or containing a quantity of human remains, tend to be associated with Forty Saints. In the case of the Seven, who are in the original legend closely associated with a cave, the suggestions of the same combination point inevitably to

¹ In *B.S.A.* xix, 221-8; cf. below, pp. 391-402.

² According to the *Synaxaria* the less important Christian groups of seven saints are: (1) the Seven (female) Martyrs of Angora (18 May), (2) the Seven (female) Martyrs of Amisus (Samsun), who are probably derived from the above (18 March), (3) the Seven Martyrs of Chaldaea, of whom the *Synaxaria* give no details, (4) the Seven Martyrs of Corcyra, who were thieves converted in the prison by SS. Jason and Sosipater (28 April), (5) the *Nine* Maccabees (father, mother, and seven children), who are sometimes regarded as a Seven-group (1 August). A church of the Seven Martyrs is cited at Bor in Cappadocia (Rott, *Kleinas. Denkm.*, p. 371; Grégoire, in *B.C.H.* 1909, p. 142).

the identification of suitable caves and crypts with that of the Seven.¹ We shall consequently find that, especially on the Mohammedan side, identifications of the cave of the Seven Sleepers are numerous.

According to the Greek *Menologia*,² the 'Seven Sleepers', endangered by the persecution of Decius, escaped to a cave on a mountain and prayed to be delivered from the chain of the body and to be saved from the Emperor. They then gave up the ghost and remained dead, the cave being sealed up by Decius, for three hundred and sixty-two years. At the end of this time, in the reign of Theodosius, the cave was discovered and its occupants awoke from their long sleep at the moment when the Resurrection was being discussed. The cave was eventually their final grave.³

In Greek times a similar legend was related of the half historical Epimenides.⁴ In Christian legend the sleep of S. John⁵ in his tomb at Ephesus was firmly believed in during the Middle Ages.⁶ The Seven Sleepers legend is of course early and widely spread. It occurs first in a Syrian version before A.D. 522⁷ and

¹ Cf. the Jordan cave with cells for seven virgins (Antoninus martyr, *De Locis Sanctis*, ed. Tobler, p. 15, xii) and the *makam* of the seven daughters of Jacob at Safed (Kitchener, in *P.E.F., Q.S.* for 1877, p. 124).

² 22 October.

³ For the cave at Ephesus see Lambakis, '*Ἐντὰ Ἀσρέπες*', p. 102; Tavernier, *Voyages*, p. 35; Spon, *Voyage*, i, 248; I.e. Bruyn, *Voyage*, i, 99; Wood, *Ephesus*, p. 12; v. Prokesch-Osten, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, ii, 102; Willibald, ed. Wright, pp. 721-7.

⁴ See O. Kern, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encyclopädie*, s.v.; Diogenes Laertius, i, 10.

⁵ Based of course on Christ's words (*John*, xxi, 22; cf. *Matth.* xvi, 28; *Mark*, ix, 1; *Luke*, ix, 27).

⁶ Daniel *hegoumenos* (1106), in Khitrovo, *Itin. Russes*, p. 7; Jordanus, *Descr. des Merveilles*, p. 64 ('sicut audivi a quodam devoto religioso, qui ibidem fuit et auribus suis audivit. De hora in horam auditur ibidem sonus fortissimus, tanquam hominis stertentis').

⁷ J. Koch, *Die Siebenschläferlegende*, p. 81; Lucius, *Anfänge des Heiligenk.*, p. 82.

was current in Europe¹ as early as the sixth century.² Its localization at Ephesus is probably due to the currency there of the similar legend of S. John.³

Among eastern Christians the Ephesian cave seems the only claimant of any considerable repute. A less-known cave or crypt near Paphos in Cyprus⁴ has never made its claim good. It is mentioned by many pilgrims from the latter part of the fifteenth century onwards. By some of these it is associated with the Seven Sleepers,⁵ by others with the Seven Maccabees;⁶ others, again, prefer to leave the question open, and call the saints

¹ For the Seven Sleepers at Marmoutier near Tours see Dussaulx, *Voy. à Barrège*, i; in Germany 'near the Ocean', see Paul Diaconus, *De Gestis Longob.* I, iv. Pictures of the Ephesian Seven Sleepers were miraculously found at Plouaret in Brittany (Joanne's *Guide*, s.v. *Plouaret*; cf. Sébillot, *Folk-Lore de France*, iv, 25). Other cases are at Yffiniac in Brittany (Sébillot, iv, 120: cf. i, 399), at Marseilles (Baring Gould, *Curious Myths*, 1st Ser., p. 103). They appeared to Edward the Confessor (Hutton, *English Saints*, p. 159; Baring Gould, *op. cit.*, p. 101). For the Seven Maccabees in Europe see Lucius, *Anfänge des Heiligenk.*, p. 142, and Tüker and Malleson, *Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome*, i, 316. For the Seven Sleepers see also Chardry, *Set Dormanz* (thirteenth century).

² Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 285; cf. Tobler, *Palaest. Descr.*, p. 147. Baring Gould (*op. cit.*, p. 100) attributes its introduction into Europe to Gregory of Tours, who says (*De Glor. Martyr.* i, xcvi) that he got it from a Syrian.

³ Already in Theodosius (c. 530), ed. Geyer, *Itin. Hieros.*, p. 148. Cf. Baring Gould, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

⁴ Described recently by Enlart, *Art Gothique en Chypre*, ii, 479-80.

⁵ Le Huen (1480) in Cobham's *Excerpta Cypria*, p. 51; Van Ghisstele (1483), *T' Voyage*, p. 248; Fra Noe (c. 1500), in Cobham, p. 53; Affagart (1534), *ibid.*, p. 67; Trevisan (1512), in Schefer and Cordier, *Rec. de Voyages*, v, 217; J. Le Saige (p. 149), quoted by Enlart, *loc. cit.*; de Villamont, *Voyages* (1598), ii, 258; Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary*, i, 459; de Brèves, *Voyages* (1628), p. 27; Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, II, i, 226.

⁶ B. de Salignac, *Itin.* iv, 5: 'in qua [civitate] septem fratres Maccabaei, una cum matre, inclyto martyrio coronati sunt' (quoted by Hackett, *Church of Cyprus*, p. 464, n. 3): cf. Possot, *Voyage* (1532), ed. Schefer, p. 144.

vaguely the 'Seven Martyrs'.¹ Similarly, a deserted monastery of the Latmos group called *Yediler* ('The Seven')² must probably be regarded as a commemorative dedication in honour of the Ephesian Seven. Still more vague is the cult, founded doubtless on the local identification of bones found in a cave, or rock-cut chapel, which Levides cites from the Cappadocian village of Selimeh near Soghanlar Dere: this cult is frequented by both religions.³

In the Greek church the Seven Sleepers are not very important. I have never met with a church dedicated to them or with an *eikon* representing them in a church. From the fact that small (house) *eikons* of the Seven Sleepers are fairly common it seems probable that they have a wider vogue in popular religion. I was told in this connexion at Corfu that the Orthodox regarded an *eikon* of the Seven Sleepers hung up in the house as an effectual cure for sleeplessness.⁴

The popularity of the Seven Sleepers among Moslems is primarily due to the long narrative of their adventures in the eighteenth chapter ('The Cave') of the Koran. The 'Companions of the Cave' play a great part in popular religious folk-lore, the root idea, on which their importance in this folk-lore depends, seeming to be their immutability, due to the special favour of God.

¹ Kyprianos (1788), *Ἱστορία τῆς Κύπρου*, p. 536; cf. Lusignan, quoted by Hackett, *Church of Cyprus*, p. 456, n. 1.

² Wiegand, *Milet*, III, i, 25 ff., 95 ff. But the tradition, like the name, connecting the cave with the Seven may be late and Turkish. The paintings in the cave do not bear out the connexion.

³ Levides, *Μοναὶ τῆς Καππαδοκίας*, p. 118: *Λεῖψανα σύσσωμα, καλούμενα Ἐρενλέρ, ἧτοι ὄσιοι, ἄτινα καὶ οἱ Τοῦρκοι σέβονται. Λέγεται δὲ ὅτι εἰσὶ λεῖψανα ἑπτὰ ἀγίων. Κεῖνται δὲ ἐνδον λελατομημένου σπηλαίου.* Another vague Seven is at Eskishehr.

⁴ This is warranted by the *Εὐχολόγιον*, which contains a prayer called the 'Prayer of the Seven Sleepers', as follows: *Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ ἀσθενῆ καὶ μὴ ὑπνοῦντα ἢ ὡς λέγεται τῶν ἀγίων ἑπτὰ παιδῶν.* This prayer is not very old as it mentions S. Athanasius of Athos (c. 950).

Their names are therefore written on buildings as a protection against fire, and on swords to prevent their breaking.¹ The Seven seem to be looked on as special patrons of shipping, especially in the Black Sea,² the most dangerous known to the Turks. The names of the Seven and of their dog Katmir, often written ornamentally in the form of a ship,³ are powerful charms to avert evil.⁴ The dog is one of the animals admitted to Paradise,⁵ and is regarded as a type of guardian: ⁶ a special kind of dog, named after him Katmir, is exempted from the ban against the keeping of dogs, as unclean animals, in houses.⁷ Katmir is regarded as presiding specially over letters, which go far or which pass the sea, as a protection to preserve them from miscarriage.⁸

The identification of the cave, the whereabouts of

¹ Falkener, *Ephesus*, p. 158. In Egypt their names are commonly written on drinking-cups and food trays (Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, i, 314).

² Von Hammer, *Constantinopolis*, ii, 60; v. Prokesch-Osten, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, i, 395; C. White, *Constantinople*, i, 187. Cf. von Hammer, in *Mines de l'Orient*, iv, 163: 'Ihre Namen finden sich häufig auf türkischen Schiffen, auf Trinkgefäßen, und auf einigen sehr wohl gestochenen Talismanen' (*i. e.* engraved stones).

³ The Persians, who are allowed by their religion to represent the human form, represent them according to the Byzantine art type (cf. Migeon, *Art Musulman*, ii, 36).

⁴ Falkener, *op. cit.*, p. 159. A pear-shaped sequin called *armudi*, inscribed with the names of the Seven, is worn as an amulet (Comidas, *Constantinopoli*, p. 49; Falkener, p. 158).

⁵ The other animals are Jonah's whale, Solomon's ant, Ishmael's ram, Abraham's calf, Queen of Sheba's ass, Salech's camel, Moses' ox, Belkis' cuckoo, and Mohammed's ass (Baring Gould, *Curious Myths*, 1st series, p. 103).

⁶ 'Their dog stretched forth his fore-legs in the mouth of the cave' (*Koran*, Sale's ed., p. 218).

⁷ Carnoy and Nicolaidis, *Trad. de Constantinople*, p. 7.

⁸ La Roque, *Voyage de l'Arabie Heureuse*, p. 74, cited by Sale in his notes to the *Koran*. Cf. Chardin, *Voyages*, ii, 301. *Khatm etmek* (Arabic *khatem*) = *to seal*. His tail is said to be preserved at Adrianople (Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, s.v. *Animaux*, i, 32).

which was not specified in the Koran, became early a subject of speculation among Mohammedans and many caves became more or less associated with the Seven in widely distant parts of the Moslem world. Outside the Turkish area we find such caves (1) near Toledo in Spain,¹ (2) at M'Gaouse in Algeria,² and (3) near Amman in Palestine beyond Jordan.³ The requisites for such identifications, as is seen from the Arab stories given at length by Le Strange, were a sufficiently impressive or curious cave and a quantity of human remains, preferably mummified corpses : ⁴ the number is left vague in the Koranic account. In Asia Minor many reputed caves of the Seven Sleepers are mentioned, most of them too vaguely for identification. Two of them besides Ephesus ⁵ can be fixed. These, to which we shall return, are (4) a cave near Tarsus, and (5) a cave near Albistan. The caves at present unidentifiable, but in some cases described in great detail, are (6) at Al Albruk, variously identified with Divriji, east of Sivas, and Arabkir farther south ; ⁶ (7) between Amorium and Nicaea, ten or eleven days from Tarsus,⁷ and possibly the same as (8) in a red mountain as one approaches Constantinople. Here there was a monastery which feasted on the day of the saints : this cave was visited by an emissary of the caliph Abu Bekr in 632, who

¹ Yakut (thirteenth cent.) in Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 277.

² Shaw, *Travels to Barbary*, p. 56 ; Maury, in *Rev. Arch.* vi (1849), p. 6. Cf. also Prignet, *À travers l'Algérie*, p. 72.

³ Mukaddasi (tenth cent.), cited by Le Strange, *op. cit.*, pp. 277 ff. Cf. d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 458, for the Salahie cave.

⁴ For Greek and Moslem interpretations of a corpse's failure to decompose see above, p. 253.

⁵ Le Strange, *E. Caliphate*, p. 155.

⁶ Ali of Herat (thirteenth cent.) in Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 119, where Le Strange identifies Al Abruk with Tephrike (Divriji). He is said (by V. Yorke, in *Geog. Journ.* viii (1896), p. 453) to have changed his opinion since in favour of Arabkir (see Le Strange, in *J. R. Asiat. Soc.*, 1895, p. 740).

⁷ Ibn Abbas, *ap.* Yakut, quoted by Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 276.

saw *thirteen* dead men lying¹ in it. Another such cave is (9) at a place in the mountains called Al Hawiyah, between Ladik and Arab territory (Tarsus ?), visited by an Arab ambassador in 720. The description is similar to that of (7), but more detailed : in particular, a pool of water is mentioned. The number of the bodies is given as thirteen.² Finally, (10), 'in the country of the Greeks', was visited by an Arab astrologer sent expressly for the purpose about 845.³ The description generally corresponds to that of (8). The number of bodies is 'more than eight.'

The cave of the Seven Sleepers at Tarsus, first mentioned by Mukaddasi (985),⁴ is still an important Moslem

¹ Yakut (thirteenth cent.), drawing on an eyewitness's account, in *Le Strange, Palestine*, p. 280.

² Mukaddasi in *Le Strange, Palestine*, pp. 282 ff. The cave may possibly be identified with one mentioned by Haji Khalfa (tr. Armain, p. 664) near Ermenek, 'où l'on voit une place très large au milieu de laquelle il y a un bassin d'où sort une source', evidently the 'mächtige Höhle, aus der eine starke Wasserader hervorbricht' of Heberdey and Wilhelm's *Reisen in Kilikien* (*Denk. Wien. Akad., P.-H. Cl.*, xliv, *Abb.* vi, p. 129). Well-preserved bodies are said to have been found here in recent times (Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, ii, 78): 'On nous a raconté qu'un fonctionnaire du gouvernement, à force d'argent et en fournissant tous les moyens en son pouvoir, parvint, il y a deux ans, à décider deux Bohémiens à atteindre une de ces grottes et à y pénétrer. Ils y découvrirent une très grande chambre taillée dans le roc, dont l'entrée était gardée par des soldats debout et revêtus de leurs armures. Au fond de la caverne, il y avait un groupe de femmes, de vieillards et d'enfants. Tous ces cadavres, qui avaient conservé les apparences de la vie, tombèrent en poussière dès que l'air eut pénétré dans la grotte. On y recueillit néanmoins plusieurs objets très précieux, tels que des armures, des casques, des armes, des robes de soie, des bijoux, bagues, pièces de monnaie, etc.'

³ Two accounts of this mission have come down to us from Al Biruni (A.D. 1000) and Yakut (thirteenth cent.), both professing to draw on the same eyewitness's account and quoted by *Le Strange, Palestine*, pp. 283 ff.

⁴ *Le Strange, Palestine*, p. 281: 'as regards the Cave, the city to which it belongs is Tarsus; and further, here is the tomb of Dakiyanus'. Is this the Dunuk Tash of the legend in Langlois, *Cilicie*, p. 276 ?

pilgrimage, frequented also by local Christians, and situated on a mountain about an hour and a half north-west of the town. It obviously owes its popularity to its position near a populous town and the great pilgrim-road towards the Holy Cities. It is mentioned by Haji Khalfa¹ and Lucas² in the seventeenth century and by several later travellers.³ Though it is said that this cave of the Seven Sleepers is accounted one of the principal Moslem pilgrimages after Mecca and Jerusalem, it seems to have remained till lately very rustic in externals. Langlois says of it :

‘ C’est une caverne carrée et voûtée, creusée dans le roc au-dessous du niveau du sol, et dans laquelle on descend par un escalier d’environ dix marches. Le jour n’y pénètre que par une ouverture ménagée dans la voûte. A côté de cette même grotte est une petite mosquée et quelques maisons abandonnées servant de caravansérail aux voyageurs musulmans et chrétiens qui dans un but différent vont en pèlerinage sur ce point.’

In the seventies a new mosque was built and some sort of establishment founded by the mother of Sultan Abdul Aziz.⁴ The sanctuary has a special reputation as a cure for barren women who incubate in the cave.⁵

The identity of the cave at Tarsus with that of the Seven Sleepers was asserted, as we have seen, in the Arab period by Mukaddasi and reiterated in the Turkish by Haji Khalfa (1648). But the identification does not seem to have been locally known at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The tale told to Lucas in 1706 is as follows :

The city of Nimrod above Tarsus was formerly inhabited by giants. Four of these one day set out to raid Tarsus, and, taking their midday sleep in the cave, fell

¹ Tr. Armain, p. 663.

² *Voyage dans la Grèce*, i, 276 ff.

³ Barker, *Lares and Penates*, pp. 36 f. ; Langlois, *Cilicie*, pp. 337 f. ; Michaud and Poujoulat, *Corresp. d'Orient*, vii, 172 ; Davis, *Asiatic Turkey*, p. 42 ; Schaffer, *Cilicia*, p. 29.

⁴ Davis, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Schaffer, *loc. cit.*

asleep for 150 years 'because, as is the local belief, the eternal decrees had so ordained to punish the race of giants'. 'When the four at length awoke, one of them was sent into Tarsus to get food, and found everything changed; the race of giants, which had formerly taken toll of Tarsus, had been exterminated or driven out, and the king in whose reign the giants had fallen asleep was represented by his grandson. This king, on the appearance of a surviving giant, feared trouble, and, not believing the giant's story, sent a messenger back with him to the cave to verify it. He eventually made terms with the four giants that they were to be supplied with food on condition of not leaving the cave.' Here they eventually died.¹

The heroes of Lucas's story are thus not seven holy men but four impious giants,² though some episodes of the canonical legend are still remembered. One influence working on the myth has certainly been the name of the neighbouring city of the giants, 'Nimrod',³ which is also that of the Mohammedan type of tyrant, Nemrud, the impious fire-worshipper who built the Tower of Babel and tortured Abraham the friend of God.⁴ The story of the giants has a special interest as

¹ *Voyage dans la Grèce*, i, 276 ff.

² Giants are normally malignant in folk stories; cf. above, p. 308 n. 3. These were evidently in the end converted to Islam, though Lucas only hints at it ('ils supplierent le Roi de leur faire connoître le Dieu qu'il adoroit, parce qu'ils vouloient aussi l'honorer dans la suite . . . Il faut croire que le Roi de Tarse avoit donné de bons principes à ces Geants; car on assure qu'ils menerent là une vie fort retirée & fort austère').

³ The ruined *ville de Nimrod* seen by Lucas is now marked on our maps *Nemrun*, a corruption of the Greek *Lampron*.

⁴ Carmoly (*Itinéraires*, p. 353) considers that the legend in which Nimrod throws Abraham into a furnace is of Jewish origin and has been adopted by the Koran. It seems to start from the [fictitious] etymology of Nimrod, which in Hebrew means 'to rebel': see Migne, *Dict. de Apocryphes*, ii, 1102 ff. There is a Nemrud Kalesi as far west as Pergamon, but the original, according to Carmoly, is Birs Nimrud in

showing a local religious legend decaying temporarily into a secular story, to be afterwards rehabilitated, possibly under literary influence.

The cave near Albistan mentioned by Le Strange¹ is here identified for the first time. Six hours west of the town lies the mixed (Turkish and Armenian) village of Yarpuz. Kiepert's map gives in brackets below the name *Yarpuz* what is apparently a variant local (Armenian?) form *Efsus*: both names are in all probability perversions of the ancient Arabissus, the name of an important station at this point on the Roman road.² An hour north-west of Yarpuz is a holy place called in Turkish *Ziaret Serai* ('Palace of the Pilgrimage') and in Armenian *Yot Manug* ('Seven Children'). This cave is still venerated by Moslems (and doubtless by local Christians also) as the cave of the Seven Sleepers.³ The perversion of *Arabissus* to *Efsus* and subsequent confusion with *Ephesus* lie at the back of the identification.

A cave of the Seven Sleepers, independent of those we have mentioned above, was found by Taylor in Kurdistan near the village of Hyny, north of Diarbekr.

Mesopotamia, where the mound of the furnace is still shown, ashes and all: cf. Ouseley's translation of Ibn Haukal, p. 70. Afterwards, on Urfa becoming identified with Ur of the Chaldees, the whole cycle was transferred there and two classical columns there are said to be part of the machine Nimrud used to hurl Abraham into the furnace. The Jewish version of this incident seems certainly based on the story of the Three Children. Niebuhr (*Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 236) heard the Nimrod legend told on the spot, Captain Warren (see *P.E.F.*, *Q.S.* for 1869, p. 225) in the Lebanon: see also Goldziher in *Rev. Arch.* ii, 317; Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii, 31 ff. It is interesting to find in Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*, p. 28, that Abraham, when fleeing from Nimrod, was given protection by sheep and refused it by goats, a story which is told by Polites (*Παραδόσεις*, no. 191) of Christ fleeing from the persecuting Jews.

¹ No. 5, above.

² See Sterrett, *Epig. Jour.*, p. 288; Hogarth, *Roads in E. Asia Minor* (*R.G.S. Suppl. Pap.* III, pt. 5, p. 667); neither author has noticed the cave.

³ Jerphanion and Jelabert, in *Mél. Fac. Or.* iii, 458.

The site is called *Fees* or *Afsios Daknaos*. The latter name, a mixture of 'Ephesus' and 'Dakyanus', the eastern perversion of Decius, is due to the identification of Fees and its cave with Ephesus and the localizing in it of the Seven Sleepers legend.¹ Fees actually represents the fortress of Phison.²

Other caves associated by Moslems with the Seven Sleepers are to be found outside Damascus³ and in Mesopotamia, the latter being the site favoured by the heretic Yezidi.⁴

§ 2. EL KHIDR IN THE POPULAR RELIGION OF TURKEY

The Moslem saint El Khidr, El Khizr ('the Verdant'), though not mentioned by name in the Koran, is generally identified by commentators with the companion of Moses' travels,⁵ who secured to himself immortality by the discovery of the Fountain of Life.⁶ In this latter quest tradition associates him with Alexander the Great.⁷

¹ 'The inhabitants have a tradition that the ruins, and a small cave near it, was the spot tenanted by the Seven Sleepers' (Taylor, in *J.R.G.S.* xxxv, 39). ² Φισῶν (Procopius, *De Bell. Pers.* ii, 24).

³ Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, II, i, 126: 'the grot of the seven sleepers, where they pretend they slept and were buried; and the sheik or imam told us that they suffered martyrdom for Christ'. Cf. Thévenot (in Harris's *Navig. Bibl.* ii, 445): 'half a league from Damascus is a rough and barren Hill, but natural Rock, where some *Dervices* live in little Hermitages. They shew you the Cave where the 7 Sleepers hid themselves when they were persecuted by *Darius*, who would have made them renounce the Christian Faith, and are said to have slept till the Time of *Theodosius* the Younger'. Cf. d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 458. This cave, as I am informed by a native of Damascus, is still shown, and it is asserted that the dog Katmir can be seen lying at the entrance. ⁴ Layard, *Discoveries in Nineveh*, p. 206.

⁵ Sale's *Koran*, p. 222 (ch. xviii): for the literary side of the Khidr legends see Vollers, in *Archiv f. Religionsw.* 1909, pp. 234-84; Friedländer, *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman*.

⁶ Le Strange, *E. Caliphate*, p. 175; Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*, pp. 51 ff.; Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii, 627.

⁷ See Friedländer, *op. cit.*; Paul Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand*, ii 175 ff.; Spiegel, *Die Alexandersage*, p. 29.

Among orthodox Sunni Mohammedans Khidr has a certain vague popularity: his day, called the 'feast of Lydda' (23 Nishan = 23 April, Old Style),¹ is observed all over Turkey as the beginning of spring. Among the heretical Nosairi sect, whose religion is a perversion of the Shia Mohammedan, he is a particularly important figure,² as he is apparently among the Yezidi,³ and the Druses.⁴ The same seems to be the case among the Shia (Kizilbash) tribes of Asia Minor,⁵ whose points of contact with the Nosairi and Yezidi are at present in exactly known.

In Turkey, generally, Khidr seems to be a vague personality conceived of mainly as a helper in sudden need, especially of travellers. He has been identified with various figures of the Old Testament, notably with Elias⁶ of whom he is considered a re-incarnation, and with the Orthodox S. George, whose day, together with the associations of Lydda,⁷ he has taken over;⁸ the

¹ Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 21. ² R. Dussaud, *Nosairis*, pp. 128-35.

³ A. Grant (*Nestorians*, p. 319) gives the 24th Nishan (probably by mistake for the 23rd) as the date of the Yezidi spring festival.

⁴ Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, i, 147. ⁵ See above, pp. 145, 148.

⁶ e.g. there is an Armenian church of 'Chodre Elias' at Urfa (Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 330). For the Sinai Arabs' veneration of Khidr-Elias see Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, p. 57; for the combination at Samaria see Conder in *P.E.F.*, Q.S. for 1877, p. 96. For the traditions of Mount Carmel see d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 294, 306, 314, 417; de Brèves, *Voyages*, p. 68; Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, pp. 144, 448-9; Bordeaux Pilgrim, in Chateaubriand, *Itinér.* iii, 240; Goujon, *Terre Sainte*, pp. 63-5.

⁷ For the church of S. George at Lydda, which was partly left to the Greeks and partly transformed into a mosque, see Robinson, *Palestine*, iii, 52; Fabri, *Evagat.*, i, 219; Goujon, *Terre Sainte*, p. 107; Ludolf, *De Itinere*, p. 50; d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 32-3; de Brèves, *Voyages*, p. 100; V. Guérin, *Descr. de la Pales.* I, i, 324; Stern, *Die moderne Türkei*, p. 170. Two sixth-century travellers mention the tomb and martyrdom of S. George at Lydda; see Antoninus of Piacenza, *De Locis Sanctis*, ed. Tobler, p. 28, xxv (cf. Lucius, *Anfänge des Heiligenk.*, p. 240), and Theodore in Tobler, *Palaest. Descr.*, p. 40.

⁸ e.g. at Beyrut (Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 382; V. Guérin,

characteristics he has borrowed from S. George include the reputation of a dragon-slayer,¹ which S. George himself may have borrowed from a pagan predecessor

Descr. de la Pales. I, iii, 311-13); at Baniyas (Kitchener in *P.E.F.*, Q. 1 for 1877, p. 172; Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 38; cf. Stanley, *Sinai*, pp. 398-9); near Jerusalem (see below, p. 326, n. 6); in Albania (Durham *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 208). See especially Rychart, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 68.

¹ It is curious that, while in the West legend relates the rescue by S. George of a princess from a dragon, this is by no means the case generally in the East. Thus, in the *Byzantine Painters' Guide*, translated by Didron, *Iconographie Chrétienne*, pp. 369-71, no dragon-kill type is given for the saint. Early western travellers to the East mention his martyrdom and his burial at Lydda (Diospolis), but say nothing of his dragon fight (see, e.g. Antoninus of Piacenza, ed. Tobler, p. 28 xxv, and the similarly sixth-century Theodore, in Tobler's *Palae. Descr.*, p. 40). Their silence is especially notable as Lydda is so near Joppa with its traditions of Perseus and the dragon he slew. The bones of the dragon were shown there in the Christian era: cf. Jerome *Epist.*, p. 108, and Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* iii, 7. According to Amélineau (*Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne, Introd.*, p. liii) the saint is represented in Coptic eikonography as a horseman with a lance but no dragon, the slaying of the dragon being foreign to the Coptic legend. On the other hand, S. Michael slaying the dragon is pictured on horseback (Amélineau attributes the ultimate confusion to Syrian painters working in Egypt, and holds that Michael, not George, replaces the Egyptian Horus). The *Martyre de Saint Georges* current among the Copts (Amélineau, *op. cit.* ii, 167 ff.) resembles the early *Acta* of the saint as given by Baring Gould in his *Curious Myths*, 2nd Series, pp. 9 ff. The *Acta* place S. George's birth and martyrdom under Dacian, emperor of the Persians, and at Melitene: among other tortures, a pillar is laid on him. The Copts hold that S. George, whom they associate with Lydda (Amélineau, ii, 208-9), was martyred by King 'Tatien' (Amélineau, ii, 167), who is several times called a 'dragon' (Amélineau, ii, 171, 198, &c.: cf. Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 193); one torture is to roll a column over his body (Amélineau, ii, 174). A reminiscence of this torture is found in his church at Beyrut, where a column is rolled on patients whose backs ache (Pococke, *Voyages*, iii, 275). The Copts celebrate S. George of 'Melite' on 18 April (Amélineau, ii, 153). As in the Coptic legends, there is no mention in the *Acta* of the dragon fight. In fact, according to Baring Gould (*op. cit.*, p. 31), the first mention of the princess and the dragon is in de Voragine's *Golden Legend*, that is, not earlier than the end of the thirteenth century

The identification of Khidr with Elias is found as early as Cantacuzenus, who died A. D. 1380. S. George, he says, is worshipped by the Christians and *παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν Μουσουλμανῶν τιμᾶται, ὀνομάζεται δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν χετηρ ἡλιάς*.¹ George of Hungary, our best early authority on Turkish popular saints, spent a long captivity in Asia Minor during the early fifteenth century² and makes clear the extraordinary vogue enjoyed by Khidr in his day.

'Chidrelles', he writes, 'is before all a helper of travellers in need. Such is his repute in all Turkey that there is scarce any man to be found that hath not himself experienced his help or heard of others that have so done. He manifesteth himself in the shape of a traveller riding on a grey horse,³ and anon re-

Thereafter it is normally mentioned by travellers to Beirut (e.g. Ludolf (c. 1350), *De Itinere*, p. 38; d'Anglure, *Saint Voyage* (1395), p. 10; Poloner (1422), in Tobler, *Palaest. Descr.*, p. 259), and to Rama (e.g. della Valle, *Voyages*, ii, 19; Pococke, *Voyages*, iii, 15). It then appears to have gained general currency in the East as in the West (cf. Carnoy and Nicolaïdes, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 80, where a prince replaces S. George; cf. also modern Greek eikonography). As, therefore, its appearance in the East seems not anterior to the Crusades, while it is most prominent at Beirut, where the Crusaders were strong, and is not found at Lydda in spite of Lydda's proximity to Joppa, the conjecture may be hazarded that the Crusaders imported this part of the legend, on which point see further below, p. 660, n. 3. Of this an echo may be preserved in the belief held by Moslems that S. George was the patron saint of the Crusaders (Conder, in *P.E.F.*, Q.S. for 1877, p. 98; cf. Hutton, *English Saints*, p. 88, for his traditional appearance to the Crusaders before Antioch). In virtue of his prowess against dragons S. George is, like S. Michael, a famous healer of diseased minds; see below, p. 326, n. 2.

¹ P. 48.

² On him see below, p. 494, n. 1.

³ This is evidently a trait borrowed from the Christian S. George, whose horse is invariably depicted as white or grey, while that of S. Demetrius is red. For an apparition of a knight on a grey horse (evidently Khidr) in a modern Anatolian folk-story see Carnoy and Nicolaïdes, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 5. Jenghiz Khan was visited in a dream by a knight armed all in white and sitting on a white horse; the knight foretold his future greatness (Mandeville, ed. Wright, p. 238). S.

lieveth the distressed wayfarer, whether he hath called on him, or whether, knowing not his name, he hath but commended himself to God, as I have heard on several hands.¹

The conception of Khidr as the protector of travellers is derived for Moslems primarily from Khidr's own travels as related in the Koran, the Koranic 'type' of traveller naturally becoming the patron of travellers in general. Travel being considered abnormal and dangerous, travellers have special need of a protector in sudden necessity: this is a phase also of the Orthodox S. George.² In this respect it seems abundantly proved, from oriental literary sources, that the personalities of Khidr and Elias are distinguished by the learned, the former being the patron of seafarers and the latter of travellers by land.³ But it may be doubted whether the position of the two personalities is clearly defined in popular religion. In inland Kurdistan the roles of

Claude, a military saint and martyr of Antioch, who is apparently connected in Egypt with Assiut, appears on a white horse to chastise a sacrilegious *emir* (Amélineau, *Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne*, ii, 50).

¹ George of Hungary, *De Moribus Turcorum* (first printed c. 1480) chap. xv (see further below, p. 498). Breuning probably copies from George of Hungary (*Orient. Reyss* (1579), p. 106: 'Chiridilles ruffer auch müde unnd matte Wandersleute unnd Pilger an'). It is perhaps worth while to cite in this connexion Pétis de la Croix's *1001 Jours* p. 267, where a young man suddenly appears to a princess in a *jinn*' castle and is greeted by her with the words, 'Je ne saurais croire que vous soyez un homme. Vous êtes sans doute le prophète Élie?'

² Cf., in the *Travels* of the Patriarch Macarius of Antioch, the author's invocation of S. George as 'the rider upon sea and land' (tr. Belfour i, 12) and the incident, often depicted in his *eikons*, of his rescue of a Christian slave from a Moslem master in a distant land (cf. Polites *Παραδόσεις*, p. 798, quoting Spratt, *Crete*, i, 345-6). Hottinger (*Hist. Orient.*, p. 480), quoting Busbecq, says Turks made fun of this slave a figured in *eikons*. Didron, *Iconographie Chrétienne*, p. 372, notes the presence of the slave, but could hear of no explanation of his presence.

³ Vollers, *loc. cit.*, p. 262; Friedländer, *Chadhirlegende*, p. 119. See also Hammer's extracts from Mejir-ed-Din in *Mines de l'Orient*, i 96; Goldziher, in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii (1880), p. 324; Lane, *Moslems and Egyptians*, i, 293, n.

Khidr and Elias as given above are said to be reversed,¹ which looks as if Khidr, the predominant figure, was apt to usurp the element locally of most importance. His connexion with sea-travel² is emphasized by the fact that his day is regarded by seamen as the opening of their season.³

Khidr has also a physical aspect. Whereas in relation to man he is regarded as a patron of travel and a bringer of sudden help, in relation to the world of nature he is regarded as a patron of spring, being called the 'Verdant', partly in allusion to the greenness of that season, while his feast is the beginning of spring and, in Syria, the beginning of sowing.⁴ His discovery of the Water of Life⁵ may also have a reference to his connexion with spring, while the physical conception of his functions has probably aided his confusion with Elias, the rain-bringer of the Christians.⁶ It is probable that this rain-making aspect of Khidr is responsible for the number of hills bearing his name, which are to be found in the neighbourhood of towns and villages. Every Turkish town has its recognized place for the rain prayer. These are always outside the town and in the open air, generally high lying,⁷ and frequently marked by a *turbe* or

¹ Jaba, *Recueil de Récits Kourdes*, p. 93.

² For the marine side of Khidr see Clermont-Ganneau in *Rev. Arch.* xxxii (1876), pp. 196-204, 372-99: his special marine associations at Suadyeh (Dussaud, *Nosairis*, p. 133) are doubtless due to the position of the sanctuary (at the mouth of the Orontes).

³ Sestini, *Lettres*, iii, 234; cf. Le Bruyn, *Voyage* (Delft, 1700), p. 177. Cf. also d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 315.

⁴ Mukaddasi, *ap.* Clermont-Ganneau, *loc. cit.*, p. 388.

⁵ See e.g. Spiegel, *Die Alexandersage*, p. 29.

⁶ 1 *Kings*, xviii, 41-5; M. Hamilton, in *B.S.A.* xiii, 354, and *Greek Saints*, p. 20.

⁷ An exception is to be found in Turkish Athens, where the rain prayer was made at 'the columns' [of the Olympieum] (Hobhouse, *Albania*, i, 323; J. Galt, *Letters*, p. 167; Michaud and Poujoulat, *Corresp. d'Orient*, i, 161). The open-air pulpit at 'the columns' is shown in L. Dupré's plate and mentioned by Randolph (*Morea*, p. 23).

dome, sometimes by a pulpit. At Constantinople, for example, a pulpit for the rain prayer was built by Murad IV on the Archery Ground (*Ok Meidan*) high above the Golden Horn.¹ At Cairo Pococke remarked the pulpit on a spur of the Mokattam hills above the citadel.² When, as frequently occurs, the site is marked by a *turbe* or dome, this building tends to be associated with the name of a saint, who is regarded as the intercessor for rain, though in fact it is probably more often a cenotaph or commemorative monument. Thus, at Angora the hill opposite the citadel called *Khidrlik* is crowned by a cupola on open arches. This dome may have originally commemorated an appearance of Khidr or may merely have been erected in his honour. It is now regarded as the tomb of a saint,³ named, as I was informed, Bula Khatun.⁴ This development is characteristic of a simple theology which prefers its own saint unshared to a divinity of wider powers who is shared by many.

As to local cults of Khidr, we can point to two areas, the Syrian and the Turkish. In Turkey the connexion between S. George and Khidr seems to be less close than

¹ Evliya, *Travels*, I, ii, 89.

² Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, i, 36.

³ M. Walker, *Old Tracks*, p. 69; cf. Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 234, who seems to regard the place as the grave of a human saint named Khidr.

⁴ Bula Khatun, whose name betrays her sex, may well have been the lady who built the cupola, perhaps as a prayer place for women. For this practice cf. Burton, *Arabian Nights*, i, 74 (and note): 'She builded for herself a cenotaph wherein to mourn, and set on its centre a dome under which showed a tomb like a Santon's sepulchre'. These cenotaphs might be 'dedicated' as memorials. At Bagdad in recent times a pasha's wife built a cupola in honour of the daughter of Noah (Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 215). Among ignorant populations such cenotaphs easily come to be accepted as actual tombs (cf. Niebuhr, *op. cit.*, ii, 237, where a cenotaph at Helle, built in honour of the Prophet Elias, is thought his tomb). [At Kastoria in West Macedonia two ruined open *turbes* in the Moslem cemetery are said to be either the tombs of Janissaries or shelters for mourners.—M. M. H.]

in Syria, where the two seem almost synonymous. Jerusalem who have made vows to Khidr frequently pay them to his Christian counterpart.¹ One of the most frequented centres of the cult is a Christian monastery near Bethlehem, which is famous for its cures of madness.² According to Conder, sanctuaries (*makams*) of Khidr in Palestine are often found on Crusaders' sites, thus suggesting an inheritance from S. George.³ On the strength of his identification with Elias, Khidr has occupied a chapel of the latter at Zarephath.⁴ Various sites, at Nablus⁵ (a spring), Jerusalem,⁶ Damascus,⁷ Bagdad,⁸

¹ For the general position of Khidr in the religious folk-lore of Syria see Einsler, in *Z.D.P.V.* xvii (1894), pp. 42 ff.; Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*, pp. 51 ff.

² Robinson, *Palestine*, ii, 321, 325; Einsler, *loc. cit.*, p. 69; Baldensperger in *P.E.F.*, Q.S. for 1893, p. 208, *cf.* p. 36; Hanauer, *op. cit.*, p. 52; d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 231; Tobler, *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, ii, 501 ff., who quotes the *Anon. Allat.* as already (c. 1400) mentioning the chain, beating with which formed part of the cure; Thévenot, *Voyages*, ii, 639; Le Bruyn, *Voyage* (Delft, 1700), p. 277; Fabri, *Evagat.* ii, 187; Guérin, *Descr. de la Pales.* I, iii, 312. The Copts' convent of S. George in Jerusalem also possesses a chain of the saint which cures lunacy; see Tobler, *op. cit.* i, 370-1, and Tischendorf, *Terre-Sainte*, p. 204.

³ *Survey of West Palestine*, v, 257, and *P.E.F.*, Q.S. for 1877, p. 98.

⁴ Robinson, *Palestine*, iii, 412 f.; *cf.* Goujon, *Terre Sainte*, p. 56, and La Roque, *Voyage de Syrie*, i, 16. The fourth-century S. Paula mentions the tower of S. Elias at 'Sarepta' (Tobler, *Palaest. Descr.*, p. 13), as does the sixth-century Theodore (Tobler, *Palaest. Descr.*, p. 42); *cf.* Antoninus of Piacenza, ed. Tobler, p. 4, ii.

⁵ Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 512.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 164; *cf.* Tobler, *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, i, 505, 529; Mejir-ed-Din, tr. v. Hammer in *Mines de l'Orient*, ii, 90; Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*, p. 61.

⁷ Le Strange, *Palestine*, pp. 253, 264. Monconys (*Voyages*, i, 340) and Pococke (*Descr. of the East*, ii, 119) mention a 'tomb of S. George' at Damascus, but this is rather S. George the porter, for whom see also Porter, *Damascus*, p. 16, and Thévenot, *Voyages*, iii, 49. Khidr is said to attend prayers in the Great Mosque (*Kitab* of Menasik-el-Haj, tr. Bianchi, p. 36, in *Rec. de Voyages*, ii, 116).

⁸ Tavernier, *Voyages* (London, 1678), p. 86, mentions a chapel of

and Mosul,¹ are associated with his name. The last three seem to be regarded as tombs, the rest, and probably all originally, as places where he has appeared to mortals² or merely as memorials.

As regards Turkish lands, Khidr, who is recognizable by the fact that one of his thumbs is boneless, is said to have appeared at Constantinople several times, at S. Sophia³ and at the Valideh Atik mosque in Skutari.⁴ There is a 'station' of Khidr in the mosque of Aatik Ali Pasha in Stambul.⁵ Bars of iron engraved by the Khidr frequented by Christians. A 'tomb' is cited by Massignon in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* lviii (1908), p. 336.

¹ Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* iv, 442; cf. Sherif-ed-Din, *Hist. de Timour*, tr. Péris de la Croix, ii, 262. For the tomb of 'Nebbe Gurgis' at Mosul see Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 291, and for his martyrdom there Masudi (quoted by J. Friedrich in *Sitzb. Bayr. Akad., Ph.-Ph. Cl.*, II, ii, 181) and Baring Gould, *Curious Myths*, 2nd Series, p. 11.

² Stanley (*Sinai*, 268) makes some interesting remarks on the alleged tomb of Khidr at Surafend. 'Close to the sea-shore', he says, 'stands one of these sepulchral chapels dedicated to "El-Khudr", the Mohamedan representative of Elijah. There is no tomb inside, only hangings before a recess. This variation from the usual type of Mussulman sepulchres is "because El-Khudr is not yet dead; he flies round and round the world, and those chapels are built wherever he has appeared".' A miraculous light was seen, added the peasants who gave Stanley the above information, every Thursday evening and Friday morning at the chapel. This miraculous light at tombs frequently figures in legend: see above, p. 254. For his association with Surafend see also d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 4.

³ For Khidr's connexion with the building of S. Sophia see above, pp. 10-11. For his appearance there in the reign of Selim II see Evliya, ii, 61.

⁴ Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, iv, 640; *Jardin des Mosquées* in Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii, 90 (749). For this mosque see above, p. 273.

⁵ *Jardin des Mosquées*, p. 30 (312). Aatik Ali Pasha was a vizir and died in 1511. It is a curious coincidence, if no more, that in the Valideh Atik mosque and in Aatik Ali's mosque there should be a station of Khidr, the only Moslem saint who goes on horseback. It would be interesting to know whether an alleged footprint of his horse were shown in these mosques.

boneless thumb of the saint are shown in the mosque of Mohammed II,¹ while he is said to be present daily at one of the five prayers in the mosque of Sultan Ahmed.² Near Adrianople, Covell in 1677 notices a 'place of Khidr' with an imperial kiosk said to occupy the site of a church of S. George.³ At Gallipoli a mosque called *Khizr u Ilyas Maqami*, 'the station of Khidr and Elias,' is supposed to commemorate an appearance of the saint to the poet Mehemed Yazijioglu.⁴ In Albania, near Elbassan, a hot spring bears the saint's name.⁵

In Asia Minor, Khidr has replaced at Elwan Chelebi the dragon-slaying S. Theodore.⁶ This is the only proved instance of his intrusion in Turkey on a Christian cult. But in many places the name *Khidrlik* ('place of Khidr') is given to hills or 'high places' of which the Christian traditions, if any ever existed, have disappeared. Such hills exist near Angora,⁷ near Sinope⁸ above Geredeh (Krateia Bithyniae),⁹ near Changri (Gangra),¹⁰ near Ladik (Pontus),¹¹ near Tarakli (Dablae),¹² and at Afiun Kara Hisar.¹³ There is a mountain *Khidirli Dagb* near Kepsud,¹⁴ while places named *Kheder Elles* are recorded near Kula in Lydia¹⁵ and above Tripoli on the Black Sea.¹⁶ Père de Jerphanion, in his new map of Pontus¹⁷ marks a village *Khedernale* ('Horseshoe of

¹ Cuinet, *loc. cit.*

² Carnoy and Nicolaidès, *Folklore de Constantinople*, pp. 98 ff.

³ *Diaries*, p. 248; cf. Jacob, *Beiträge*, p. 15, and Rycaut, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 69.

⁴ Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, i, 393.

⁵ Von Hahn, *Alban. Studien*, iii, 59, s.v. *λιδσε*. ⁶ Above, p. 48.

⁷ Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 230; Ainsworth, *Travels*, i, 133; see also below, p. 449.

⁸ Ibn Batuta, tr. Sanguinetti, ii, 349.

⁹ Von Diest, *Tilsit nach Angora*, pl. iii.

¹⁰ R. Kiepert's *Kleinasiens*.

¹¹ Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 211.

¹² R. Kiepert's *Kleinasiens*.

¹³ Von Hammer, *Osman. Dichtkunst*, i, 63.

¹⁴ R. Philippson's *Karte des W. Kleinasiens*.

¹⁵ R. Kiepert's *Kleinasiens*.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Carte du Bassin du Yéhil Irmak*. R. Kiepert gives the name as *Hidirnal*.

Khidr ') near Sivas, which probably claims, like Elwan Chelebi, to possess a hoof-print of the saint's horse. Professor White of Marsovan seems to find *Khidrlük* almost a generic name for a holy place in his district,¹ which has a large Shia population.²

On the grounds of Orthodox Greek practice we should, perhaps, expect that S. Elias was the saint displaced on hill-top sites.³ But the functions and

¹ Cf. the use of *χιζύρης* (= *holy man*) by the Greeks of Silleh near Konia (Dawkins, *Mod. Greek*, p. 288).

² *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xxxix (1907), p. 156; cf. de Jerphanion in *Byz. Zeit.* xx, 493, where the cult of Elias at the site (Ebimi) of a temple of Zeus Stratios (Cumont, *Stud. Pont.* ii, 172) is identified as a *Khidrlük*.

³ Elias, on the perfectly good ground of his biblical history, is the saint of rain (cf. Shishmanova, *Légendes Relig. Bulg.*, pp. 134 ff.), and is the most popular hill-saint in Greek lands, not because he replaces Helios, the ancient sun-god, but because of his original connexion with Carmel, where his memory is still alive (cf. Pierotti, *Légendes Racontées*, p. 43; Goujon, *Terre Sainte*, pp. 63-5; d'Arvicux, *Mémoires*, ii, 294, 306, 417; de Brèves, *Voyages*, p. 68). In the same way the other common (but far less common) hill dedications in Greece are connected with Tabor (*Μεταμόρφωσις Σωτήρος*) as Athos and the Great Monastery of the Metcora, or with Olivet (*Ἀνάληψις*) as Olympus. The idea that Elias chapels were survivals of Helios worship (for which see, e.g., Petit de Julleville, *Recherches en Grèce*, in *Arch. des Miss.*, 2nd ser., v (1869), p. 519; Deschamps, *La Grèce d'Aujourd'hui*, p. 322; Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore*, p. 44; M. Hamilton (*Greek Saints*, p. 19) was opposed already by Lenormant (*Voie Éleusin.*, pp. 451-2) in 1867, and seems not to be known to Buchon in 1843, though in general he is very ready to find ancient survivals in modern Greece. The theory is based partly on nomenclature and partly on the art-types of Helios and Elias. It is true that Helios (*Ἥλιος*) looks rather like Elias (*Ἐλίας*) and that *Ἥλιου* sounds very like *Ἐλίου*. But the usual genitive of *Ἐλίας* is *Ἐλίας*. It is also true that there is a certain similarity in their art-types, Helios being the charioteer of the sun, and Elias being received up into heaven in a chariot of fire. But art types are not of great importance in rustic sanctuaries, and both Helios and Elias are more frequently represented in other ways, while, if the chariot be thought away, there remain the opposite types of an ephebe and a bearded ascete. Solar survivals more probably belong to S. John, whose feast is the summer solstice, his birthday being six months before that of Christ (*Luke*, i, 26), which is the winter solstice. Thus, when Monte Cassino was founded, in 529,

conceptions of Khidr are at once so varied and so vague as to adapt him to replace almost any saint, or indeed to

S. Benedict is said to have found there a much-frequented temple of Apollo, which he replaced by a church of S. Martin, the destroyer of idols, replacing Apollo's altar by a church of S. John, the solstice saint (Beugnot, *Destr. du Paganisme*, ii, 285, quoting the nearly contemporary Leo of Ostia). That is, S. Benedict 'disinfected' the locality by building the church of S. Martin and 'transferred' the solstice festival to S. John. S. Elias comes rather late for a solstice saint, being celebrated on 19 July; it is, however, true that midsummer fires are lit on S. Elias' day in the chapel of S. Elias on the summit of Taygetos (M. Hamilton, *Greek Saints*, p. 20), but this is an isolated case not justifying a general rule. It is also to be noted that Helios was never a popular god in Greece at all under that name, except at Rhodes, where he is thought identical with Zeus Atabyrios; in modern Rhodes Mt. Ataira retains the name and Mt. S. Elias is a separate peak. Nor was Apollo in classical (as distinct from Homeric) Greece addicted to mountain-tops. Survivalists attempt to turn this difficulty by referring to the late Roman solar cult introduced by Aurelian, the conqueror of Palmyra, from Syria. But this was a Syrian *city* cult, favoured by a Roman emperor in *Rome*, and not associated with hills or country. Survivalists also quote the equally late solar cult of Mithras, which was derived from Persia, had a great vogue in Rome, and is associated with the frequent Roman coin-legend SOLI INVICTO COMITI. But the Mithras cult does not seem to have had much vogue in Greece, and it was essentially a popular cult particularly affected by soldiers and developed, not in rustic places, but in towns and camps. The typical Mithraeum, moreover, was a cave or underground chapel made to resemble a cave. The hill-cult of Elias is unknown in the West, where these solar cults were prominent, and it seems to be found only once in South Italy (near Cotrone, Baedeker, *S. Italy*, p. 256), which remained long Greek (Mt. S. Elias in Alaska is due to Russian influence deriving from Greek practice). Elias is still a hill-saint in Syria (*e.g.* on Carmel, as above; on Sinai, see Tischendorf, *Terre-Sainte*, p. 76; Stanley, *Sinai*, p. 75; Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, p. 57; elsewhere, see Tobler, *Palaest. Descr.*, p. 8, and *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, ii, 712; Stanley, *Sinai*, p. 251; Pococke, *Voyages*, iii, 263, 394), where the influence of Greek language and custom can scarcely have been important. That is, in Syria, a country where Greek was never the language and Ἥλιος meant nothing, Elias is associated with three mountains which were well within the range of Christian pilgrims. Further, the chief and characteristic hill-god of antiquity was Zeus the cloud-gatherer (found on Athos, Olympus, Dicte, Anchesmos; *cf.* Lykaios, Atabyrios), the

occupy any site independently. His sudden appearances make it specially easy to associate him with any spot already hallowed by previous tradition or notable for recent supernatural occurrences,¹ while his functions as a patron of spring vegetation and as a rain-maker recommend his cult to primitive pastoral or agricultural populations.

Without claiming to solve the various fusions of cult and legend which have produced the mysterious and many-sided figure of Khidr,² we may perhaps make the following tentative suggestions³ as to the origin of his functions and vogue in popular religion.

(1) In the Koran the unnamed Servant of God, generally interpreted as Khidr, travels with Moses and commits three seemingly unjust deeds.⁴ A probable original⁵ of this story is the Talmudic tale of Rabb

corresponding hill-goddess being Cybele-Rhea (found on Ida, Dindymon, &c.). Zeus the cloud-gatherer would be a not unnatural predecessor of Elias, in which connexion it is curious to find in Trede *Heidentum* (1889-91), i, 316, that 'der Heilige Elias hatte kürzlich sein Fest [at Naples] und sah man seine Statue mit einem Rad, in der Hand den Blitz des Zeus'. And finally, as Elias chapels are generally connected with villages, though on their outskirts, and many villages are recent or not on ancient sites, most Elias chapels are probably recent and no survival of any sort.

¹ Cf. the Kurdish tale of the 'Wishing Rock' (in Jaba's *Recueil d. Récits Kourdes*, xxxvi), where a naked man praying is taken for Khidr. The 'places of Khidr' seem generally regarded as *praying places* of the saint (cf. Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, i, 393).

² On this subject see d'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orientale*, s.v. *Khedher*, *Elia* von Hammer in *Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, 1831, pp. 829-32; Clermont-Ganneau, *Horus et S. Georges*, in *Rev. Arch.* xxxii (1876), pp. 196-204, 372-99; Friedländer, *Chadhirlegende*, *passim*. [See also Hastings' *Encycl. of Relig.* s.v. *Khidr*, for an article by Friedländer, and s.v. *Saints and Martyrs*, p. 81, no. 6, for an article by Masterman; my husband did not live to see either.—M. M. H.]

³ [It is to be noted here that my husband did not regard this chapter as sufficiently advanced for publication, and that it is published on my responsibility for the sake of its material.—M. M. H.]

⁴ Sale's edition, pp. 222 ff.

⁵ See below, p. 699.

Jochanan's travels with Elijah,¹ so that its being told of Khidr would indicate another case of identifying Elias with Khidr. Such an identification, however, raises the difficulty that the association of Moses with Elias involves a serious anachronism. But it may be doubted whether that matters much in popular theology, while there is some reason to suspect that the confusion dates from a period considerably anterior to the composition of the Koran, from the sixth century in fact. Antoninus of Piacenza, who travelled in the Holy Land about A. D. 570, visited Suez and came 'ad ripam, ubi transierunt filii Israel et exierunt de mare [*sic*]. Ibi est oratorium Moysis.'² Variant readings are: 'Et in loco, ubi [*or quo*] exierunt de mari, est oratorium Heliae. Et transcendentibus [*transeuntes*] venimus in locum ubi intraverunt mare. Ibi [*or ubi*] est oratorium Moysis.' Tobler has little doubt that the second better represents the original reading, the copyist having inadvertently omitted part: this would also explain the *mare* for *mari* in the text.³ Granted, then, that two 'oratories', of Moses and Elias respectively, existed, as Tobler supposes, on the Red Sea, the popular mind would readily associate them with each other, however distinct they may have been in the beginning, and would thus pave the way for the anachronism in the Koran to pass undetected. There Moses is said to have found Khidr where the sea of the Greeks joins that of the Persians, that is, at Suez.⁴ In this sphere of activity Khidr may therefore with some probability be said to derive from the Hebrew Elijah.

(2) In his discovery of the Water of Life Khidr is

¹ Polano, *Selections from the Talmud*, pp. 313 ff.

² *De Locis Sanctis*, ed. Tobler, p. 44, xli.

³ This opinion I share: it seems preferable to that of Friedrich Tuch (*Antoninus Martyr*, p. 39), who thinks only one 'oratorium' existed, the attribution being changed, for no good reason, from Moses to Elias.

⁴ Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii, 627, drawing on Weil, *Bibl. Leg.*

brought into connexion with Alexander, whose vizir he is said to have been. This story seems mostly to depend ultimately on the Pseudo-Callisthenes¹ but gathers up a number of legends which connect Elias with Enoch and Khidr.²

From the Jewish composite figure of Elias + Enoch + Phinehas³ come several of Khidr's aspects, *e. g.*

(3) His association with learning.⁴ Various traditions associate Elias with books. He is said to delight in the studies of Jewish rabbis,⁵ to have written certain apocrypha,⁶ and to have personally instructed Maimonides.⁷ The Turks, besides confusing Elias with Enoch,⁸ hold that Enoch was a great sage.

(4) From the same composite figure comes Khidr's association with the high priesthood.⁹ Elias is believed to perform daily sacrifice in the Temple underground.¹⁰ His contact with Phinehas is early and has been used by Moslem theologians as a proof that Khidr and Elias are separate persons.¹¹

¹ See Paul Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand*, ii, 176; Spiegel, *Die Alexandersage*, p. 29.

² Enoch was held by some Jewish thought to have been an early incarnation of Elias, neither having died. The Talmud records Enoch's ascent to Heaven in a chariot of fire (Polano's *Selections from the Talmud*, p. 21). Elias and Enoch are both in the terrestrial Paradise (Villotte, *Voyages*, p. 56). In medieval French tradition 'un nommé Énoc' finds the Fountain of Life, bathes in it against Alexander's orders, and is punished (Meyer, *op. cit.* ii, 175). Masudi identified Elias with Enoch (Goldziher in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii, 324).

³ On him see Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.*, pp. 87-9, with reff.; Edersheim, *Life of Jesus*, ii, 703; Goldziher, *loc. cit.*

⁴ 'El Khudr' converts the heathen blacks (Lane, *Thousand and One Nights*, p. 312).

⁵ Edersheim, ii, 705.

⁶ Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii, 219 ff.

⁷ Wiener, *Sippurim; Sammlung Jüdischer Volkssagen*, pp. 6 ff.

⁸ *e. g.* Masudi, quoted by Goldziher, *loc. cit.*

⁹ On Khidr as the *Kutb* see Goldziher, *loc. cit.*, and Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, i, 293; the latter adds that many Moslems say Elijah was the *kutb* of his time.

¹⁰ Cf. Pierotti, *Légendes Racontées*, p. 22.

¹¹ Goldziher, *loc. cit.*

(5) Khidr's association with travel comes explicably enough in view of the above from Elias' wandering life, he being the type of the eternal wanderer. In commemoration of this, Jews lay a place for him at their Passover,¹ the idea arising especially from the text, 'And it shall come to pass, as soon as I am gone from thee, that the spirit of the Lord shall carry thee whither I know not.'²

Immortality is the connecting link between the components of the Enoch+Phinehas+Elias figure and leads to

(6) Khidr's identification with S. George, whom the tyrant king tried in vain to kill.³ This entails the fusion, it will be noted, of the aged ascete Elias with the young soldier George.⁴ Khidr (*verdant*, ἀειθαλής)⁵ would, on this showing, be merely an epithet derived from the immortality of the Elias prototype.⁶

The results of our analysis thus tend to show that in Khidr there is no independent Moslem or pre-Moslem element. The Elias part can all be paralleled in Jewish tradition, while the George part is all Christian: only his adventure with Moses is of somewhat uncertain origin, but even that, in view of the early date of the Talmudic story,⁷ is probably descended from a Jewish ancestor.

¹ Hastings' *Encycl. of Relig. s.v. Elijah*.

² 1 *Kings*, xviii, 12. On this see Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, i, 293.

³ For Masudi's account of this see J. Friedrich in *Sitzb. Bayr. Akad., Ph.-Ph. Cl.*, II, ii, 181. Masudi places the martyrdom at Mosul, where Niebuhr notes (*Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 291) the existence of his tomb. The Copts also have a tradition of S. George's resuscitations (Amélineau, *Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne*, ii, 213).

⁴ It is not likely that such a fusion could have been made except in a religion which forbade the making of images: Greeks, for example, could scarcely have done so, *cf.* above, p. 49, n. 2.

⁵ So Beidawi, quoted by Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.*, p. 87.

⁶ *Cf.* d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 314: 'ils ne nomment jamais ce S. Prophete Elie, qu'ils n'y ajoutent l'épithete de *Khdr*, qui veut dire verd, verdoyant, qui est le symbole de la vie, parce qu'ils sont persuadez que ce Prophete est encore vivant'. *Cf.* also the *Mémoires*, ii, 315.

⁷ See below, pp. 699-700.

In conclusion, it may be remarked that the protean figure of Khidr has a peculiar interest for the study of popular religion in Asia Minor and the Near East generally. Accepted as a saint by orthodox Sunni Mohammedans, he seems to have been deliberately exploited by the heterodox Shia sects of Syria, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, and Albania—that is, by the Nosairi, the Yezidi, the Kizilbash, and the Bektashi—for the purposes of their propaganda amongst non-Mohammedan populations. For Syrian, Greek, and Albanian Christians Khidr is identical with Elias and S. George. For the benefit of the Armenians he has been equated in Kurdistan with their favourite S. Sergius, and, just as Syrian Moslems make pilgrimages to churches of S. George, so do the Kizilbash Kurds of the Dersim to Armenian churches of S. Sergius.¹

As regards Christianity, Khidr is only one of many points of contact in the Shia heterodoxies. The Kizilbash Kurds, for example, hold that Christ was reincarnated in Ali, that the Twelve Apostles and the Twelve Imams are identical, and that SS. Peter and Paul are the same persons as Hasan and Husain.² The

¹ Molyneux-Seel, in *Geog. Journ.* xliv (1914), p. 66; for the equation of Khidr to S. Sergius among the Anatolian Kizilbash see Grenard in *Journ. Asiat.* iii (1904), p. 518, and for Armenian confusion between SS. Sergius and George see, among others, P. della Valle, *Viaggio*, ii, 258. It seems to me possible that there was a young military frontier saint George known before the *Acta* of the (Arian) George of Alexandria became current. Melitene, where one version of the *Life* places his birth (Baring Gould, *Curious Myths*, 2nd series, p. 9; cf. S. George of Melite in Amélineau, *Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne*, ii, 153) is a typical frontier place. Again, at Mosul, another frontier town, Niebuhr remarks his tomb (*Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 291), a Moslem tradition ascribing his death to the king of Mosul (Masudi, quoted by J. Friedrich in *Sitzb. Bayr. Akad., Ph.-Ph. Cl.*, 1899, II, ii, 181). S. Sergius, for whom see Lucius, *Anfänge des Heiligenk.*, pp. 234 ff., is clearly a border saint, so that this may be the point of contact between him and the soldier George.

² Molyneux-Seel, *loc. cit.*, pp. 65 f.; above, p. 145.

Albanian Bektashi equate their own saint Sari Saltik to S. Nicolas and other Christian saints.¹ Such points of contact may be regarded either as inheritances from Christianity or introduced with the deliberate purpose of conciliating Christians to a form of Islam. It is obvious that at all times conversion from Christianity to Islam has been aided by the considerable material advantages to be gained from it. The Shia sects to which we have referred are not forbidden outwardly to observe Sunni forms, and frequently do so; at the same time their real religion, with its many natural or artificial points of contact with Christianity, offers a compromise which spares the susceptibilities of the convert and may well have been the refuge of many harassed Christian tribes.

¹ On this question see below, pp. 435 ff.

TRIBAL SAINTS

THE evidence for the existence of a class of Turkish saints venerated as the eponymous ancestors of tribes rests, in default of fuller and more accurate knowledge, on the following considerations.

The worship of tribal ancestors is established among the Turks of Central Asia and among the nomad Turkish tribes of Persia (Azerbaijan). Of the latter Bent writes: 'The office of "pir" or elder of the tribe or "eel" is hereditary, and the "pir" generally traces his descent from some holy man, whose worship is general throughout the tribe . . . his tomb is generally in some well-known spot amongst their summer haunts, and a great object of veneration.'¹ In Asia Minor itself Crowfoot found a Shia village in Cappadocia containing the venerated tomb of a saint Haidar, from whom the villagers claimed descent.² Among Tsakyroglous' notes on the nomad Turkish tribes of Asia Minor is given the name of the chief of the Sheikhi tribe, Sheikh Baba Zade Selim, *i.e.* Selim, descendant of father (or 'saint') Sheikh:³ this implies that the tribal name is derived from that of the founder or common ancestor.

Taken together, this rather slender evidence seems to warrant us in supposing that the cult of tribal ancestors was carried by the nomad Turks into Asia Minor, and

¹ 'The Nomad Tribes of Asia Minor,' in *Report Brit. Ass.*, 1889 (Newcastle), Sect. H, p. 178.

² *J. R. Anthr. Inst.*, xxx, 309; *cf.* above, p. 52 and below, p. 404.

³ *Περὶ Γιουρούκων*, p. 17. In this tribe's district (Uluborlu) a fountain famous for its healing properties owes its curative qualities to the tomb of 'un Solitaire Mahometan nommé Chek baba' (Lucas, *Voyage fait en 1714*, i, 180); see below, p. 339.

that the tribal ancestor was the 'eponymous hero' of the tribe. When, therefore, we find a saint bearing the name of a tribe, we may regard it as probable that, originally at least, this saint was regarded as the eponymous ancestor of the tribe in question.¹ But this method of identification is hampered by the fact that we possess no approximation to a complete list of tribes, and the existence of many can only be inferred from the occurrence of village-names resembling in type those of known tribes: these names are, moreover, in many cases obscured by the perversions of popular etymology, having ceased to have any meaning for the modern population.

The Azerbaijan Turks, as we have seen, give their eponymous ancestor the Persian title of *pir*. Among the Anatolian nomads the chief is usually called *sheikh* or *beg*, the eponymous ancestor being called *baba* ('father') or *dede* ('grandfather'). None of these words seems originally to have had a religious connotation; the temporal chief was also the spiritual head of the tribe, and only later, in a more complicated society, have the offices been distinguished. *Pir*, *dede*, *baba*, and to some extent *sheikh*, have now in Turkey a predominantly religious colour. Consequently, when folk-stories tell us of the thousands of 'dervishes' led by sheikhs who came into Asia Minor under the Seljuks and were settled by 'Ala-ed-din',² we shall probably not be far wrong if we interpret the legend as referring to nomad tribes under their priest-chiefs, who established themselves at this period in the sultanate of Rum.

¹ In the Sinai peninsula there is the tomb of Sheikh Szaleh, whom some call the ancestor of the tribe Szowaleha, others Szaleh of the Koran, and others a local saint. His festival in late June is much frequented by the Beduin (Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 489; cf. p. 527 for the Beduin offerings brought to the tomb of a sheikh at Sherm on the Red Sea).

² Carnoy and Nicolaidès, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, pp. 212 ff.

The most famous of these legendary priest-chiefs is Tur Hasan Veli, who was given lands on the slopes of the Hasan Dagh near Caesarea. He is probably historical and may be identified with the chief named Hasan mentioned by Anna Comnena¹ and a contemporary crusading writer² as ruling this part of Cappadocia about A. D. 1100. The grave of Tur Hasan is still venerated on the summit of the Hasan Dagh,³ and the name of his tribe survives in Tur Hasanlu, a village in the neighbourhood of Kirshehr. The tribal name is formed, as usual, by adding the adjectival termination to the name of the tribal chief. Tur Hasan Veli is therefore the best documented of the tribal saints, since we have evidence of his historical existence, a village bearing his tribal name, and a cult surviving to our own day. In 'Chek Baba', a Mohammedan hermit, whose tomb and the adjacent miraculous spring in the neighbourhood of Isbarta⁴ were formerly at least a frequented pilgrimage, we may probably recognize the eponym of the already mentioned Sheikhli tribe, whose present habitat is still in this district between Afium Kara Hisar and Uluborlu.⁵

Other tribal saint cults of the same type seem to have been taken over by the Bektashi sect, and the saints' personality often obscured by their adoption into the cycle of hagiographical legend propagated by the order in its own interests.⁶ Thus, the saint Haidar of Haidar-es-Sultan, though the village still regards him as its common ancestor, is identified under Bektashi auspices with a Bektashi saint and given an alternative name.⁷ Similarly, Yatagan Baba, who is worshipped in a Bektashi

¹ xiv, i.

² Quoted by Tomaschek, *Sitzb. Wien. Akad., Phil.-Hist. Cl.*, cxxiv (1891), viii, 85.

³ Carnoy and Nicolaides, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

⁴ P. Lucas, *Voyage fait en 1714*, i, 180. This is presumably the Sheikh Baba who saved Egerdir from Timur (Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* ii, 118).

⁵ Tsakyroglous, *Περὶ Γιωρούκων*, p. 13.

⁶ Below, pp. 565 ff. ⁷ Crowfoot, *loc. cit.*: see also below, pp. 403 ff.

convent near Buldur¹ as the 'master' of the Bektashi saint Abdal Musa, is probably in origin the eponym of the Yataganli tribe, which is still to be found in a northern part of the same *vilayet*.² Another Bektashi saint, Kara or Karaja Ahmed, whose numerous tombs are shown in various parts of Asia Minor and even in Rumeli, though now recognized as a Bektashi apostle sent by Ahmed Yasevi to Asia Minor, is probably in reality a disguised tribal saint.³ No tribe Karaja ('blackish') Ahmedli is known to our lists, but the Kara ('black') Ahmedli is a sub-tribe of the Rihanli⁴ who live north-west of Aleppo, and Kizil ('red') Ahmedli⁵ was a tribe of some importance in Paphlagonia. There is, further, a village Karaja Ahmedli near Nefes Keui (Tavium).

Sari Saltik, the Bektashi apostle *par excellence* of Rumeli, seems to have had a similar history. He appears to have been originally the saint of a Tatar tribe in the Crimea,⁶ which emigrated to Baba Dagh in Rumania, carrying its cult with it. Developed by the Bektashi, Sari Saltik loses every trace of his real origin and figures as one of the missionary saints sent by Ahmed Yasevi for the conversion of Europe.⁷ 'Saltik' has now no meaning in ordinary Turkish, though many interpretations are put forward;⁸ but (significantly) there are villages called Saltiklu in both European⁹ and Asiatic¹⁰ Turkey.

¹ For the *tekke* see Lucas, *Voyage fait en 1714*, i, 171.

² *Περὶ Γιουρούκων*, p. 15.

³ On Karaja Ahmed see below, pp. 403 ff.

⁴ Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 634; *cf.* above, p. 138.

⁵ Tribal names frequently run thus in pairs differentiated by colour epithets, see above, p. 128.

⁶ Here he figures in the fourteenth century as Baba Saltuk, a 'diviner' (*i. e.* a chief and medicine-man?). See Ibn Batuta, tr. Sanguinetti, ii, 416, 445.

⁷ For the mythical history of Sari Saltik see below, pp. 429 ff.

⁸ See p. 576, n. 3.

⁹ Near Eski Baba in Thrace.

¹⁰ Near Sandikli (which may itself be a popular corruption of *Saltikli*) in Phrygia.

Haji Bektash, the reputed founder of the Bektashi, was probably, before the usurpation of his name and grave by the Hurufi, about 1400, such another tribal saint. The whole legend-cycle connecting him with the court of Orkhan is admittedly late,¹ and the earliest notice of him we possess denies its authenticity and calls Haji Bektash the 'brother of Mentish'.² 'Mentish' is obviously the eponym of the widely-scattered tribe of Mentish (Mentesh), which has left its name in villages all over Asia Minor from Sivas to Caria. Bektashli is a rarer, but widely scattered, village-name, occurring so far west as Cape Lectum³ and often, curiously enough, quite near villages called Mentish.⁴ We infer that 'Bektashli' and 'Mentesh' were tribes which acknowledged themselves akin and that the original Haji Bektash was the eponymous ancestor of the former.

¹ See below, pp. 483-93.

² Ashik Pasha Zade (c. 1500), quoted by J. P. Brown, *Dervishes*, p. 141. The testimony carries especial weight, since this author was from the district of Kirshehr, where the tomb of Haji Bektash is still shown.

³ This village is at least as early as the seventeenth century, being mentioned in the British Museum MS. Harl. 7021, f. 422 *verso*.

⁴ Outside the district of the saint's tomb, where it is common, it occurs south-west of Divriji, near Sandikli in Phrygia, near Sivriji in the Troad, and near Kumanovo in Serbian Macedonia (von Hahn, *Belgrad nach Salonik*, p. 57). Beteshli is a village near Benderegli in Pontus (von Diest, *Perg. zum Pontus*, i, 81), but the connexion cannot be pressed.

SAINTS AND DEMONS OF THE SEA

IT is, indeed, very natural that simple persons should assume that the sudden mishaps of a seafaring life are occasioned by local sea-demons.¹ The apparent vindictiveness of wind and wave, with their at times almost animal voices, makes these demons intensely concrete conceptions. They are conceived of as human, bestial, or monstrous in form, and of course hostile to man; their cult, if any, is deprecation. To this substratum of 'black' superstition may be added the 'white' conception of a divine force acting beneficently on man's behalf against the perils of the sea; this beneficent action is invoked through an intermediary who is apt ultimately to usurp the placatory cult formerly offered to the demon, as also, like all such intermediaries, to be considered largely independent of the supreme power. Such is the process of transition from the placation of a local sea danger personified to the invocation of a local sea-saint.

We have thus the following typical forms :

- (1) the local sea-demon,
- (2) the local sea-hero or sea-saint.

The latter becomes in favourable circumstances :

- (3) a widely potent or even universal sea-saint.

In modern times we have at least two instances of Greek sailors' belief in sea-demons of this sort, conceived of as inhabiting dangerous parts of the coast, and of a cult of deprecation directed to them. Sibthorp² in

¹ For demons causing the winds see Maury, *Croy. du Moyen Âge*, p. 105.

² In Walpole, *Memoirs*, p. 286 : ' We weighed anchor in the port of Cephalonia. As our sailors rowed by Cape Capro, they made libations of bread, using the following words.' See also Polites, *Παραδόσεις*,

the latter years of the eighteenth century transcribed the prayer directed by his sailors with an offering of biscuit to the eponymous demon of Cape Kapro near Cephalonia. The emended text is as follows :

Γειά σου, Κάπο Κάπρο	Greeting, Cape Kapro, to you,
μέ την Καποκάπραινά σου	And to Mrs. Cape Kapro
και με τὰ Καποκαπρόπουλά σου.	And the little Cape Kapro's.
Νὰ Κάπρο, νὰ Κάπρανα,	Here's for you, Kapro and Mrs. Ka-
	pro,
νὰ τὰ Καποκαπρόπουλα.	Here's for you little Cape Kapro's.
Φάτε τὸ παξιμάδι	Eat up the biscuit,
ἐσεῖς ψάρια μελανούρια.	You melanouria fish. ¹

A similar cult was observed by von Hahn at Cape Linguetta in Albania. Here, according to his sailors, dwelt a marine she-demon named Linguetta, to whom ships passing her abode offered a handful of salt with the invocation 'Here's your bread, Linguetta, and send us (fair) voyage.'² Similarly, in classical times we may regard Scylla as the typical example of a sea-demon.

1209 ; *ib.* (biscuit to Cape Volpo, *cf. Z. f. Anthropol.*, p. 215) ; see note on no. 558 for all such practices.

¹ The *melanouria*, as actual inhabitants of the water, accept the offering, apparently as proxies for the Cape Kapro family.

² *Alban. Studien*, i, 131 f. ; *cf. Polites, Παράδοσεις*, no. 558 and *note*. Bread is thrown into the sea at Gaza (Baldensperger, in *P.E.F.*, Q.S. for 1893, p. 216) ; food is sent by Arab sailors ashore for Hasan el Merabet on an island in the Red Sea (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, ii, 347) ; bread is thrown into the Nile at Bibbeh at a saint's tomb (Bussierre, *Lettres*, ii, 57). The relatives of Sheikh Selim (for whom see Lady Duff Gordon, *Letters from Egypt*, pp. 45, 304) on the Nile have to be tipped before dahabiehs can get under way (King, *Dr. Liddon's Tour*, p. 75). In rough weather Moorish pilgrims invoked a saint, hung a basket of bread for him to the masthead, threw a bottle of oil and a basket of *couscous* into the sea, and tied a written charm to the masthead (Pococke, *Voyages*, iv, 213). On S. Andrew's day at Sinope cakes of wheat, sugar, and flour are baked, consecrated in S. Andrew's church, and part eaten by the fishermen who subscribed the money for the cakes. Part, however, is kept and carried to sea in the boats ; when the sea is rough, crumbs are sprinkled on the waves with an appeal to S. Andrew for protection (White, in *Mosl. World*, 1919, p. 15).

Scylla, as her name implies, was originally conceived of as a dog (or a 'sea-dog' or shark = *κύων*?) and bears traces of her origin in her later art-types.¹ The 'dog-mounds' (*κυνόσσημα*) of the Hellespont, later connected with Hecuba,² and that on the modern Cape Volpo³ in Caria, probably celebrated similar demons.

For the development of a demon-cult to a corresponding saint-cult an important link is furnished by travellers' accounts of the Turkish cult of Baba at Lectum. Turkish saint-cults are much less trammelled by ecclesiastical tradition than Christian,⁴ and consequently show more clearly the rude natural conception of such a cult. The first notice, then, of the Lectum cult dates from about 1550. It comes to us from the monk Pachomios Rousanos, who was shocked to find that Christian sailors took part in the placation of the 'demon'. His words are as follows:

'As we sailed by Lectum, a promontory of Troy, I saw and heard the sailors preparing food for a demon who once dwelt or still dwells there, called in the Turkish or the Arabick *Para*. And they prepared for him of their own victuals, breaking bread

¹ Roscher, *s.v.*; Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* For a dog-headed sea-monster on a clay seal see Evans in *J.H.S.* xxxii, 291.

² The connexion is evidently made through the dog-goddess Hekate (*Ἑκάτη*), of whom Hecuba (*Ἑκάβη*) is a by-form (*cf.* Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* *Hekabe*, p. 2660). *Cf.* Strabo, XIII, i, 28.

³ Polites, *op. cit.* ii, 1209. *Cf.* Strabo, XIV, ii, 15. The locality is still dreaded: *cf.* the Symi folk-song in Michaelides, *Καρπ. Ἀίσματα*, no. 10:

*Πανερμιώτη Συμιακέ
Καὶ Ἄγία Σοφιά τῆς Μπόλις,
Κι' Ἀτ' Δημήτρι Βούργαρε,
ἀπὸν τὸ Σαλονίκι.*

*S. Michael of Panormos on Symi,
And S. Sophia of Stambol,
And Bulgar S. Demetrius
From Salonica.*

Ex-votos from ships in danger find their way automatically to S. Michael's church there, as Professor R. M. Dawkins, to whom I owe the translation of the difficult *Πανερμιώτη*, informs me; *cf.* a similar story told of a church of S. George in Egypt (Amélineau, *Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne*, ii, 240).

⁴ See above, p. 255.

in a plate and setting thereon cheese and onion . . . which also they cast into the sea calling on him after the Gentile manner. Howbeit I gave them no countenance, but upbraided them for their superstition.’¹

From the notes of later travellers it is clear that the ‘demon’ invoked in passing the dangerous cape was for devout Moslems a perfectly legitimate recipient of worship, ‘Papa’ being merely the title ‘Baba,’ given familiarly to old men and often, with no lack of respect, to popular Turkish saints.

The passages relating to the ‘Baba’ of Lectum are of sufficient interest to be given in full. Des Hayes² says of him :

‘Les Turcs appellent [le Cap de Sainte Marie] Bababournou, qui en leur langue signifie *Le nez du pere*, à cause que . . . l’un des six-vingts quatre mille Prophetes, dont j’ay parlé au discours de la Religión,³ y est enterré : c’est pourquoy tous les Turcs qui y passent, iettent à son intention plusieurs morceaux de biscuit à des oyseaux, qui demeurent continuellement aux enuirons.’

Le Bruyn,⁴ some fifty years later, gives substantially the same account :

‘Il y a à ce *Bababarnouë* un de leurs Saints qui y est enterré ; on le nomme *Baba*, qui signifie Pere. Les Barques y jettent toujours quelque morceau de pain : mais les Plongeurs, qui y sont en grande quantité, en emportent la meilleure partie.’

Egmont,⁵ in the next century, adds some details as to the traditional personality of the saint, called by him

‘a dervise or *Baba*, who always gave the Turks intelligence when any rovers were in the neighbouring seas. This cape is very dangerous, on account of sudden squalls from the mountains. In passing by it with a fair wind, the Turks, out of respect to the memory of the above saint, throw pieces of bread into the sea,

¹ Published by Polites in *Δελτίον Ἱστορ. Ἐταιρείας*, i, 108 ; cf. the same author’s *Παραδόσεις* ii, 1208.

² *Voyage*, p. 340.

³ P. 257.

⁴ *Voyage*, i, 510.

⁵ Egmont and Heymann, *Travels* (1759), i, 162 f. ; cf. also Galland’s *Journal*, ed. Schefer, ii, 158, where the tomb of the Baba is mentioned.

tho' they see them immediately carried away by a species of sea-fowl common in these parts : and the more devout among them add to this offering a prayer, for the happiness of his soul.'

We have here exactly the ritual of the demon-cults down to the peculiarity, already observed at Cape Kap-ro, that the offering is actually accepted, not by the saint himself, but by his *famuli* or protégés, in this case birds. But the saint is conceived of as a person who, in his lifetime, acted in the interest of mariners and continued his beneficence after death.

Whether the *Baba* of Lectum ever existed or not is immaterial. Hermits with special powers over the weather (and this, not the signalling of pirates, was undoubtedly the function of the *Baba*) have certainly been reputed and placated elsewhere. In Morocco, for instance (and from North Africa much sea-lore and superstition must have come to the Turks, who are themselves no seamen), Teonge, in the seventeenth century, records that 'on the top of Apes' hill lives a Marabott wizord or Inchanter ; and what vessell soever of the Turks goes by, gives him a gun as shee goes, to beg a fortunate voyage.'¹ Evliya mentions a somewhat similar sailors' saint, Durmish Dede of Akkerman, buried at Rumeli Hisar on the Bosphorus, who foretold the fortunes of mariners on their way to the Black Sea in the reign of Ahmed I.² A prophet of this sort is supposed

¹ *Diary* (1675), p. 33 ; cf. p. 141 : 'It hath been very tempestuous all night, and so continues. Wee may suppose their Marabotts are a woork to drive us from their coasts ; but *God* is above the Devill. Pierre Gonçalez, a Dominican friar of the thirteenth century at Tuy in Galicia, is the patron of Spanish sailors, being invoked as S. Elmo (Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, ii, 436-7).

² *Travels*, I, ii, 70 ; cf. 27 ; cf. Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii, 85. Durmish Dede is still placated with offerings by seamen though his personality is entirely changed. He is now represented as a dervish of the period of the Turkish conquest, who miraculously crossed the Bosphorus on foot and established himself (*durmak* = 'stop, remain') at the spot now occupied by the (Khalveti) convent bearing

to influence the luck as well as to foretell it. The late Professor van Millingen once told me that in his father's time a dervish on the Bosphorus was regularly consulted by Black Sea sailors and was credited with power over the wind.¹

The sea-demon and the local sea-saint are propitiated for the same reason, viz. for security in passing dangerous points in a voyage, but in a different sense, the demon, being 'black' or hostile, producing the danger, the saint, as a rule 'white' or beneficent, averting it.

The cult both of demons and of saints owes its existence, or its interpretation in a marine sense, to the notorious dangers of their locality. Consequently, we find their sanctuaries located at such critical points on sea-routes as promontories,² where violent winds might be expected, localities affected by currents³ and dangerous shoal waters;⁴ it is the permanent and (locally) fixed nature of these phenomena which tends to perpetuate a cult of some kind at such points. The exact site of the local sanctuary may therefore vary, but within a radius limited by the area affected by the natural phenomena which necessitate supernatural help. So long as these exist, there is apt to be a cult, but the personality of the *numen* is liable to a complete change. The cult at Lectum was in all probability directed in ancient times to Palamedes, the sailors' god to whom the invention of lighthouses was attributed, and whose sanctuaries are always found on littoral sites.⁵ In the case of Lectum the Palamedeion was some miles north of the grave of the *Baba*. In the Middle Ages we may

his name. Cf. the cult of Barbarossa (Khair-ed-din) (see above, p. 279). and of the ancient Protesilaos (Philostratos, *Her.* 291, Herodotus, vii, 33).

¹ Cf. King, *Dr. Liddon's Tour*, p. 75, and Duff Gordon, *Letters from Egypt*, pp. 45, 304.

² e.g. at Lectum, Thracian Chersonnese, Malea, Taenarum.

³ e.g. Hellespont, Bosphorus.

⁴ e.g. Black Sea.

⁵ See Roscher's *Lexikon*, s.v. *Palamedes*, especially pp. 1271-2.

infer from the name 'Cape S. Mary' that a chapel of the Virgin¹ existed on Lectum and that she was invoked by sailors as the *Baba* was later. The three persons are wholly different in conception, but succeed one another as sailors' intercessors largely on account of the position of their sanctuaries.²

Further, the placation of a local sea-demon and the invocation of a local sea-saint and universal sea-god are logical. The local demon, like the local saint, is locally potent, the universal sea-god is potent over the whole area. The evolution of a universal sea-saint needs explanation.

In the case of the Turks, who look on Noah as the patron of shipping,³ and propitiate him before undertaking a voyage,⁴ the choice is perfectly logical.⁵ But S. Nicolas, who has actually attained in the Eastern

¹ D'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 315, comments on the invocation of the Virgin of Mount Carmel by Turks, Moors, and Arabs. Lucius (*Anfänge des Heiligenk.*, p. 522) says the *stella Mariae* idea dates from Isidore of Sculli and that till then her connexion with the sea was incidental only.

² Some sort of parallel is given by the succession of seamen's saints on the Bosphorus (Zeus Ourios, S. Michael, Durmish Dede), on the Hellespont (Protesilaus (?) and Hecuba, S. Euthymius of Madytos, Ghazi Fazil), and on Malea, where Moslem influence never penetrated (Apollo, S. George (Orthodox), and S. Michael (Catholic)); cf. *B.S.A.* xiv, 173. [A marginal note of my husband's on the MSS. says 'this gives a wrong impression'. The warning was presumably directed against using such a sequence of saints to support theories about the permanence of the sanctity of a once sacred spot. In general, his investigations had led him to question most cases of alleged permanent sanctity. In the present case he would probably have wished to emphasize once more the changes in the personality, even in the sex, of the successive saints, the variation in actual site of the sanctuaries, and the point that the permanent factor was not sanctity, but danger, at the places in question.—M. M. H.]

³ He was the patron of sailors' guilds at Constantinople, as of the shipwrights' (Evlia, *Travels*, I, ii, 128, 129, 135).

⁴ Cf. Seaman's *Orchan*, pp. 71-2, where the Turks before their first crossing to Europe invoke Noah; Evliya, *Travels*, I, i, 63. His name is a protection against snake-bite, because poisonous beasts laid aside their venom as a condition of entering the ark (J. H. Petermann,

church the position of Poseidon, was a bishop; S. Phocas,⁶ who preceded him, was a gardener; S. Spyridon, who enjoys great local vogue in the Adriatic, again a bishop; while S. Paul, who travelled by sea more than any saint, has, on the contrary, no honour among Greek sailors on that account. It seems thus probable that two main causes determine the maritime importance of particular saints. First, the chief saint of a seafaring population tends to become a specialist; ⁷ second, a saint, whatever his character, who possesses a church on a notoriously dangerous piece of coast, becomes the natural person to invoke against the local perils of that coast, exactly as the local demon. If, in the one case, the local seafaring *clientèle* is numerous and important, or if, in the other, the coast is sufficiently frequented, its local sea-saint may, by the widespread fame of his miracles, obtain a wider reputation. The first cause seems to account for S. Phocas' vogue,⁸ the second for

Reisen im Orient, ii, 303). For the pretty legend of Noah and the swallow in the ark see Comtesse de Gasparin, *A Constantinople*, pp. 189 ff.

⁵ So, too, with Jonah. Moslems hold that he was thrown up by the sea at the village of Gie on the Syrian coast and they never fail 'de demander permission au Prophete de passer devant chez lui' (D'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 329). A Cherbourg sailor prayed to him at Fécamp for much the same reason (Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, iii, 237), though he thought of him as a great sailor changed into a fish. A mound at Nineveh marks where he preached; Moslems think also that his tomb is there and jealously exclude Christians, whom, however, they allow to join in the three days' fast they observe in honour of the prophet (Hume Griffith, *Behind the Veil in Persia*, p. 174). Another reputed grave of Jonah is in Galilee and is equally difficult of access for Christians (Le Bruyn, *Voyage*, p. 318).

⁶ For food thrown to him see Lucius, *op. cit.*, p. 294, n. 3.

⁷ A curious case is given in Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 205; at Spetsa, an island whose inhabitants are largely seamen by profession, S. Aimilianos, who has a chapel at the entrance to the harbour, is regularly placated by seamen leaving the port, though not usually a sea-saint. Similarly, S. Edmund became a fisherman's saint because east coast fishermen liked him (Hutton, *English Saints*, pp. 138 ff.).

⁸ As in classical times for that of Isis at Alexandria.

S. Nicolas',¹ whose original church lay on the Karamanian coast and was passed regularly by the two streams of Christian pilgrim traffic (from Constantinople and Venice) towards the Holy Land. Among the Turks the sea-saint of this class remains local. The characteristic sea-saints at Lectum and the Hieron (Durmish Dede) were in their lifetime given to the service of seafarers. On the other hand, Ghazi Ahmed Fazil of the Hellespont, whose grave was formerly saluted by Turkish ships, like the 'Marabott' of Teonge and doubtless with the same purpose, had,² as his name implies, no connexion with the sea till the position of his grave decided for him.

We have still to consider a secondary class of gods and saints who acquired the general reverence of seafarers in virtue of their patronage of travellers and a special attribute, that of sudden help. This phase is represented in the ancient world by Hermes the luck-bringer, in the Orthodox area by S. George, and in the Moslem by Khidr. Hermes and S. George³ alike give their names to many capes in the Greek area.⁴

¹ Interesting is the cult of S. Nicolas *in undis* (Molanus, *Hist. Imaginum*, p. 390). In France S. Nicolas is now patron of fresh water only (Paul Guérin, *Vie des Saints*, Dec. 6; Peyre, *Nîmes, Arles, Orange*, p. 209).

² Walpole in Clarke's *Travels*, iii, 82.

³ For S. George see Covell, *Diaries*, p. 277 (at Selymbria); Pouqueville, *Travels in the Morea*, p. 322 (at Prinkipo); Macarius, *Travels*, tr. Belfour, i, 12 (Virgin, S. Nicolas, S. Simcon the wonder-worker, S. George the rider on sea and land, S. Demetrius at sea, are the saints invoked by travellers; cf. the list in Grünemberg, *Pilgerfahrt*, ed. Goldfriedrich, p. 134, which includes S. Catherine of Sinai, S. Nicolas of Beyrut, S. Mary Magdalene of Marseilles, and S. James of Galicia); cf. Amélineau, *Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne*, ii, 210, 240 (in Egypt); Boucher, *Bouquet Sacré*, p. 428 (a Georgian refuses to commit the sacrilege of embarking the evening before or the day after S. George's feast); Le Bruyn, *Voyage*, p. 177 (vows in general at sea); Miller *Latins in the Levant*, p. 621 (Skyros).

⁴ [The chapter could not be completed. M.M.H.].

BOGUS SAINTS

THUS far we have treated of what we may term 'authentic' saints, real persons, that is, who by their piety, learning, valour, or other distinctions during life, have gained a more or less extended vogue in popular religion, or who have posthumously proved their saintship by the miracles performed at their graves.

There is also a very large and important class of saints who may be labelled 'bogus'.¹ These owe their origin, generally speaking, either to (1) development or to (2) discovery. We have elsewhere² given reasons for believing that many apparently orthodox saint cults are in reality developments from the propitiation, generally apotropaic, of folk-lore figures, *jinn*s, 'arabs' (which are in reality a form of *jinn*), and giants, originally regarded as hostile. Of these, plain *jinn*s may be found almost anywhere, giants are perhaps specially addicted to mountains,³ and 'arab' *jinn*s to caves, springs, and buildings, especially baths and ruins; even statues may be haunted by them.⁴ The 'dragon' of folk-lore, naturally enough, remains a hostile or 'black' form and in religion figures regularly as the vanquished opponent of the hero-saint, who is generally a dervish.

The discovery of bogus saints depends primarily on accidents such as the fall of an old wall,⁵ or the observa-

¹ Cf. the false tombs mentioned at Cairo by Al Makrizi (in Goldziher, *Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii, 1880, p. 329).

² Above, p. 223.

³ Cf. Joshua, *supra*, p. 305. Moslems like to be buried on as lofty a site as possible (von Schweiger-Lerchenfeld, *Armenien*, p. 3).

⁴ For 'arabs' see below, pp. 730 ff. For *jinn*s haunting wells see Lane, *Thousand and One Nights*, p. 44, and *Mod. Egyptians*, i, 282.

⁵ See above, pp. 237, 253. This disclosed the grave of a Jewish

tion of phosphorescent lights,¹ which seem to be regarded as a divine substitute for the lights placed by men on the graves of the sainted dead. More tangible revelations, such as the discovery of an uncorrupted body, a sarcophagus, or remains of buildings resembling a grave or a mausoleum, are similarly accepted, under favourable conditions, as adequate grounds for the institution of a cult. Ross in the forties relates the following instance from Cyprus of the canonization of an uncorrupted corpse.

‘The Turks six weeks ago found in their cemetery a corpse shewing hardly any signs of decay, a phenomenon here easily explained, since the soil is in such close proximity to the salt-lake and the sea that it is strongly impregnated with salt and saltpetre. Further, according to those who live in the immediate neighbourhood of the cemetery, the corpse cannot have been buried more than a matter of twenty or twenty-five years. . . . The Turks have made a saint of the corpse though they cannot put a name to it; sceptics say they do not even know its sex. . . . The old Pasha at Nicosia was delighted that this occurrence should have taken place under his administration, and hopes it will lead to his being specially commended at Constantinople. He at once had a small house of prayer built in the cemetery over the corpse, and summoned a Dervish to take charge of it. I went one day with the English Consul to investigate it. We found a small white-washed house in which the unknown saint reposed in a kind of catafalque under a green carpet; the Dervish sat cross-legged in one corner smoking his pipe with the indispensable coffee-set by him. This was the extent of the whole cultus.’²

A more extraordinary story is related by Lady Mary saint at Maon in Syria (Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, p. 244). Lucius (*Anfänge des Heiligenk.*, p. 144, n. 5), on the authority of an Egyptian monk of the fifth century, hints at the same superstition. Possibly the superstition is very ancient and dates from some notorious case, where a wall fell revealing a tomb.

¹ See Evliya, I, ii, 68, for an instance.

² Ross, *Reisen nach Kos*, pp. 198 f.

Montagu in 1717 of an Egyptian mummy sent by way of Constantinople as a present to Charles XII of Sweden, then at Bender.¹ 'The Turks', she says, 'fancied it the body of God knows who; and that the state of their empire mystically depended on the conservation of it. Some old prophecies were remembered upon this occasion, and the mummy was committed prisoner to the Seven Towers.'² This might be disregarded as the empty gossip of contemporary Constantinople, were it not corroborated nearly a hundred years later. Pouqueville says that the story of the mummy was told in a Turkish history, of which part was translated for him by M. Ruffin;³ the mummy, which was sent ninety-four years before as a present from the King of France to the King of Sweden, 'was about to be forwarded to its destination when it was stopped by the Janissaries upon guard at the gate of Adrianople. Being sealed with the signet of the kaimakam, it was supposed to be the relic of some saint, and was deposited at the Seven Towers.'⁴ The reason of Pouqueville's interest in the mummy was that he had himself happened to re-discover it, during his captivity in that fortress, in a chamber of the northern tower of the Golden Gate. He 'never heard it said, as Lady Mary Wortley Montague affirms, that the Turks attached to it the idea of a palladium on which hung the preservation of the empire', a statement which he regarded as 'one of the pleasing fictions of her work'. But in the light of the prophecies which have circulated for so long among Greeks and Turks alike of the saviour-king who should arise from the dead to deliver the city from the Moslem yoke, it is probable that Lady Mary Montagu's story is substantially correct, and that in the occurrences she relates is to be found one source of the modern tradi-

¹ Charles XII took refuge in Turkey after the battle of Poltava (1709).

² *Works* (London, 1805), ii, 198.

³ *Chargé d'affaires*, 1805-6.

⁴ *Travels in the Morea*, p. 257.

tion locating the tomb of Constantine Palaiologos¹ at the Golden Gate. For our present question it is interesting to remark that the Turkish guardians are said to light to him a lamp every night and to cover him with a shawl which they renew once a year.²

Of a cult initiated by the discovery of a sarcophagus³ Miss Pardoe gives a striking case from the Constantinople of her own day :

' About ten days before I left the country [*i. e.* in 1836], some workmen, employed in digging the foundation of an outbuilding at the Arsenal, brought to light a handsome sarcophagus of red marble, containing the bodies of Heraclius, a Greek emperor, who flourished during the reign of Mahomet, and his consort. The two figures representing the Imperial pair are nearly perfect. That of the Emperor holds in one hand a globe, and with

¹ Polites, in his commentary on his *Παραδόσεις*, no. 33, gives full references for this whole legend-cycle. When the years are fulfilled, the victorious army of the Greeks is to enter Constantinople by the Golden Gate, and the saviour-king, who dwells *ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἀκρῇ τῆς Βυζαντιδος*, will rise from the sleep of death to lead them in. The site suits the Golden Gate well enough, standing, as it does, at the south-west corner of the triangular city, but in the traditions there is a discrepancy on one essential point, namely, the identity of the sleeper at the Golden Gate. He is either the emperor Constantine Palaiologos, or his predecessor, John Palaiologos, or S. John the Evangelist (Carnoy and Nicolaidēs, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 103). All these traditions are historically almost equally incredible. But the intrusion of S. John, who, according to medieval traditions, sleeps without tasting of death in his tomb at Ephesus, is at least intelligible in this setting. The figure of John Palaiologos, on the other hand, seems to be no more than a bridge effecting the transition between the deathless saint, John, and the deathless emperor, Palaiologos, of popular tradition. This hypothetical development seems to suit the existence at the Golden Gate of a body marvellously preserved and therefore reputed that of a saint, who was first identified by the ignorant for obvious reasons with S. John and was later swept into the cycle of local legends concerning the sleeping saviour-king.

² Carnoy and Nicolaidēs, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 103; *cf.* Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 33.

³ For a cult at the sarcophagus of Nebi Shaib in Palestine see Capt. Warren in *P.E.F., Q.S.* for 1869, p. 228.

the other grasps a sceptre ; while the Empress is represented with her crown resting upon her open palm. At their feet are the busts of two worthies, supposed to be the portraits of celebrated warriors, but the inscriptions beneath them are nearly obliterated.

‘ Immediately that the identity of the occupants of this lordly tomb was ascertained, orders were given that an iron railing, breast-high, should be erected to protect the relic from injury, the Turks having a tradition that Heraclius died a Mahomedan. The fact is, however, more than doubtful.¹ . . . The Turks claimed the sarcophagus as the tomb of a True Believer ; and a marble mausoleum is to be built over it, similar to those which contain the ashes of the Sultans.’²

It would be interesting to know how and *by whom* this sarcophagus was identified. It is obvious that Heraclius, at once the supposed crypto-Mohammedan,³ the Christian conqueror of Jerusalem, and the restorer of the Cross, is an ideal centre for an ambiguous cult. The reigning sultan (Mahmud II) was a known leveller and closely in touch with the Mevlevi order, who in former times seem to have forwarded these ambiguous cults with a view to the fusion of religions, and may have been in part responsible for the identification.

¹ Cf. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall* (ed. J. B. Bury), v, 395 ; Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, ii, 261 f. ‘ [Mohammed] wrote letters to the Emperor Heraclius . . . exhorting him to embrace Islam. . . . Heraclius said neither no nor yes, but sent presents to Mohammed in acknowledgment of his communication. Arab writers boast that he was really converted to Islamism, Greek writers affirm that Mohammed came and did homage to him.’ For the letter sent to Heraclius see Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 139.

² *City of the Sultans*, i, 420 f.

³ On secret conversion see below, pp. 445-9.

A PROVINCIAL PANTHEON

THE following description of the pilgrimages and holy places of the large provincial town of Monastir, all of a simple type, little, if at all, affected by the learned classes, may be deemed not without interest for Turkish mythology.

There are four *tekkes*, all small, belonging respectively to the Rifai (2), Nakshbandi, and Bektashi orders. Of these that of the Nakshbandi alone seems to be of importance for popular religion.

The first Rifai *tekke* stands off the main street of the town. Its precincts have been much curtailed by the widening of the street. It contains the tomb of Mahmud Dede the founder, who is supposed to have lived at the time of the conquest. The second, which stands on the outskirts of the town, was founded by Sheikh Nazmi Efendi in 1276 (1859-60), who is there buried with other saints, including Sheikh Mehmed of Aleppo.

The Bektashi *tekke*, also on the outskirts of the town, has outwardly the appearance of a well-to-do Turkish house and is discreetly walled. It contains the tomb of the martyr Husain Baba in an octagonal *turbe* built in 1289 (1872-3).

The Nakshbandi *tekke*, in the same quarter, is more important from our point of view as containing the tomb of Hasan Baba, which is famous for its miracles. The saint is said to have fallen under the displeasure of a sultan,¹ who sent men to hang him. Fleeing from them, the saint had *turbes* built at many places through

¹ The name of the sultan was given as 'Avranoz'; there is possibly a confusion with the famous family of Evrenos descended from the early Ottoman *ghazi* of that name buried at Yenije Vardar.

which he passed, in order to deceive the sultan into believing him dead. Consequently, cenotaphs of Hasan Baba exist in various parts, as at Kossovo, Uskub, Adrianople, Constantinople (in Divan Yolu), Anatolia, and Egypt.¹ Beside each *turbe* is a mosque. Monastir naturally claims the authentic tomb. The humble *turbe* containing the grave of the saint is specially frequented by women who cannot bring forth and children who cannot walk. The former find relief by contact with the beads of the saint, and the latter by being supported three times round the grave and leaving behind them the wooden pattens with which the circumambulation is performed.² *Kurban* is performed in a shed erected for the purpose outside the *turbe*; by a miraculous coincidence the saint receives every year exactly three hundred and sixty-six such offerings, one for each day. Many rags are affixed to the *turbe* windows.

The following pilgrimages are unconnected with dervish convents :

Bunar Baba. This is a sacred spring, apparently Turkish in tradition but patronized also by Christians, in a private garden on the outskirts of the town. It is said to have been discovered by Bunar Baba, a pupil of Hasan Baba, who was digging to find the body of his master with a view to being buried beside him. The spring is almost at ground level, but, however much water is taken from it, does not decrease. The water has miraculous virtue against all illnesses, if washed in

¹ These names were given to me, possibly at random. One of the cenotaphs seems to be in the once famous *tekke* at the village called Baba at the entrance to Tempe; see above, p. 118.

² Émile Deschamps saw quantities of children's boots left in an Armenian church of S. George at Nicosia, probably for the same reason as they are left at Monastir (*Au Pays d'Aphrodite*, p. 64). In Pontus persons with mouths awry pay a small fee and are slapped on the mouth by an attendant with the slipper of a certain saint (name not given); see Prof. White in *Mosl. World*, 1919, p. 9.

or drunk during the hour after midday on Fridays : at other times it has no power. The tomb of Bunar Baba, who was buried here by his wife, is shown close by.

Kbirka Baba. This pilgrimage is again in a private garden on the outskirts of the town. The chief object of the cult is the habit (*kbirka*) of Kulali Mufti Sheikh Mahmud Efendi, a learned Nakshbandi divine from whom the present owners of the garden are descended.¹ The relic is kept in a chest in the upper story of the *kula* or tower, which was formerly the residence of the family ; water in which the *kbirka* has been dipped² has the virtue of killing or curing sufferers from chronic diseases ; it is said sometimes to be administered without the knowledge of the patient by his sympathetic (or impatient) relatives. The sheikh disappeared mysteriously and none knows where he died or was buried ; the clothes he was wearing, including the *kbirka*, were found in the garden, the spot being marked by an enclosure resembling a tomb, on which candles are lit. Another relic is a hair of the Prophet's beard, which was sent to the sheikh ; this is preserved in a bottle by the sheikh's descendants, and taken, three days before Ramazan Bairam, in procession to the large mosque, where the Faithful kiss it.³ The sheikh's wife also 'disappeared' : the belt she left behind is still shown and is worn by childless women in the hope of its removing their scrow.⁴

In the cemetery on the hill north of the town are the graves of the following saints :

Kirhor Dede, said to be a very ancient saint. The grave is very simple. Beside it to the south is a mul-

¹ The oldest, who is ninety, says he represents the sixth generation from the sheikh.

² This is evidently based on the similar procedure with regard to the Prophet's cloak at Constantinople (C. White, *Constantinople*, i, 215).

³ M. M. H. (1923).

⁴ *Ibid.*

berry tree, in the trunk of which fires have frequently been lighted, but the tree has never been consumed.¹ South of this again is a pit for *kurban*.

Chetim Tess Baba. This is again quite an ordinary grave, except that there are holes bored in the head- and foot-stones: these are said to have been made by the saint, who was an *abdal* (fool saint) in his lifetime. Barren women pass two eggs through these holes and eat them; people suffering from wounds which refuse to heal, bind them with cloths that have been passed through in the same way.² *Kurban* is not practised at this grave, but the saint is propitiated with candles, for which a sheltered niche is provided at the end of the

¹ This is evidently a debased version of Moses and the Burning Bush. Carmoly (*Itinéraires*, p. 263) records that both Jews and Moslems light lamps on the three tombs of Rabbi Eleazer at Alma. One Friday evening one of the trees that overshadow the tombs caught fire from the lamps. As it was their Sabbath, the Jews could not put out the fire and the Moslems refused to do so, yet next morning the tree was found unharmed. The same author (p. 318), quoting another source, attributes to pious scruples the refusal of the Moslems: God had given the saint power to manifest His glory in this fashion. The details of the Bible story are more closely followed in a French tale in Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, ii, 282: when the bush had burned twenty-four hours, it was found intact, with the image of N. D. de l'Épine in it. Pictures of the Virgin are commonly discovered in this way in the West: see, for instance, Collin de Plancy, *op. cit.* ii, 235, 247, 257; Maury, *Croy. du Moyen Âge*, p. 299; de Smet, *Manuel du Culte de la T. S. Vierge*, *passim*; Sébillot, *Folk-Lore de France*, iv, 120, 121, 134. Cases also occur in the East. The *Παναγία Μυρτιδιώτισσα* of Cythera was found in a myrtle-bush some three hundred years ago, for example (see her *Ἀκολουθία*, Athens, 1909), and the *Παναγία τοῦ Κάπου Δάγ* at Cyzicus, I was informed, is periodically lost and found in a bush. No doubt many of these 'discoveries' are as suspect as 'discoveries' in general, but sometimes the miracle may have a foundation in fact. N. D. de Carentoir was placed in an oak for veneration (Sébillot, *op. cit.*, iv, 369), as was perhaps the stone image mentioned by Collin de Plancy (ii, 356) and twenty years later seen almost surrounded by the trunk of the tree. For the possible meaning of Byzantine representations of the Virgin in a burning bush see Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 93.

² Cf. above, p. 185.

grave ; however high the wind may be, the candles are never blown out.

In the cemetery near the horse-market is an open *turbe* much used for the rain-prayer in times of drought ; contrary to Moslem custom in ordinary prayers, the hands of the suppliants taking part in the appeal for rain must be extended palms *downwards* or the prayer has no effect. The *turbe*, according to tradition, marks the spot where a *khoja* was buried. Some one dreamt that the grave contained a girl, and on examination it was found that the body of a Christian king's daughter had been miraculously substituted for that of the *khoja*.¹

Tomruk Baba, called also *Jigher Baba*, is buried on the hill south of the town, near the armoury. He is propitiated with pieces of liver (*jigher*), which are hung on a nail and mysteriously disappear while the suppliant is still on the spot.

In the town, near *Yeni Hammam*, is a little yard containing two very simple turf graves, said to be those of *Bektashi* saints, one of whom is named *Merhum Baba*. They are frequented for all kinds of sickness and propitiated with candles, lamps, and *kurban* : no rags are tied.

In a small enclosure off the courtyard of the *Nallij Jami* is the grave of *Khalil Baba*, dated 1183 (1769-70) by its inscription ; the headstone is crowned with the *taj* of the *Bektashi*. The saint is propitiated with lights.

¹ The legend seems based on the Mohammedan tradition that unworthy Moslems are removed by divine agency from the cemeteries of the Believers and their place taken by Christians, who are secretly or naturally Mussulman. See above, p. 73, and especially below, pp. 446 ff.

CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM
UNDER THE SULTANS

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
AMEN HOUSE E.C. 4
LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW
LEIPZIG NEW YORK TORONTO
MELBOURNE CAPETOWN BOMBAY
CALCUTTA MADRAS SHANGHAI
HUMPHREY MILFORD
PUBLISHER TO THE
UNIVERSITY



THE SACRED FOWLS OF SAINT JAMES

CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM UNDER THE SULTANS

BY THE LATE

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1926-8

VOLUME II

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1929

Printed in Great Britain

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PART III
MISCELLANEA

PLATO IN THE FOLK-LORE OF THE
KONIA PLAIN ¹

ABOUT fifty miles west of Konia, the capital of the Seljuk princes of Rum, is a spring with a remarkable Hittite monument, known locally as the 'Spring of Plato' (Eflatun Bunari). The monument consists of a mass of masonry built of colossal stones, the chief face being decorated with a number of rude human figures sculptured in relief.²

The connexion of Plato's name with this monument has long, and rightly, been regarded as due not to Greek but to medieval Turkish traditions.³ In the learning of the Arabs, Plato 'the divine' holds a distinguished place. In Persia several philosophic *Sufi* sects claim to be his followers.⁴ The culture of the Seljuk Turks was entirely derived from the Persian, and Konia has been from 1233 onwards the seat of the philosophic Mevlevi dervishes. We are not surprised to find that, at the Zinjirli *medreseh* in the neighbouring town of Karaman, students of the highest class were officially called 'Platonists',⁵ or that the name of Plato should be known, at least to the learned, in medieval Konia.

The connexion of Plato with the Hittite monument which bears his name is still not obvious. Some new light is thrown upon the question by the traditions still current in Konia ⁶ concerning the philosopher and

¹ The first edition of this chapter appeared in *B.S.A.* xviii, 265 ff.

² See Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, ii, 350; W. H. Ward, in *A.J.A.* 1886, 49; Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, p. 123; Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, iv, 734 ff. and fig. 356.

³ Ramsay, *Pauline Studies*, p. 177.

⁴ Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia*, ii, 272 f.

⁵ Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 232, 405.

⁶ These came almost without exception from Sir W. M. Ramsay's servant, Prodromos Petrides.

by stray references to him in the description of this part of Asia Minor by the seventeenth-century Turkish geographer Haji Khalfa.¹ These references are three in number.

The first records the existence of a 'tomb of Plato the divine'² in the citadel at Konia.³ This is also mentioned earlier by the thirteenth-century geographer Yakut,⁴ one of Haji Khalfa's acknowledged sources. Yakut adds that the tomb was 'in the church by the mosque'.⁵ This church is identified with that of S. Amphilochius by a note in the *Pilgrimage of the Merchant Basil* (1466): 'il y a là une église chrétienne [consacrée] selon eux, à Platon, & selon nous, à Amphilothée (*sic*). Il repose entre la grande porte & la porte septentrionale [de l'autel]; et l'huile sainte découle de lui jusqu'à présent.'⁶ The church of S. Amphilochius, a fourth-century bishop of Iconium, is still standing,⁷ and in it is said to exist a 'spring of Plato',⁸ probably the *ayasma* of the saint, considered as a well devised for astrological purposes.⁹

¹ Tr. Armain, ii, 651 ff.

² Plato, Aristotle, and Socrates are given the title of 'divine' as having admitted a Prime Cause in their philosophies; the tomb of Plato is placed by Haji Khalfa immediately after the orthodox Mohammedan pilgrimages at Konia.

³ P. 670, *cf.* Otter (*Voyage*, i, 61), who borrows direct from Haji Khalfa, as often, *e. g.*, in the case of the Ivriz relief; a comparison with Haji Khalfa shows that he never visited this monument, though he is generally credited with the discovery.

⁴ The date of Yakut's *Geography* is generally given as 1224.

⁵ *Ap. Sarre, op. cit.*, p. 34, note; *cf.* p. 125.

⁶ Ed. Khitrovo, *Itin. Russes*, p. 256.

⁷ Ramsay and Bell, *Thousand and One Churches*, figs. 328-30 incl.; Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 380 and pl. xiv; *Pauline Studies*, pp. 170 f.

⁸ *Pauline Studies*, p. 170.

⁹ For a well of this sort see Evliya, *Travels*, I, ii, 60: '... the astronomer's well, which is one hundred and five cubits deep, and was dug by the famous astronomer Ali Kushje for astronomical observations' (*temp.* Murad IV); *cf.* E. M. Sykes, *Persia and its People*, p. 140. The use of the well is of course a form of lekanomancy analogous to the 'inkpool' method of divination still used in the East.

The church is still vaguely connected with Plato : some hold that it was his observatory, others 'have heard' that his tomb is there. I could see no trace of tomb or *ayasma* inside the building, nor does the saint share 'Plato's' connexion with the underground river supposed to flow beneath it.

The second reference¹ is to the so-called 'river of Plato' by a village (not marked on our maps) called Bunarbashi, near Madenshehr and the 'Thousand and One Churches.'

In both these passages, as at Eflatun Bunari, Plato's name is associated with water-springs,² and that in a country where the water supply is regulated by mysterious and still imperfectly known channels.³ Pre-Hellenic Iconium had a legend of a deluge in which the entire

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 735 : 'Maaden Schari, alio nomine Eflatun Sui' in Norberg's translation (ii, 529).

² I do not know this country well enough to say whether plane-trees, which in some parts habitually grow by springs, or some Greek place-name derived from *πλάτανος* [*plane-tree*], may have suggested the connexion.

³ Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 323 ; cf. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, i, 482 ; ii, 342. With these channels are probably connected strange places like the 'devil-haunted' lake of Obruk (Sarre, *op. cit.*, p. 74). In his *Παραδόσεις*, nos. 59-67, Polites gives instances of places *βουλιαγμένοι* for sins (no. 59 : Kopais blocked the outlet for spite). Similarly imperfect knowledge is responsible for the tale heard by Goujon to the effect that objects thrown into the Jordan emerged at Messina because there was an underground connexion between the two (*Terre Sainte*, p. 225). A Lebanon herdsman blocked the outlet of a lake there : as a result a river in Persia dried up, but the herdsman's staff, having fallen into the lake, appeared in Persia, and so was instrumental in ultimately discovering the herdsman, who for a heavy reward unblocked the outlet of the lake (Kelly, *Syria*, p. 60, from Lamartine, *Voyage en Orient*, iii, 118 ff., cf. *ibid.* iv, 67). A similar mysterious underground connexion was supposed to exist between a well in Cairo and Zem-Zem at Mecca (Lee Childe, *Un Hiver au Caire*, p. 50 ; Le Bruyn, *Voyage*, Delft 1700, p. 188). It is instructive to compare with these the procedure followed in the case of the vanishing and reappearing stream of Samaden, Switzerland (*Bund*, Berne, 4 September, 1919).

population perished.¹ The whole plain was, and is, subject to floods.

The missing link in the connexion is supplied by Haji Khalfa's third reference to Plato: 'The inhabitants of the country² say that the plain of Konia was once a sea, which Plato caused to disappear.'³

In our own times, Hamilton, the discoverer of Eflatun Bunari, heard at the lake of Egerdir a converse tradition that 'eight hundred years ago it was all dry land and that a river ran through it until its course was stopped by a magician named Eflat'.⁴ The same legend is current at Beyshehr, where 'Plato' is supposed to have blocked the outlet of the lake in order to bring its water to Konia, but to have desisted on finding that a town was flooded by his operations.⁵ Similarly, Eflatun Bunari is regarded as the spot where 'Plato', with cotton, pitch, and large stones, blocked the outlet of a subterranean river which threatened to flood Konia: this legend is current also at Konia itself. The figure of Plato has become very vague. He is generally described as a Turkish *bey*, but is said by the more imaginative to have come from Bagdad.

The role of the magician-philosopher-engineer Plato in the plain of Konia thus proves to be similar to that of the Minyans in Bocotia and of Herakles in Thessaly, at Lerna, and at Pheneos. He represents not only superhuman skill, magical or divine, but also the superior science of an age long past and dimly remembered by its monuments.⁶ The conception of the 'ma-

¹ Ramsay, *ibid.*, pp. 319 ff.

² About Ismil, east of Konia.

³ P. 671, the saltness of L. Tatta and others in the district suggests a 'sea' rather than a mere freshwater inundation.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, i, 482.

⁵ From Prodromos Petrides.

⁶ This non-magical side is well illustrated by the strictly utilitarian and rather commonplace works ascribed by Orientals to Apollonius of Tyana (= Belinas, see Steinschneider in *Z. D. Morgenl. Ges.* xlv, 439 ff. and Gottheil, *ibid.* xlvi, 466). Such are an economically heated bath at Caesarea Mazaca (Haji Khalfa, tr. Armain, p. 676; cf. H. Barth,

gician ' who makes water appear and vanish is doubtless aided in this particular instance by the frequency of mirage effects in the district,¹ and that of the engineer by the subterranean water channels (*duden*) alluded to above.

But the manipulation of the flow of water by magicians is not effected by ordinary means, or subject to the ordinary hydraulic rules. An apocryphal work of ' Belinas ' (Apollonius of Tyana) claims for its alleged writer that he ' directed the flow of waters by *talismans* ',² that is, by the enchantment of spirits, persons, animals, or objects for the furtherance of that end. The ' talismans ' were generally buried in the earth or set up on columns. The belief in such ' talismans ' still persists in the East. In comparatively modern times a Pasha of Egypt, induced by a ' Frank ' to dig for treasure, stumbled in the process inadvertently on the ' talisman ' which prevented the silting up of a branch of the Nile.³ The ' talisman ' in this case was a huge negro holding a broom, with which, evidently, he was supposed to remove the silt. We may surmise with some probability on the analogy of other talismans, that the Pasha's actual discovery was an ancient statue or relief, possibly in black basalt and therefore supposed to represent a negro.⁴ Similarly, Plato at Eflatun Bunari, having blocked the opening of the river, set ' talismans ' to guard it in the shape of the figures of the Hittite relief. His intention

Reise, p. 57) and the canal at Damascus (Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 266). On the other hand, the really remarkable engineering works of Alexander become so exaggerated as to be inexplicable save by magic (*cf. e.g. Haji Khalfa*, ii, 685). In western folk-lore the rich legend-cycle of Virgil covers the whole ground (see Comparesetti, *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, *passim*).

¹ Sarre, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

² Gottheil in *Z. D. Morgenl. Ges.* xlv, 470.

³ See below, p. 732, and n. 1.

⁴ For the ' *idolum in forma pueri Aethiopsis* ' seen by Fabri see below, p. 730, n. 2.

was of course beneficent, and ill-intentioned persons who wished to disturb his arrangements would be faced by a crowd of angry *jinns*. Somewhat similarly, one of the two giant columns at Urfa (Edessa) is regarded as a talisman, the removal of which would let loose floods on the city.¹

Whether in Christian tradition S. Amphilochius or any other saint was credited with a beneficent miracle similar to Plato's, as the archangel Michael certainly was at Colossae,² we cannot say. The fact that 'Plato's tomb' was shown in a Christian church seems to favour such a supposition, but the substitution of names may have been made on quite untraceable grounds; ³ even a supposed resemblance between 'Eflatun' and some perverted form of Amphilochius is not impossible.* Nor is there any need to suppose a survival or continuous tradition, since the natural conditions of the country have at all times been sufficient to account for the

¹ This tradition, which appears not to be recorded elsewhere, I have orally from Mr. John Orchardson of the MacAndrews and Forbes Company. The other column at Urfa is held to conceal an immense treasure, but no one dares search for it for fear of mistaking the right column and causing a flood.

² Ramsay, *Cit. and Bish.*, p. 215. For S. Michael's association with waters see Lucken, *Michael*, pp. 53, 131.

³ So the origin of the Ivriz river, with its mysterious source and disappearance, was locally attributed, for reasons entirely lost to us, not to Plato but to one of the Companions of the Prophet, see above, p. 106, n. 1.

⁴ Note especially the form *Amphilotheos* in the *Pilgrimage of Basil*, which would help the identification as containing the consonants, *f, l, t*. The similarity (?) between the names of saint and sage, suggested by me as a possible reason for their identification, was brought forward spontaneously as an explanation at Konia. It is of course possible that the original dedication of the church was to S. Plato of Ancyra, martyred under Diocletian and celebrated by the eastern Church on 18 Nov.; he was sufficiently important to have had a cult at Constantinople, but nothing connects him with Iconium. S. (Ὅσιος) Amphilochius was never a full-fledged saint and many churches are known by their founders' names rather than by those of their patron saints.

genesis of so simple a type of myth. At Dineir, for instance, where somewhat similar conditions prevail, we need not connect the ancient legends of the Deluge¹ with the modern folk-tale, located apparently at Sheikh Arab Gueul, of an ' infidel (*giaur*) dervish ' who flooded a town in revenge for ill-treatment.² Nor is a deluge-legend necessarily evidence of floods : the very instructive series of flood-legends given by Carnoy and Nicolaides³ as current at Caesarea seems based merely on a gradual identification, probably by Armenians, of Argæus with Ararat.⁴

¹ Ramsay, *Cit. and Bish.*, pp. 669 ff.

² Laborde, *Asie Mineure*, p. 105. The hero may again be Plato. *Giaur* is used as well as *but-parast* to designate pagans (von Diest, *Tilsit nach Angora*, p. 38, n. 6).

³ *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, pp. 222-3 ; cf. Scott-Stevenson, *Ride through Asia Minor*, p. 206 ; Tozer, *Turkish Arm.*, p. 333. There are interesting deluge legends in Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, ii, 89. A lake is expected one day to burst through and flood Granada (W. G. Clark, *Gazpacho*, p. 156).

⁴ Cf. Hume Griffith, *Behind the Veil in Persia*, p. 177 ; Leclercq, *Mont Ararat*, p. 79.

CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM UNDER THE SULTANS OF KONIA ¹

AT the first appearance of the Ottomans, towards the close of the thirteenth century, Christian and Turk had already been living for two centuries side by side in the interior of Asia Minor under the rule of the Seljuk sultans of Rum. The political history of this period is still emerging from obscurity: the social and religious history has hardly been touched. The Byzantine historians, concerned only incidentally with provinces already *in partibus*, give us no more than hints and we have none of those personal and intimate records which are apt to tell us much more of social conditions than the most elaborate chronicle.

The golden age of the Sultanate of Rum is undoubtedly the reign of Ala-ed-din I (1219-34), whose capital, Konia, still in its decay bears witness by monument and inscription to the culture and artistic achievement of his time. Ala-ed-din was a highly educated man and an enlightened ruler. He was familiar with Christianity, having spent eleven years in exile at Constantinople.² One of his predecessors, Kaikhosru I (1192-9, 1204-10), who likewise spent an exile in Christendom, nearly became a Christian and married a Christian wife.³ He was more than suspected of infidelity to Islam by his stricter Moslem neighbour of Aleppo.⁴ Ala-ed-din's grandson, Az-ed-din, the son of a Christian mother, was said by the bishop of Pisidia to have

¹ This chapter is reprinted, with some additions, from the *B.S.A.* xix, 191 ff.

² Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 31.

³ Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, pp. 39 f.

⁴ C. Huart, *Konia*, pp. 214 f: see above, p. 168, n. 1.

been a Christian, and his sons, when at Constantinople, were admitted to the Sacrament.¹ Both Ala-ed-din and his house were therefore familiar with Christianity and, if not actively sympathetic to it, at least without prejudice against it.

Beside Ala-ed-din stands another striking figure, that of Jelal-ed-din, the mystic poet of Bokhara, who came to Konia in 1233 and is represented as a close and influential friend of the temporal ruler. Jelal-ed-din, with his friend and master in philosophy, Shems-ed-din of Tabriz (d. 1246), originated the order of dervishes known by the name of Mevlevi, who have throughout their history shown themselves humane and tolerant towards Christians and regard all religions as reconcilable on a philosophic basis.² Jelal-ed-din himself seems to have been acquainted with Greek³ and to have assigned to Christ as a prophet a much higher position than his strictly orthodox Moslem contemporaries.⁴ He appears, further, to have regarded himself specially as a missionary to the Greeks, and is reported by Eflaki to have said that 'God had a great regard for the Roman people' (*i. e.* *Rumi*, 'Ρωμαϊοι), and, in answer to a prayer of Abu Bekr the first Caliph, made them 'a chief receptacle of his mercy': in the same passage the metrical poems and rhythmic dances of the Mevlevi are represented as devised to attract the mercurial temperament of the Greeks to Islam.⁵ Several tales illustrating the

¹ Pachymeres, ii, 24; iv, 5; Hammer-Hellert, *op. cit.* i, 45-7; cf. Pears, *Destr. of Greek Empire*, p. 56.

² See especially Eliot, *Turkey in Europe*, p. 185; cf. Ramsay, *Revolution in Turkey*, p. 202.

³ Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, i, 152; of Jelal-ed-din's son some rhyming Greek verses of a mystic-philosophic sort, written in the Persian character, have come down to us (Krumbacher, *Byz. Litteratur*, p. 811; Meyer, in *Byz. Zeit.* iv, 401).

⁴ C. Field, *Mystics and Saints of Islam*, p. 205.

⁵ *Acts of the Adepts* (1310-53), in Redhouse's translation of the *Mesnevi*, p. 27 (13).

success of the Mevlevi propaganda among Christians are related in Eflaki's collection.¹ Specially notable is the anecdote of the abbot of the 'monastery of Plato' (to which we shall return), whose reputation for learning extended to Constantinople, Trebizond, Sis, and the land of the Franks; Jelal-ed-din himself visited the monastery, and there spent seven days and seven nights sitting in a cold spring. At the end of this time he came out unharmed and walked away, singing a hymn, to the astonishment of all. The abbot 'made oath that all he had read about the person and qualities of the Messiah, as also in the books of Abraham and Moses, were found in Jelal, as well as the grandeur and mien of the prophets, and more besides'.² Two generations later, there lived in the same monastery an aged monk who had had similar relations with Jelal-ed-din and was visited by the dervishes of the neighbourhood. He told some of these that once, when Jelal-ed-din had spent forty days in meditation at the monastery, he had taken advantage of the occasion to ask him what was the advantage of Islam over Christianity, since the Koran said all men alike should come to hell fire. Jelal replied by putting the monk's cloak, wrapped in his own, into an oven: when they were taken out, the monk's was found to be scorched and charred by the fire, Jelal's only purified. The monk at once professed himself the disciple of Jelal.³ From all this it seems clear that Jelal-ed-din, like his royal master, was conciliatory in his attitude towards Christianity and Christians.

In the previous chapter⁴ I have pointed out that the old church of S. Amphilochius at Konia, transformed by the Turks into a mosque, was venerated by Moslems from the thirteenth century onwards as the burial-place

¹ *Acts of the Adepts* (1310-53), pp. 22 (7), 51 (33), 66 (53), 90 (85); the latter may refer to the conversion of *Καλωϊάωνης*, the architect of the Blue *Medreseh* at Sivas.

² *Ibid.*, p. 72 (63).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 87 (81).

⁴ Cf. also above, p. 17.

of 'Plato the divine Philosopher', while the Christian tradition, persisting despite the transformation of the church, still held that the grave in it was that of the Iconian bishop and saint Amphilochius. So late as the fifteenth century both religions shared in the ambiguous cult.¹

The Moslem veneration of Plato at Konia, which is possibly to be traced to the influence of the Mevlevi dervishes, or even to that of Jelal-ed-din himself, may have been expressly intended as a cult which Christian and Mohammedan might share on equal terms. For the learned of both religions 'Plato' may be considered a philosophic abstraction, somewhat akin to Justinian's 'Holy Wisdom of God'; for the unlearned and superstitious Moslems he was a great magician and wonder worker; for the Greeks and Armenians he remained, in Konia at least, S. Amphilochius. The case for such a *rapprochement* between Islam and Christianity as seems implied by the cult of Plato will be materially strengthened if we can find other evidence of friendly relations between the Mevlevi and the Christians. A certain amount of tradition points in this direction.

In a rocky gorge an hour north of Konia stands the ancient Greek monastery of S. Chariton. The monastery² is enclosed on three sides by walls and on the fourth by a precipitous cliff. The enclosure contains three churches, all wholly or partially excavated in the rock. Beside them is a small mosque of similar construction. The mosque is simple and unobtrusive, a rectangular chamber with a plain prayer-niche (*mibrab*) cut in the rock. The Christians in charge of the monastery explain its presence by a legend that the son of Jelal-ed-din, falling, when hunting, from the cliff above the monastery,

¹ Khitrovo, *Itin. Russes*, p. 256.

² Niebuhr found it inhabited (*Reisebeschreibung*, iii, 119) and saw a stone with an inscription of Michael Comnenus (see below, p. 383).

was preserved from injury by a mysterious old man who was afterwards identified from the *eikon* in the church with S. Chariton. The miracle is still commemorated by a yearly present of oil¹ from the successors of Jelal-ed-din—the Superior of the Mevlevi order is always a descendant of the Founder—who, further, spend every year one night in prayer in the mosque.² Christian tradition thus represents Jelal-ed-din as at least half converted to Christianity by the miracle of S. Chariton. Mevlevi tradition, on the other hand, asserts that the abbot of the ‘monastery of Plato’ was converted by the miracles of Jelal-ed-din to his philosophy; the ‘monastery of Plato’ is evidently identical with S. Chariton’s.³

We have thus found two originally Christian sanctuaries adapted for the veneration of both religions by the intrusion of the ambiguous ‘Plato’ figure. One of these compromises certainly (possibly both) is due to the Mevlevi dervishes. Is there a corresponding concession on the Moslem side?

In the great convent of the Mevlevi at Konia the

¹ The church of Sylata, a Greek village near Konia, receives a similar present of oil, and here, too, the practice is referred to the Seljuk period, the Greeks attributing it to Ala-ed-din himself (Pharasopoulos, *Τὰ Σύλατα*, p. 132) and the Mevlevi to Jelal-ed-din (from Sir Edwin Pears, who was so informed by the present Superior of the Mevlevi). A similar story is told by Lady Duff Gordon of Egypt, where Copts still give offerings to the family of Abu-l-Hajjaj, the local saint of Luxor, in commemoration of a Christian saint’s appearance to a descendant of Abu-l-Hajjaj (*Letters from Egypt*, p. 283).

² Mr. Vassos Vaianos of Sylata informs me that the then Chelebi also made a grant of land to the monastery: the title-deeds were for some time at S. Michael’s, Sylata, but are now lost. The ‘cell of the *Dedes*’ (underground) has Mohammedan inscriptions referring to the Mevlevi on its walls.

³ *Acts of the Adepts*, p. 87 (81). The ‘monastery of Plato’ is here said to have been ‘situated at the foot of a hill, with a cavern therein, from whence issued a stream of cold water’—evidently the *ayasma* of S. Chariton.

founder, Jelal-ed-din 'el Rumi', lies buried. His tomb is a place of pilgrimage for pious Mohammedans and especially for members of the Mevlevi order. Beside it is another tomb of which a curious legend is told. It is said to be that of a Christian who gave Jelal-ed-din such proofs of friendship and faithful service that the latter insisted that they should be buried side by side. There are at least three variant traditions as to the personality of the faithful friend. An Armenian version, told two hundred years ago to Paul Lucas, represents him as a bishop and even gives his name, Efsēpi (Eusebius).¹ The Greek version states that he was the abbot of S. Chariton,² on whose relations with Jelal-ed-din we have remarked above. The Mevlevi themselves say that the second tomb contains a Christian monk converted by Jelal-ed-din.³ Thus the essential part of the legend, *i. e.* that a Christian ecclesiastic is buried beside Jelal-ed-din, is acknowledged by all parties. Whether in point of fact the supposed tomb is indeed such may be questioned. It may well be a cenotaph which has come to be regarded as a tomb. In this case we can point to a modern parallel of some interest. In the convent of the Mevlevi at Canea (Crete), founded only forty years ago, are two saints' tombs, side by side and exactly

¹ Lucas, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, i, 151. The legend is referred to also by other writers (J. Pardoe, *City of the Sultans*, i, 52; Macarius, *Travels*, tr. Belfour, p. 8).

² Orally in 1913 from Prodromos Petrides; the abbot of S. Chariton is introduced in the version of Levides (*Μοναὶ τῆς Καππαδοκίας*, pp. 156 f.): *cf.* N. Rizos, *Καππαδοκικά*, p. 130. Both probably owe something to the *Περιγραφή* of the Archbishop Cyril, who says (p. 42): *πλησίον τοῦ ἰδίου Μεβλᾶ* [*i. e.* Mevlana = Jelal-ed-Din] *εἶναι καὶ μνήμα ἑνὸς καλογέρου ἡγουμένου τοῦ Ἄκ Μοναστηρίου* [White Monastery, the modern Turkish name of S. Chariton's] . . . *ταφέντος ἐκεῖ κατὰ διάταξιν τοῦ ἰδίου ὑπεραγαπῶντος αὐτόν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἔκειτο καὶ μεχρὶ τινὸς μαῦρον καλογηρικὸν σκέπασμα, τὸ ὁποῖον ἀπὸ χρόνων σχεδὸν τριάκοντα μετέβαλον εἰς ἄλλο χρῶμα, διὰ τὸ μὴ γγνωρίζεται.*

³ On the spot through Prodromos Petrides.

similar in outward appearance. One of these is that of the founder, the other admittedly a cenotaph erected by the terms of the latter's will to commemorate his revered teacher.¹ Similarly, at Konia Jelal-ed-din may have intended what is now called the 'tomb of the monk' rather as a commemorative monument to his honoured friend; and this would be quite in keeping with their traditional relations.

Whether the legend or any part of it is true or not, we have here to all appearance the compromise on the Moslem side we have sought. For a third time an Iconian sanctuary is artificially rendered accessible to Christian and Moslem at once: the sanctuary is in this case the centre of the Mevlevi dervishes, the tomb-chamber of their Founder himself.

Second only to Jelal-ed-din in the veneration of the Mevlevi of Konia is Shems-ed-din of Tabriz, who lies in a much humbler mausoleum in a different quarter of the town.² This also has been a celebrated shrine. Schiltberger, one of the Christian prisoners of the battle of Nicopolis (1396), notes it alone of all the wonders of Konia. In 'a city called Konia', says he, 'lies the saint, Schenisis, who was first an Infidel priest, and was secretly baptised; and when his end approached, received from an Armenian priest the body of God in an apple'.³ This legend, rendering needless a second tomb, has the same effect as that of the central convent. Moslems could visit and venerate the tomb of Shems-ed-din, the dervish philosopher, while Christians saw in the same person a holy man who, born in darkness, had at length turned to the light, and as proof of his sanctity wrought mighty works after his death.

We have thus found in Konia the temporal capital of

¹ F. W. H.

² The authenticity of the tomb seems somewhat doubtful (see Eflaki, in Redhouse's *Mesnevi*, pp. 108 f. and preface, p. x).

³ Hakluyt Society's edition, p. 40.

the Seljuk dynasty and the spiritual centre of the Mevlevi dervishes, four sanctuaries which might be visited without violence to conscience by Christian and Mohammedan alike. We have found also in Ala-ed-din an enlightened and liberal monarch with no bias against Christianity, in Jelal-ed-din a philosophic mystic with Christian leanings, and in the abbot of S. Chariton—if he is historical—a Christian ecclesiastic evidently attracted by the spiritual personality of Jelal-ed-din.

To Ala-ed-din politically, as to the Mevlevi philosophically, the assimilation of Christian and Moslem was desirable. The Greek Church, here in central Asia Minor, was spiritually at a low ebb during the period in question.¹ It seems, therefore, possible that some sort of religious compromise on a philosophic basis was devised between Ala-ed-din, Jelal-ed-din, and the local Christian clergy, and deliberately fostered by some or all of these parties.

The idea is not without parallels elsewhere: Akbar, the Mogul emperor of India, an enlightened ruler and a philosopher, made in his time a somewhat similar attempt to reconcile the various creeds of his subjects.² The movement at Konia may be regarded as a local and artificially accentuated manifestation of ideas widely current in the mystic heterodoxies of Islam, which would find great scope among the heterogeneous, and in religion primitive or degraded, population of medieval Asia Minor. Similar ideas of religious fusion formed in the fifteenth century the motive-power of the rebellion of Bedr-ed-din of Simav³ and are to some extent potent to-day among the Bektashi sect in Albania, whose doctrines and organization seem to have been used for

¹ For the diocese of Iconium about this period see Wächter, *Verfall des Griechentums*, pp. 16–18.

² Bonet Maury, in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* xi, 152 ff., li, 153 ff.

³ See below, pp. 568–9.

political purposes by Ali Pasha of Yannina.¹ Such religions in countries of mixed population cater alike for the educated and the ignorant, providing for the former a philosophic standpoint, for the latter a full measure of mystery and superstition, and for all alike a convenient compromise and a basis of mutual toleration.

¹ See below, pp. 586–92 and reff.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF S. CHARITON'S

THE following inscriptions from the monastery of S. Chariton near Konia are here published from the texts given in the extremely rare pamphlet of the patriarch Cyril VI on the province of Konia,¹ of which the Archaeological Society of Athens is fortunate enough to possess a complete copy. Of the author a short notice, to which nothing material seems to have been added by recent investigators, is given by Papadopoulos-Vretos.² He was born at Adrianople about 1750, became Archdeacon of the Patriarchate, and subsequently (after 1802) Metropolitan of Iconium and of Adrianople. In 1813, on the resignation of Jeremias IV, he was elected Patriarch as Cyril VI. In 1819, in consequence of an intrigue, he was deposed in favour of Gregory V and retired to his native town, where he was hung by the Turks at the outbreak of the Greek Revolution in June 1821. The map of the province of Iconium, to which the *Description* forms a supplement, was published in 1812 at Vienna.³ It was reproduced on a smaller scale by Kiepert.⁴

The monastery of S. Chariton, near Konia, is de-

¹ *Ἱστορικὴ Περιγραφή τοῦ ἐν Βιέννῃ προεκδοθέντος χωρογραφικοῦ πίνακος τῆς μεγάλης Ἀρχισατραπίας Ἰκονίου. Νῦν πρῶτον τύποις ἐκδοθείσα. Ἐν τῷ Πατριαρχικῷ Τυπογραφείῳ. Ἐν ἔτει 1815, sm. 8vo, pp. 73, of which the last seven (67–73 inclusive) are devoted to a (not very valuable) Περιγραφή τῆς Ἀδριανουπόλεως καὶ τινων τῶν πέριξ τῆς Θράκης μέρων.*

² For A. Papadopoulos-Vretos see Sathas, *Νεοελληνικὴ Φιλολογία*, pp. 212 f. For Cyril cf. Sathas, *op. cit.*, p. 678, and Z. Mathas, *Κατάλογος Πατριάρχων*, Athens, 1884, p. 166 (Nauplia, 1837, p. 276).

³ *Πίναξ χωρογραφικὸς τῆς μεγάλης Ἀρχισατραπίας Ἰκονίου, ἐν Βιέννῃ, 1812.*

⁴ *Memoir über die Karte von Kleinasien*, pl. iii and pp. 180 ff.

scribed by Ramsay¹ and recently by myself.² Cyril's description is as follows :

' Among the hills near Sylata, in a ravine about an hour east of the latter and about an hour west of Konia, is the monastery of S. Chariton the Confessor, called in Turkish *Ak Monastir* [' White Monastery '] from the hills of white stone which surround it, a foundation of S. Chariton. The monastery possesses a church dedicated to the Most Holy Mother of God of the Cave, spacious and hewn out of the rock like a cave ; also all the cells and chapels, six or seven in all,³ are rock-hewn caves : the door of the church is to the south. . . . Outside the enclosure is the Sacred Well below the level of the earth, which the Blessed Chariton excavated by a miracle from a sheer rock.⁴ In front of the monastery are gardens and vineyards.' ⁵

The memory of S. Chariton is celebrated by the Greek church on September 28. According to the *Synaxaria* he was a native of Iconium, who lived in the time of Aurelian as a hermit in Palestine, where he died at an advanced age. A cave church founded by him was shown at a *lavra* called Pharan. Amongst other miracles he is recorded to have brought ' clear water out of a sheer rock ' (ἐξ ἀκροτόμου πέτρας ὕδωρ διαυγὲς ἐξενεγκών). The scene of this miracle is not recorded, but it is evidently conceived of on the lines of the striking of the rock by Moses. It does not suit the ' *Ayasma* of S. Chariton ' at Konia, which is a well some depth below the surface and approached by a flight of steps. The difficulty is realized by Cyril, who slightly twists the words of the *Synaxaria* (ἀνώρουξεν ἐξ ἀκροτόμου λίθου)⁶ to fit the Iconian monastery, which is probably a colony from Palestine.

¹ *Pauline Studies*, p. 188 ; cf. *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 375.

² In *B.S.A.* xix, 193 ff. with a photograph : reprinted above, pp. 373 ff.

³ There are now two, dedicated to S. Sabbas and S. Amphilochius.

⁴ ἀνώρουξεν ἐξ ἀκροτόμου λίθου.

⁵ *Περιγραφή*, pp. 45-7.

⁶ λίθου for πέτρας.

The inscriptions existing in Cyril's time at the monastery of S. Chariton¹ are as follows :

I. Over the door of the church outside :²

Μεγάλη ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα τοῦ οἴκου τούτου ἢ ἐσχάτη ὑπὲρ τὴν πρώτην. πόνημα Μάρκου μοναχοῦ. ἐν ἔτει ,σφος, ἰνδικτιῶνος ἑβδόμης.

The year of the world 6576 = A.D. 1067-8 ; the seventh indiction places our inscription in 1067. Konia was not taken by the Seljuks till 1086. If, as we suspect, S. Chariton of Konia was a foundation from Palestine, the date is explicable as that of a time of exodus from Palestine of monks driven out by Saracen oppression : this movement was the cause of the foundation of the monastic colonies of Latmus and, probably, Athos. A monk Mark is known to have been abbot of S. Sabbas about this time,³ but the name is not enough to make good the connexion. The wording of the inscription⁴ is evidently influenced by the prophecy of the second temple, saying, ' the glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former '.⁵

II. Above the same door, inside :⁶

Τίνος τὸ ἔργον ; τὸ γράμμα οὐ λέγω, θεὸς γὰρ οἶδεν ὁ ἐρευνῶν καρδίας, ἀνεκαινίσθη, καὶ καλλιεργήθη ὁ πάνσεπτος Ναὸς τῆς ὑπεραγίας Δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας, τῆς ἐπιλεγομένης Σπηλαιωτίσσης, πατριαρχούντος τοῦ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου κυροῦ Γρηγορίου, καὶ ἐπὶ Βασιλείου τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου Βασιλέως καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Ῥωμαίων κυροῦ Ἀνδρονίκου, ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Βασιλεύοντος μεγαλογένους Μεγάλου Σουλτὰν Μαχσοῦτι τοῦ Καϊκαούση καὶ Αὐθέντου ἡμῶν,

¹ They are given *Περιγραφή*, pp. 46-7. Nos. 1-4 are also given, evidently after Cyril's copies, by N. S. Rizos, *Καππαδοκικά*, pp. 132 ff.

² ἐπ' αὐτήν [*sc.* τὴν πύλην] ἔξωθὲν εἰσι γεγραμμένα ἐν λίθῳ τάδε.

³ See Krumbacher, *Byz. Litteratur*, p. 154.

⁴ Given by Rizos, p. 132.

⁵ *Haggai*, ii, 9.

⁶ Ἔσωθεν ἐπάνω τῆς αὐτῆς πύλης. The inscription is given by Rizos, p. 133.

ἔτους 5ψηζ, ἰνδικτ. β. ὑπόμνημα Ματθαίου ἱερομονάχου καὶ τάχα Ἑγουμένου.

The year of the world 6797, indiction 2, corresponds to A. D. 1289. Of the potentates mentioned, the patriarch Gregory (II) reigned from 1283 to 1289,¹ the emperor Andronicus (II) from 1282 to 1332, and the sultan of Konia, Masud, son of Izz-ed-din Karkaus II, from 1283 to 1294.² The relations between Christianity and Islam under the Seljuks of Konia were very friendly.³ The Greeks were to know no such liberty in church building as this till the reign of the reforming sultan Mahmud II (1808-39), in whose reign we find again church inscriptions recording the Christian bishop and Turkish sultan.⁴

III. 'The grave of this abbot lies outside the same door of the church, on the right as you go in, near the wall, buried in the earth.'⁵

"Ἐνθαδε κεῖται τῶν Μοναστῶν τὸ κλέος, ἀειμνήστου κτίτορος κύρου Ματθαίου, καὶ καθηγουμένου τε τῆς μονῆς ταύτης. ἐν ἔτει 5ω5, ἰνδικτιῶνος ια' Νοεμβρίου α'.

The date (6806, indiction 1) is A. D. 1298. *Κτίτωρ* is used, as often on Athos,⁶ in the secondary sense of restorer or considerable benefactor, the monastery of S. Chariton having been founded, as we have seen, much earlier.

IV. 'Within the church opposite the door towards the

¹ On him see Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

² Huart, *Konia*, p. 247.

³ See above, pp. 370 ff.

⁴ e.g. my article 'Bithynica', in *B.S.A.* xiii, 294.

⁵ Τοῦ ὁποίου Ἑγουμένου τὸ μνήμα κεῖται ἔξωθεν τῆς αὐτῆς πύλης τοῦ ναοῦ ἐκ δεξιῶν εἰσιούσι πλησίον τοῦ τοίχου κεχωσμένον εἰς τὴν γῆν. Rizos gives the inscription, p. 133.

⁶ See F. W. Hasluck, *Athos*, pp. 61-2.

west, is a grave in the floor, on which is a marble sarcophagus with the following inscription : ' ¹

Ἐνταῦθα κείται πορφυρογεννήτων γόνος Μιχαήλ Ἀμυρασκά-
νης, ἕγγων τοῦ πανευγενεστάτου δισεγγόνου τῶν ἀθλίμων πορ-
φυρογεννήτων Βασιλέων κυρίου Ἰωάννου Κομνηνοῦ ἐν ἔτει ,ζως,
ἰνδικτ. ια' μηνὶ Νοεμ. α'.

This inscription still survives and good texts have been published by Sterrett ² and Cumont,³ which show that our archbishop was but an indifferent copyist. The person mentioned in the inscription was a descendant of the royal house of Trebizond, who died in exile at the court of Konia in 1297.

V. 'In the left aisle of the church, near the northern door of the screen in the wall of the προσκομιδῆ outside, is another sarcophagus with these letters : ' ⁴

Ἐνταῦθα κείται εὐγενεστάτων εἰκῶν, καθαρὸν τε λέγω τοῦ
μακαρίτου, εἰκῶν δὲ τρισμάκαρος Ἀχη⁵ παγκάλου υἱοῦ δὲ
πανευγενοῦς.

It seems impossible to get much from this text containing neither name nor date. Omissions seem to have occurred in Cyril's copy.

VI. A sixth inscription from S. Chariton is given by Sterrett in his *Epigraphical Journey* ⁶ from a copy by Diamantides.

¹ Ἐνδον τοῦ ναοῦ ἀντικρὺ τῆς πύλης πρὸς δύσιν, ἐν τῷ ἐδάφει τῆς γῆς εἶναι μνημα, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ μάρμαρον ὡς κιβούριον. For this use of κιβούριον (ciborium) see Du Cange, *Glossarium*, s. v. *ciborium*.

² *Epig. Jour.*, no. 229, from a copy by Diamantides : see also Grégoire, in *Rev. Instr. Pub. Belg.* lii (1909), p. 13.

³ In *Byz. Zeit.* iv (1895), pp. 99-105, from a new copy by Diamantides and a photograph. It is also found in Rizos, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

⁴ Ἔτι εἰς τὸν ἀριστερὸν χορὸν τοῦ ναοῦ πλησίον τῆς βορείας πύλης τοῦ ἱεροῦ βήματος εἰς τὸν τοῖχον τῆς προσκομιδῆς ἕξωθεν ἕτερον κιβούριον μὲ γράμματα τάδε.

⁵ For Ἀχη see Karabashek, in *Num. Zeit.* ix (1877), p. 213 (quoting Ibn Batuta), further below, p. 506, n. 3.

⁶ No. 243.

THE BLESSING OF THE WATERS

THE annual Blessing of the Waters at Epiphany, known to the Orthodox Church as the Great Consecration (*Μέγας Ἀγιασμός*), is one of the most picturesque rites of modern Greece. The ceremony, which takes place in the open air, has been well and fully described in Miss Mary Hamilton's book, *Greek Saints*.¹ The officiating priest plunges a cross into the sea, a river, or even a cistern, according to the locality, and, taking it out wet and dripping, sprinkles the bystanders. In some places the cross is thrown in bodily and retrieved by one of the bystanders. The first person to touch the cross after its immersion is considered particularly lucky. After the official blessing the water is held to have beneficent power and the bystanders drink or wash in it. The sea and waters in general are consecrated by the ceremony for the ensuing year. In seaports this has a peculiar importance for shipping and seafarers, and in former times even Turks did not venture to put to sea until the waters had received their (Christian) blessing.²

In 1915 a hitch in the proceedings at Levkas caused considerable consternation. The cross thrown into the water stuck in the sand and could not be retrieved :

¹ Pp. 112 ff.

² Busbecq, *Lettres* (Paris, 1748), ii, 110. Two doves are released at Athens as the cross is thrown into the water. This liberation of birds at church festivals is widespread : in Brittany the *Pardon des Oiseaux* is the festival of S. Jean du Doigt, when various birds are released (see, e. g., Quetteville, *Pardon of Guingamp*, pp. 365 ff.); in Russia it is pious to loose birds at the Annunciation (Romanoff, *Rites of the Greco-Russian Church*, p. 125); cf. also the Roman custom at the feast of SS. Philip and James (Tucker and Malleon, *Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome*, i, 187). It is scarcely necessary to say that in these cases the symbolism is not the same as in the Greek Blessing of the Waters.

this was considered a presage of great disasters in the ensuing year, and it was particularly noted that the ceremony had no effect on the storm which was raging at the time of its performance.¹

Miss Hamilton makes a gallant attempt² to show that the Greek ceremony is a rain-charm and hints at a classical survival. It is true that the elements of the forms used, the immersion of a sacred object and the wetting of the persons assisting at the ceremony, are used as rain-charms both in Greece and elsewhere. But the supposed allusions to rainfall in the songs quoted in support of the theory rest on mistranslation alone. The first song quoted (from Imbros) expresses the quite orthodox idea of consecrating springs and waters; the second, also from Imbros, refers only to dew; the third, which in the translation appears the strongest proof of all, refers not to rain, but merely to 'wetting', which is an ordinary use of the transitive verb βρέχω.³

So far from the ceremony being even remotely a classical survival or peculiar to Greece, it is matched in nearly every detail by the corresponding Armenian ceremony. The latter is thus described by Struys, a Dutch traveller of the seventeenth century, who witnessed it at Shamakh:

¹ Πατρίς, 7 Jan. 1925: Συνεπεία τοῦ γεγονότος τούτου προεκλήθη εὐλογος συγκίνησις καθ' ὅλην τὴν Λευκάδα, ἰδιαίτερος δὲ οἱ θρησκόληπτοι καὶ δεισιδαίμονες χαρακτηρίζουν τὸ πρᾶγμα ὡς προοιωνίζον μεγάλας καταστροφάς, τρομερὰ ἀτυχήματα. . . . Χαρακτηριστικὴ διὰ τὴν ἀπαισιοδοξίαν καὶ ἀπελπισίαν ἣ ὁποία ἔχει καταλάβει τοὺς προληπτικούς, εἶνε καὶ ἡ παρατήρησις των, ὅτι, καὶ μετὰ τὸν ἀγιασμόν, ἡ θάλασσα ἐξακολουθεῖ νὰ φαίνεται ταραγμένη.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 119 ff.

³ P. 127, [μία πέρδικα]. . . βρέχει τὸν ἀφέντη καὶ πάλιν ξαναβρέχεται καὶ βρέχει τὴν κυρά της, καὶ πάλιν ξαναβρέχεται καὶ βρέχει τὰ φτερά της, which Miss Hamilton translates: 'It sent rain down on the Lord, and again it rained and rained on our Lady, and again it rained and rained on its wings'. The true rendering is 'it [the partridge] *wetted* (*i. e.* sprinkled with water) our Lord, and again *wetted itself* and *wetted* our Lady, and again *wetted itself* and *wetted* its wings.'

‘ L’Evêque commence par chanter la Masse plus matin que du coutume; puis il fait un sermon sur un Texte pris dans L’Evangile de ce jour; à la fin duquel il annonce la bénédiction de la Rivière qu’on appelle *Chatsche Schuran*.¹ Pendant le sermon de l’Evêque, tous les Arméniens du Pays se rendent autour du lieu où se doit célébrer la Fête, avec la Croix & la bannière . . . [L’Evêque] fit un signe auquel des Arméniens tous nus sautèrent sur la glace & la rompirent en plusieurs endroits, pendant que l’Eveque s’amusoit à lire & le peuple à chanter des Himnes, des Pseaumes, & des Cantiques. Lorsque la glace fut rompuë, le peuple se tut, & l’on entendit le son des cloches, des cimbales & des trompettes, durant lequel l’Evêque avança vers l’endroit où l’eau paroissoit; & après y avoir répandu de l’huile bénîte, il la bénit avec une Croix enrichie de pierres précieuses & pour confirmer la bénédiction il la plongea par trois fois dans l’eau, fit la même chose avec sa Croce, & dit ensuite quelques prières qui ne durèrent pas long-temps. A peine les eut-il finies que le peuple accourut en foule, les uns pour boire de cette eau, & les autres pour s’en laver les piés, les mains, & le visage. Et comme il y en a partout d’une dévotion singulière, plusieurs se dépouillèrent, & sautèrent tous nus dans l’eau, le zèle & la ferveur les empêchant de sentir le froid qui étoit extreme.’²

The Armenian ceremony is also described by Tavernier, though by some misconception he places it on Christmas Day. His account is as follows:

‘ Then in all the Cities and Villages where the *Armenians* live,

¹ ‘ Nous croyons que ce mot devrait se transcrire plus exactement *khatche tchrouin* qui veut dire *croix de l’eau, ou faite sur l’eau*, signe distinctif de cette cérémonie’ (Note by E. Boré in *L’Arménie*, vol. ii of Chopin’s *Russie* in the *L’Univers* Series, p. 134). Boré thought the ceremony peculiar to the Armenian Church.

² Struys, *Voyages*, pp. 245 f. The Armenian ceremony at Constantinople is mentioned by A. Galland, *Journal*, i, 31. There is a picturesque account of the Blessing at Moscow in *The Voyage of Osep Napea* (1557), in Hakluyt’s edition. Mrs. Bishop (*Journeys in Persia*, ii, 312) describes the Nestorian Epiphany, Vaujany (*Caire*, p. 332) the Coptic, and della Valle (*Voyages*, iv, 370) the Persian ‘Aspersions of Water’ on 5 July, which may be a derivative from the Christian Epiphany. In Albania Miss Durham saw sheaves, evidently firstfruit sheaves, dipped in the water (*Burden of the Balkans*, p. 124).

if there be any River or Pond, they make ready two or three flat bottom'd Boats, spread with carpets to walk upon ; in one of which upon *Christmas day* they set up a kind of an altar. In the morning by Sunrising all the *Armenian* clergy, as well of that place as of the parts adjoining, get into the Boats in their Habits, with the Cross and Banner. Then they dip the Cross in the water three times, and every time they drop the Holy Oyl upon it. After that they go through the Ordinary form of Baptism.¹

To students of the Holy Land, but not to those interested in Greece, it is probably a commonplace that almost all the details of the Greek and Armenian ceremonies are derived from the very early celebration of the Baptism of Christ Himself at the River Jordan. Antoninus of Piacenza, a sixth-century pilgrim, describes the Epiphany ceremony at the Jordan at some length, not omitting some miraculous occurrences which he, in common with other devout pilgrims, doubtless believed he saw.² The following is a rough translation of Antoninus' execrable Latin :

'On Epiphany Eve a great service is held attended by countless people, and at the fourth or fifth cockcrow the vigil is celebrated. After Matins, at the first sign of daybreak, the congregation rises and the service is continued in the open air. The priest, supported by his deacons, descends into the river and, as soon as he begins to bless the water, the Jordan, roaring mightily, returns upon itself, the water above the place of blessing piles up, and the water below runs down to the sea, according to the words of the Psalmist, *The sea saw and fled, Jordan was driven back.*³ All the Alexandrians who have ships send men on that day with pails⁴ full of perfumes and balsam, and at the time when the water is blessed, before the baptism begins, they plunge these pails into the river and take of the consecrated water to use for asperging their ships before they put to sea.⁵

¹ *Voyages*, pp. 171 f.

² Ed. Geyer, *Itin. Hieros.*, p. 200 (ed. Tobler, p. 15, xi).

³ Ps. cxiv, 3.

⁴ MSS. *colaphos*, obviously for *calathos*.

⁵ Curiously, Jordan water was considered unlucky on board ship, at least by western pilgrims ; cf. Fabri, *Evagat.* ii, 36, 43, and Füsslein, *ap. Mirike, Reise*, p. 221.

When the baptism is finished, every one goes down into the river for a blessing, wearing shrouds and other garments of all sorts which are to serve for their burial.¹ When all this has been done, the water returns into its own bed.²

The Greek and Armenian Epiphany ceremonies thus derive directly from a common source in Palestine, the fountain-head of the Christian religion. For the study of all such antiquities the principle here involved is important and too often neglected. In Greece particularly it has been kept in the background by the more fashionable idea of classical survival. A typical instance is the supposed equation of S. Elias to Helios.³ The occupation of nearly every conspicuous height in Greece by chapels of S. Elias does not imply that the saint replaces Helios, though the arguments brought forward to support the theory are most ingenious. The prototype of the mountain dedicated to Elias is to be found at Carmel in Palestine, and the Elias of the Old Testament is a rain-making saint. No further explanation is needed. Of the mountains in Greece not dedicated to Elias a large majority, including, *e. g.*, Mt. Athos,³ are dedicated to the Transfiguration. Here, again, the connexion with the Bible story and Palestine is obvious. A further instance of a slightly different sort is that of S. Nicolas, the sea-saint of Orthodoxy,⁴ who, despite the attempt to represent him as a survival of Artemis,⁵ owes his vogue among seafarers simply and solely to the

¹ The cheap printed cotton shrouds sold for this purpose at Jerusalem are well known to all tourists: according to Tobler (*Topogr. von Jerusalem*, ii, 706) they were already mentioned by Antoninus of Piacenza. Mohammedans similarly wet their grave clothes in the water of the well of Zem-Zem at Mecca (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i, 276). For the Kerbela practice see Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, iii, 202.

² See further above, p. 320, n. 3.

³ Wrong in Hasluck, *Athos*, p. 19, n. 1.

⁴ The *Athos Guide to Painting* ascribes no sea miracles to him (Didron, *Iconographie Chrétienne*, pp. 365-8).

⁵ Anichkof in *Folk-Lore*, v, 108-120.

position of the church on a dangerous coast passed by every pilgrim ship from Constantinople or the West on its way to the Holy Land.¹ The local coincidence has here made a bishop as at Sinope a gardener (S. Phocas),² and at Pelusium a monk (S. Isidore),³ all landsmen, into sea-saints, while S. Peter the fisherman and S. Paul the seafarer receive no special honour from mariners. S. Michael in Symi⁴ or S. George at Herakleia Perinthos⁵ may also from the position of their churches develop a reputation as sea-saviours. The personality of the saint is of very small importance as compared with his own position as the chief saint of a seafaring population, or with that of his church, on a site conspicuous from the sea or near a well-known point of danger.

What is true of ceremonies and cults is true also of buildings and superstitions. The church of the Sepulchre and the Mosque of Omar in the Holy City have left their mark even on western Europe in the 'round churches' of the Templars.⁶ The 'sweating column' of S. Sophia's⁷ is a parody of the miracle in S. Helen's Chapel at Jerusalem.⁸ The Greek Church has at all

¹ See above, p. 350.

² On the cult of S. Phocas see Radermacher, in *Archiv f. Religionsw.* vii, 445 ff.

³ The frequency of capes dedicated to S. Isidore (*e.g.* the eastern point of Crete) shows he was a favourite saint with sailors, presumably Egyptians. Whether S. Isidore of Pelusium is meant or S. Isidore of Alexandria (and Chios), a soldier, is immaterial.

⁴ Dawkins, in *Emmanuel Coll. Mag.* xviii, 18 ff.; *cf.* Michaelides, *Καρπ. Ἀισματα*, p. 22. See also above, p. 344.

⁵ Coval, *Diaries*, p. 277: 'The chief thing he is famed for is the deliverance of poor mariners, and in the church was hang'd up to him infinities of ἀναθήματα, dedicated by poor creatures which had escaped shipwreck; most are little short pieces of halsers or cables or smal ropes, having one end tipt with silver.' ⁶ Hasluck, *Letters*, App.

⁷ See Antony of Novgorod in Khitrovo's *Itin. Russes*, p. 90; Sandys's *Travels*, p. 25; Aaron Hill, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 138; Einsler in *Z.D.P.V.* xvii, 303.

⁸ Fabri, *Evagat.* i, 293. Similarly, the legend of the chain of Khoja

times been in more or less close touch with the Holy Land. The pilgrimage thither, though not held, except among the Russians, of such spiritual importance as the pilgrimage to Mecca among Mohammedans, has nevertheless exercised a great influence on the lay population. In religious ceremonies, cults, buildings, and superstitions alike the connexion between the Orthodox world and Palestine is much stronger and more unbroken than that between the Orthodox world and classical antiquity. It has not been affected by ethnological changes and it has been fostered, not discouraged, by the clergy. In all such questions of *origines*, therefore, parallels should be sought first in the Holy Land and the way thither.¹

Mustafa Jamisi, Constantinople (for which see Carnoy and Nicolaidis, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 112; Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 28; van Millingen, *Churches in Constant.*, p. 107) comes, under Mohammedan, not Christian influence, from Jerusalem (*cf.* Besant and Palmer, *Jerusalem*, 1908, p. 469; Le Strange, *Palestine*, pp. 151 ff.).

¹ Lucius (*Anfänge des Heiligenk.*, App. I, p. 507) remarks instructively on the small number of new ideas in religion.

'THE FORTY',¹

IN Turkish geographical nomenclature certain 'round' numbers are regularly employed in an arbitrary sense. Most important of these are 'a thousand and one' (*bin bir*), used to express the idea of 'countless', and 'forty' (*kirk*), which is similarly used for 'numerous'.² As examples of the first may be cited the well-known 'thousand-and-one-column' (*Bin Bir Direk*) cistern at Constantinople and the 'Thousand and one Churches' (*Bin Bir Kilise*) in Lycaonia. For the second we may instance several rivers called Kirk Gechid ('Forty Fords', in Greek Sarandáporos), the town Kirk Agach ('Forty Trees'), springs called Kirk Gueuz ('Forty Eyes'), districts called Kirk In, Kirk Er ('Forty Caves') and numerous others.

Side by side with names like the foregoing, which explain themselves if we read 'numerous' for 'forty', we find certain localities denominated simply 'the Forty' (Tk. *Kirkklar*,³ Gr. *Saránda*).⁴ They are especially

¹ This chapter is reprinted with additions from *B.S.A.* xix, 221 ff.

² Numbers below forty, with the curious exception of five (*cf.* Walpole, *Travels*, p. 205; Arundell, *Asia Minor*, i, 75), generally keep their strict numerical value. 'Five' therefore seems to signify 'several', 'two or three'; 'forty' estimates a number greater than the eye counts naturally, while 'a thousand and one' implies a number beyond counting altogether. Arabs call the centipede the 'mother of forty-four legs' (Jessup, *Women of the Arabs*, p. 267).

³ *Kirkklar* is shown by the plural termination to be a substantive, not an adjective.

⁴ For numbers other than forty used as place-names *cf.* *Dokuz* ('nine') near Konia (Huart, *Konia*, p. 126), where we happen to know that the full name is *Dokuz Hani Dervend* ('Post of the Nine Houses'). *Trianda* (τὰ Τριάκοντα, Ducas, p. 193 B), between Ephesus and Smyrna, is usually interpreted as commemorating the thirtieth

common in Pontus¹ but occur also elsewhere, as *e.g.* in Mysia, where there are at least two villages called Kirklar,² and in Caria, where the name is applied to a site with ruins of a church near the ancient Loryma³ and to an ancient tomb east of Knidos.⁴ Similarly mysterious are names like Kirklar Dagh ('Mountain of the Forty', not 'Forty Mountains') which, like the foregoing, imply an association with forty persons. These 'forties' call for explanation.

We have particularly to take into account the mystical associations of 'forty' in Turkey and the Near East. Both in profane and sacred connexions the number forty (days, &c.) and groups of forty (persons, &c.) meet us at every turn. As to the first, in Turkish folk-tales the hero's wedding-feast regularly lasts 'forty days and forty nights'. The 'forty days' after child-birth,⁵ after marriage,⁶ and after death,⁷ are critical periods, and during the 'forty days' between November 27 and January 5 evil spirits are unusually active.⁸ Robbers, ogres, *jinnns*, and *peris* go about in bands of forty,⁹ and the number appears again and again in magic prescriptions.¹⁰

milestone on the Roman road, but it should be remarked that there is a village of the same name in Rhodes, where this explanation is obviously impossible.

¹ Grégoire in *B.C.H.* 1909, p. 27; Jerphanion in *Mél. Fac. Or.* (Beyrut), 1911, p. xxxviii.

² (1) Near Pergamon and (2) west of Balia (Philippson, *Karte des W. Kleinasiens*); the latter is an old site (Philippson, *Reisen und Forschungen*, i, 36).

³ Chaviaras in *Παρνασσός*, xiv, 537 ff.

⁴ Halliday in *Folk-Lore*, xxiii, 218.

⁵ Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, pp. 308-310.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 315.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 324.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 305.

⁹ Two references to Kunos' *Türkische Volksmärchen aus Adakale* (pp. 84, 90), which I owe to Mr. Halliday, go far to prove that 'the Forty' without further definition are recognized in Turkish folk-lore as a band of spirits.

¹⁰ *Cf.*, *e.g.*, Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*, p. 229 (forty paces); [Blunt], *People of Turkey*, ii, 257 (candle made from the fat of forty children);

In the religious lore both of Christian and Moham-
medan the same number constantly recurs. The great
fasts of the Christians are of forty days, dervishes of the
Khalveti order likewise practise fasting and mortifica-
tion for periods of forty days,¹ the noviciate of the
Mevlevi dervishes (a thousand and one days) is divided
into periods of forty days.² There are forty Traditions
of Mohammed³ and so on.⁴ As regards persons, again,
we find in religion, corresponding to the secular groups
of forty ogres, forty *jinn*s, &c., numerous groups of forty
saints. On the Christian side the most important are
the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste⁵ (Sivas), who met their
death in a lake, still shown in the sixteenth century,⁶
near the town. Remains of the bath associated with
their martyrdom are pointed out at the present day,⁷
as are their reputed graves in an Armenian cemetery.⁸

d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, i, 240 (carrying a corpse forty paces to burial ex-
piates forty sins); and *passim*.

¹ D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, ii, 308.

² Huart, *Konia*, p. 203.

³ D'Herbelot, *s. v. Arbain*. The use of the number forty occurs also
in the ritual of the ancient Greeks, but seems to have been derived by
them from a Semitic source (Wide, *Archiv f. Religionsw.* 1909, p. 227),
just as it has been by modern Greece and Turkey, and to some extent
by Latin Christianity; forty days' indulgences, *e. g.*, are common in the
Roman Church. Dr. Roscher's exhaustive essays on the number forty
among the Semites (*Abb. Sächs. Ges., Phil.-Hist. Cl.*, 1909, *Abb.* 4) and
among the Greeks (*Verb. Sächs. Ges., Phil.-Hist. Cl.*, lxi (1909), *Abb.* ii)
render further elaboration of this point unnecessary.

⁴ Beduin, when ill, bathe for forty days in Pharaoh's bath at Sinai
(Bussierre, *Lettres*, ii, 235).

⁵ *Synax. CP.* 9 Mar. They are mentioned already by Greg. Turon.
De Glor. Mart. I, xcvi. See further above, p. 50.

⁶ Khitrovo, *Itin. Russes*, p. 245.

⁷ Cumont, *Stud. Pont.* ii, 225. A bath on the shore of the lake was
heated to induce the freezing martyrs to recant and is usually depicted
in the art-type of the Forty of Sebaste. Its introduction into the
legend of the Forty Martyrs seems strange: see Hasluck, *Letters*,
p. 106. From the references given there the Forty seem to be bath
beris.

⁸ From Mr. Ekisler of Smyrna. The Forty of Sebaste are revered

Other groups of Forty (Christian) saints are connected with Sinai,¹ Melitene,² Adrianople³ and other parts of Thrace,⁴ and Rome.⁵ In Palestine d'Arvieux records a ruined church of the Forty at Hebron⁶ and a monastery similarly dedicated close by.⁷ On the Mohammedan side we have certain groups of unlocalized spirits, such as the Forty Saints on Earth,⁸ the Forty Abdals,⁹ the Forty Victims,¹⁰ and a group of Forty Saints half localized by their appearance in S. Sophia.¹¹ Localized groups of Forty Saints are found all over the Moslem world. At

by the Armenians, to whom they are known as *Kasun Manug* = 'Forty Children' [of the Church]. The 'Monastery of the Forty' at Sivas visited by Ainsworth (*Travels*, ii, 12) was probably Armenian. In the West they figure already among the early paintings of S. Maria Antiqua at Rome (Rushforth in *Papers B.S.R.* i, 109).

¹ Robinson, *Palestine*, i, 159, 181; Agnes Lewis, *Horae Semiticae*, p. ix; Ebers, *Durch Gosen*, pp. 341-54; Goldziher in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii, 320, and reff.; Goujon, *Terre Sainte*, p. 317; Thévenot, *Voyages*, ii, 528. See especially Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, p. 119.

² Procopius (*de Aed.* i, 7) mentions the finding of their remains at Constantinople. Three martyrs of Melitene are mentioned in the *Synaxaria* under date 21 July; but the tradition of the Forty and a church said to contain their relics survive at Melitene (Malatia) itself (Texier, *Asie Mineure*, ii, 35).

³ *Synax. CP.* 1 Sept. But the Forty Saints (of Sebaste) are celebrated at Adrianople on 9 Mar. as elsewhere (Lavriotes, in *Θρακικὴ Ἐπετηρίς*, i, 32 ff.), and the monastery of Xeropotamou on Athos, which is specially connected with the Adrianople district, feasts on the same day.

⁴ Delehaye, *Culte des Martyrs*, pp. 278, 281.

⁵ *Ibid.*: other western groups are at Marseilles (Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, ii, 341-3); at Lyons (Lucius, *Anfänge des Heiligenk.*, p. 147), near Benevento (Baedeker, *S. Italy*, p. 221).

⁶ *Mémoires*, ii, 236: cf. Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*, p. 31, who is perhaps our most important authority.

⁷ *Ibid.*, ii, 244. For the forty Martyrs at Jerusalem see Theodericus, *De Locis Sanctis*, ed. Tobler, p. 120. Cf. also Fabri, *Evagat.* ii, 475. Hahn mentions a group in Albania (*Alban. Studien*, i, 90).

⁸ D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, i, 104.

⁹ Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 156.

¹⁰ J. P. Brown, *Dervishes*, p. 163.

¹¹ Evliya, *Travels*, I, i, 60.

Medina are the graves of Forty Martyrs who fell for the Prophet,¹ while Tunis boasts a corresponding sanctuary of the Forty Volunteers of Sidi Okba, the conqueror of North Africa.² Other Moslem Forties are venerated at Tekrit (on the Tigris),³ in the mosque of El Aksa at Jerusalem,⁴ at Ramleh,⁵ at Damascus,⁶ in northern Syria on several mountains in the country of the Nosairi,⁷ and in Egypt at Menzaleh and elsewhere.⁸ Other Moslem 'Forty' cults are to be found in Cyprus,⁹ at Yoros-Keui¹⁰ and at Ak-Baba¹¹ near Constantinople,

¹ Burton, *Pilgrimage to Al-Medinah and Meccah*, London, 1906, i, 274.

² N. Davis, *Ruined Cities*, pp. 355 ff.

³ G. L. Bell, *Amurath to Amurath*, p. 217.

⁴ Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, p. 60.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 13; d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 28; de Brèves, *Voyages*, p. 103; Tobler, *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, ii, 828-35; Goujon, *Terre Sainte*, p. 106; V. Guérin, *Descr. de la Pales.* I, i, 42; Stern, *Die Moderne Türkei*, p. 171; Thévenot, *Voyages*, ii, 572.

⁶ Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, p. 317; Lady Burton, *Inner Life of Syria*, p. 314. Here they are called the Forty Companions of the Prophet. I was told by a native of Damascus that the attraction of this sanctuary is a miraculously suspended stone which exudes a liquid good for sore eyes. This cult may or may not be derived from the one mentioned by Thévenot (in Harris, *Voyages*, ii, 445): 'In an hole the Forty Martyrs are buried, who were put to Death by the King or Basha of Damascus for defiling a mosque, tho' 't was done by a Jewish Child; these Forty Christians taking it upon themselves to deliver the rest, who suffer'd much for it in Prison.' See also Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, II, i, 126, and Goujon, *Terre Sainte*, p. 31.

⁷ Walpole, *Ansayrii*, iii, 340, mentions one of these 'Mountains of the Forty' (*Jebel el Arbain*) near Latakia. Colonel T. E. Lawrence tells me there are several. The Anatolian 'Kizilbash', who are supposed to profess a similar heresy to that of the Nosairi, have also a group of Forty Saints in their hagiology (Grenard, in *Journ. Asiat.*, iii, 1904, p. 516). Farther east Sir P. M. Sykes found a volcano of the 'Forty' in Persian Baluchistan (*Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, p. 134).

⁸ Goldziher, in *Globus*, lxxi (1897), p. 239. At the mosque of the Forty at Suez 40 sheikhs, whom Napoleon shot, are buried (Le Boulicaut, *Au Pays des Mystères*, pp. 23-4).

⁹ This cult is discussed below.

¹⁰ Evliya, *Travels*, I, ii, 73.

¹¹ This is a group of forty female saints known as Kirk Sultan (F.W.H.).

and at Larissa¹ in Thessaly. The idea, then, of the Forty Saints has in it nothing new or strange for Mohammedans, so that it is natural to find them attracted rather than otherwise towards Christian cults bearing the name.²

The Forty Saints of Sinai, though Christian, are said to have been held in special honour by the fanatical sultan Selim I,³ and of the numerous monasteries and churches dedicated to and containing relics of the Forty Saints of Sebaste at least one seems certainly to have been adopted into Islam under the name of Kirklar Tekke ('Convent of the Forty'). This sanctuary, at a village, probably the ancient *Sarin*, near Zela in Pontus, is still visited by Christian as well as Moslem pilgrims.⁴ In Cyprus, conquered by the Turks only in 1571 and always largely Christian by population, there is also a convent of the Forty (Kirklar Tekkesi). This sanctuary (near Nicosia) is likewise frequented both by Christians and Turks, though outwardly Mohammedan.⁵ Some at least of the Moslem Forties cited above may have had a similar Christian past; Tekrit in particular was a Christian centre with a great monastery as late as the

¹ The graves of the Larissa Forty were formerly shown at the mosque (now destroyed) which bore their name (Kirklar Jami).

² In Carmoly's Jewish *Itinéraires* it is remarkable that the number *Forty* does not occur: instead, the saints are grouped in sevens, twelves, or multiples of these numbers.

³ P. Meyer, *Athosklöster*, pp. 65 ff. Though Selim was a fanatical Sunni Moslem, he was rather conciliatory than otherwise to Christians, owing, it was said, to the influence of a Greek wife. Cf. especially *Hist. Pol.*, ap. Crusius, *Turco-Graecia*, p. 40, ἠνέωξε καὶ ναοὺς ἡμετέρους, οὐσπερ ἀπέκλεισεν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ. For his connexion with the monastery of S. Catherine on Sinai see Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 543.

⁴ See above, p. 50 and below, p. 574.

⁵ Hackett, *Church of Cyprus*, p. 421; Lukach, *City of Dancing Dervishes*, p. 80; Luke and Jardine, *Handbook of Cyprus* (1913), p. 47. Mr. Luke informs me that there are at this *tekke* some twenty-three tombs below ground, and one large one, supposed to contain the remains of the other seventeen saints, above ground.

tenth century,¹ and the Ramleh Forty are claimed by the Christians to this day as replacing, or identical with, the Forty of Sebaste.²

At Kirk Kilise in Thrace there are traces of such a development. The name of the town is in all probability derived not, as would seem at first sight, from 'forty churches', but from a church of the Forty Saints, perhaps those associated with the neighbouring town of Adrianople. The name and possibly also the site of this hypothetical church may be still commemorated by the modern and outwardly Moslem³ 'Convent of the Forty' (Kirkklar Tekke). Significant is the Turkish tradition that 'the true orthography of the name [of the town] is Kirk-Kemsi, forty persons, because the town was once sanctified by being the residence of that number of holy men, to whom they have dedicated a small mosque, or oratory'.⁴

If *Kirk Kilise* stands really for *Kirkklar Kilise* it is

¹ Le Strange, *E. Caliphate*, p. 57. Sachau (*Am Euphrat und Tigris*, p. 88) refers the Forty group of Tekrit to a Christian original.

² Tobler, *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, ii, 833; de Brèves, *Voyages* (1605), p. 103; Goldziher, in *Globus*, lxxi (1897), p. 239; Conder in *Survey of Palestine*, ii, 270 ff. This tradition may well be true, but there are some half-dozen Moslem pilgrimages of the Forty in Palestine (Conder, *loc. cit.* v, 269). A 'Mosque of the Forty' at Seilun (Conder, *loc. cit.* ii, 368; Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Pal.* ii, 299) is an ancient building of doubtful origin, by some supposed to be a synagogue. Goldziher (*loc. cit.*) remarks on the frequency of Moslem *Forties* both in Syria and Egypt, citing for the latter a 'Forty' at Menzaleh, which he considers not of Moslem origin. Bernard the Wise (A.D. 867, ed. Wright, p. 24, mentions a monastery of the Forty outside the western gate of Alexandria, showing that the Christian cult came early to Egypt.

³ F. W. H. The 'Convent of the Forty' is mentioned and this derivation of the name of the town suggested by M. Christodoulos, '*Η Θράκη*', pp. 196, 245. The modern town of Kirk Kilise seems to have begun its existence as a road-station between Constantinople, Shumla, and Rustchuk: we know nothing of it in Byzantine times.

⁴ Walsh, *Journey*, p. 147; cf. Frankland, *Travels*, i, 70, where the holy men are qualified as *santons*.

obvious that other combinations may be interpreted in the same way. In particular Kirk Agach, the name of a town near Pergamon and of a village in the Troad,¹ may be translated either simply 'Forty Trees' or 'Tree of the Forty'. Sacred trees are common to Islam and Christianity, and one such has certainly given its name to the Thracian port of Dedeagach ('Saint's Tree').²

In the same category as the 'Convents of the Forty' falls the name of a village near Adalia called Kirk Jamisi ('Mosque of the Forty').³ Here there are, so far as I know, no Christian traditions.

The task of deciding between Christian and Moslem claims in such cases is, in view of the popularity of the 'Forty-Saint' group in both religions, very difficult. We have also to consider the third possibility, that places named after the Forty were originally associated not with saints at all, but merely with secular figures, brigands, ogres, *jinns*, *peris*, &c., as the Caves of the Forty near Inje Su in Cappadocia are connected with forty *jinns*.⁴ It is in fact most often impossible, owing to lack of evidence, to attribute the places named after the various forties to their rightful owners. Certain legends of various 'forties' were in the air, and became attached, for accidental or arbitrary reasons, to certain

¹ Tchihatcheff, *Bosphore*, p. 381.

² At Constantinople the great plane-tree with seven trunks near Buyuk Dere is called Kirk Agach (Byzantios, *Κωνσταντινούπολις*, ii, 157) as well as 'the Seven Brothers'. There seems to be a place called 'Forty Cypresses' near Eyyub (Hammer, *Constantinopolis*, ii, 37; von Prokesch-Osten, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, i, 430), and inside the city is a 'Forty Fountain' (*Kirk Cheshme*) or 'Fountain of the Forty' (Murray's *Constantinople*, p. 52). Further investigation may (or may not) bring these sites into connexion with the cult of the Forty Martyrs, who were venerated at the capital as elsewhere (*CP. Christiana*, iv, 134 f.).

³ Ormerod and Robinson, in *B.S.A.* xvii, 221: here the possessive case of *Jami* shows that the *Kirk* is used substantively. Kirk Jamisi is an ancient, but not, to judge from the inscriptions, a Christian site.

⁴ Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 357.

localities. Christian 'Forties' and their haunts are more likely than the others to attract the notice of western travellers. In some cases, as at Sarin in Pontus, the Christian pedigree may be regarded as proved; in others, *e.g.* the Kirklar Dagh above Amasia, an old city in the district of Sebaste, it is probable; in others again, like Haji Khalfa's Kirklar Dagh near Boli,¹ nothing approaching certainty can be reached. On general grounds we may perhaps prefer to give the Forties in the radius of Sebaste (Sivas) to Christianity, and possibly to make a tentative division assigning probable religious sites, such as ruined churches, and especially sites on lakes, since in the case of the Forty of Sebaste a lake was the scene of their martyrdom,² to Christian saints. Caves, on the other hand, are rather attributable, but not exclusively, to the secular figures; mountains are equally suited for both categories of Forties. But the character of each individual site must be decided on its own evidence.

As to the origins and development of Christian cults of the Forty Saints an instructive illustration, showing the extreme fluidity of folk-tradition in such matters, is to be found near Caesarea in Cappadocia. Here Paul Lucas³ was shown a crypt containing numerous bones, some of which were undecayed. This crypt seems to have been discovered by Christians, by whom it was associated with a group of Forty Virgin Martyrs. We may surmise that sainthood was predicated from the preservation of the bones, the traditional number Forty from their quantity, and their sex from some accidental circumstance, such as a dream.⁴ At the present day

¹ Tr. Armain, in Vivien de S. Martin's *Asie Mineure*, ii, 718.

² The lake of Beyshehr was, probably on this account, named after the Forty Martyrs in medieval times.

³ *Voyage dans la Grèce*, i, 139.

⁴ It is probable that this was due to the Armenian Christians, always an important element in the population of Caesarea; the

this sanctuary has been brought into line with better-known traditions, and service is celebrated in it on the feast-day of the Forty (male) Martyrs of Sebaste.¹

For Christians, every site marked by the discovery of a 'tomb of the Forty' would form a new centre of the cult, sending offshoots into the district. This is best shown in the case of Sebaste, from which the actual relics of the Forty Martyrs were widely distributed.² For the Mysian group,³ if these 'Forties' are of Christian origin,⁴ we can as yet point to no centre. For the Carian 'Forties' the following explanation may be offered. In Rhodes, as we learn from the Pilgrimage of Grünemberg (1486), there was a church of the Forty Martyrs with a vault containing not forty but twenty sarcophagi. This formed no obstacle to the pious credulity of the Rhodians, who assigned two saints to each sarcophagus. The relics were eventually thrown into the sea by the Turks.⁵ It is possibly to this centre

legend of Echmiadzin as given by Rycaut (*Greek and Armenian Churches*, pp. 398 ff.) speaks of a band of seventy virgin missionaries to Armenia, of whom forty died on their way thither: cf. Tavernier, *Voyages*, I, iii; Tournefort, letter xix; Tchamich, *Hist. of Armenia*, i, 161, where the number is given as thirty-seven.

¹ Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 312; Murray's *Asia Minor*, p. 51; Bernardakis's account in *Échos d'Orient*, xi (1908), p. 25, shows that the tradition of female saints is still current: [Qerqlar] on y voit un grand nombre de croix gravées sur le paroi d'un rocher vertical. La légende raconte que au temps des persécutions quarante jeunes filles chrétiennes s'étaient cachées dans une anfractuosité de rocher qui se trouve vis-à-vis et y avaient trouvé la mort. Les Chrétiens y viennent en pèlerinage le jour de la fête des Quarante Martyrs de Sébaste."

² Delehayé, *Culte des Martyrs*, p. 73.

³ *i.e.* the two 'Kirkklar' sites mentioned above (p. 392) and possibly the two 'Kirk Agach' sites cited on p. 398.

⁴ There is some slight presumption for this in the fact that a coast-village SS. *Quaranta* is marked near Lectum on the Italian portulans (Tomaschek, *Sitzb. Wien. Akad.* cxxiv, viii, 17).

⁵ Ed. Goldfriedrich, p. 52: 'Danach ritten wir zu einer Kirche, liegt am Meer, geheissen: zu den Vierzig Märtyrern. Dasselbst standen in einem tiefen Gewölbe noch zwanzig steinerne Särge: da haben

that we may affiliate the 'Forties' of the opposite mainland. At the site called Saranda near Loryma there is a tradition and some equivocal ruins of a church.¹ Of the ancient tomb near Knidos² no Christian traditions are recorded. Neither place is known to the medieval cartographers by the name of Saranda, which is consistent with our theory. Any one familiar with the *motifs* used in Greek hagiology can imagine with what readiness bones thrown up by the sea on this coast after the sacrilegious act of the Turks would be connected by Christian populations with the Forty Saints of Rhodes.

At the same time 'forty' cults can arise independently of such distributing centres. Cesnola was shown, near Cape Pyla in Cyprus, a cave containing a quantity of bones, which his guide said were those of forty saints: 'Up to within a few years ago it had been the custom of the peasants to make a pilgrimage to this cave accompanied by their priests on the anniversary of the ninth of March [the feast of the Forty of Sebaste], but the Greek archbishop of Cyprus . . . had ordered these pilgrimages to be discontinued.'³ However, an exactly similar Cyprian cave-cult of the Forty Saints still exists and maintains its relations with the church near S. Chrysostomos in the district of Cyreneia. Here the saints' bones have proved to be the fossilized remains of wild beasts.⁴

An abandoned Christian sanctuary of 'the Forty' in immer der genannten Heiligen je zwei nebeneinander in einem gelegen. Und wohl ein halb Jahr vordem waren die Türken in der Kirche gewesen und brachen die Särge auf und warfen der lieben Heiligen Gebeine in das Meer und zerschlugen und zerstachen alle geschnittenen und gemalten Bilder.'

¹ Chaviaras, in *Παρυασσός*, xiv, 537 ff.

² Halliday, in *Folk-Lore*, xxiii, 218.

³ *Cyprus*, p. 183.

⁴ M. H. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Gr. Sitten und Gebräuche auf Cypem*, p. 257. For similar remains in the same district which are, or were, attributed to the 'three hundred saints' see Hackett, *Church of Cyprus*, p. 421.

a Turkish district might become either secularized and considered a haunt of forty *jinns*, or, as at Sarin,¹ mohammedanized; its fate would largely depend on the supposed attitude (maleficent or beneficent) of its supernatural occupants towards the Turkish population.² But this hypothetical development does not preclude the possibility of a Turkish sanctuary of the Forty Saints having been from its origin Mohammedan, or a haunt of the forty *jinns* having been from its origin secular.

¹ The conversion by the Mevlevi of ' forty Christian monks ' who worked miracles in a cave at Sis in Cilicia (Eflaki, *Acts of the Adepts*, in Redhouse's *Mesnevi*, p. 22) looks like another instance.

² See above, p. 89, n. 5.

Haidar, Khoja Ahmed, Karaja
Ahmed¹

THE local account of the saint Haidar at Haidar-es-Sultan² is given by Crowfoot as follows: 'Haidar was the son of the king of Persia and came from Khorasan from a town named Yassevi; he was also called Khodja Ahmed and was the disciple of the famous Hadji Bektash. With the latter he travelled to Caesarea, and there took a Christian named Mēnē to wife,³ and together they came to the place of his tomb, where they begat children and died—the whole village now claiming descent from him.'⁴

The last clause makes clear the identity of Haidar as far as the village is concerned: he is their sainted ancestor. Whether, as Crowfoot suggests,⁵ he is confused with Haidar the father (not the son) of Ismail, the founder of the Safavi dynasty in Persia, is for present purposes immaterial. The Bektashi addition to the local legend consists, as we shall see, in the identification of Haidar with Khoja Ahmed Yasevi, who seems himself confounded with the Bektashi saint Karaja Ahmed: both Ahmeds have been adopted into the Bektashi cycle.

Ahmed of Yasi (in Turkestan) died in A.D.⁶ 1166–7 and had no connexion with Asia Minor or personally with Haji Bektash, since the latter died according to generally accepted accounts—the date of his death (1337) and

¹ Reprinted from *B.S.A.* xx, 120 ff.

² Above p. 52.

³ The survival of the name of the wife is extraordinary. In view of the oracular well which forms the chief attraction of the sanctuary (see above, p. 52), it seems worth suggesting that the Christian occupant (real or imaginary) of the site was S. Menas, who, on account of the popular derivation of his name from *μηνύω*, is looked on by the Orthodox as the revealer of things hidden (*cf.* Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 195).

⁴ *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xxx, 309.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 311.

⁶ Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, i, 71, n. 2.

even his existence have been questioned ¹—nearly two hundred years later. Ahmed Yasevi is, however, irrationally represented as the spiritual ‘Master’ (not, as is said at Haidar-es-Sultan, the pupil) of Haji Bektash and of a number of other dervishes,² who can at most have been influenced by his writings.³ The spiritual pedigree of Haji Bektash from Ahmed Yasevi is fostered by the Bektashi as a guarantee of their orthodoxy.

It is Karaja Ahmed, not Khoja Ahmed, who generally figures as the pupil of Haji Bektash in Bektashi legend. He is mentioned by Saad-ed-din as a saint of Orkhan’s reign : ‘The Magnificent *Carage Ahmed* descended of the offspring of several Kings in the Countrey of *Persia*. After he had made a journey to the City of *Gezib*, from thence he came into *Greece* [*i. e.* Rum, Asia Minor], and dwelt in a place nigh to *Ak Hisar* ; ⁴ his noble Sepulchre is there well known, and is a place of visit, or pilgrimage. Among the common people of the Countrey of *Greece* it is famous for a place of hearing prayer, and the very earth is profitable for evil diseases.’ ⁵

The seventeenth-century traveller Evliya Efendi mentions already as a fact the relation between Haji Bektash and Karaja Ahmed as that of master and pupil.⁶ It would seem that the tomb of Karaja Ahmed was occupied, like so many others, by the Bektashi in their

¹ Jacob, *Beiträge*, p. 2.

² Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 20; for the spiritual affiliation of Haji Bektash to Khoja Ahmed see also the ‘chain’ of the dervish orders by Abdi Efendi (d. 1783) in Mouradja d’Ohsson’s *Tableau*, ii, pl. 102.

³ This chronological difficulty is admitted by learned Bektashi; their version is that Khoja Ahmed foretold the coming of Haji Bektash and bequeathed him a book as a pledge.

⁴ The smaller of the two towns of this name, on the Sakaria.

⁵ Seaman’s *Orchan*, pp. 115–16.

⁶ He is spoken of as a Persian Prince (like the Haidar of Haidar-es-Sultan) who came to the court of Orkhan, was initiated by Haji Bektash, and at his death buried at Ak Hisar (*Travels*, ii, 21: *cf.* p. 215; at p. 20 ‘Kari (*sic*) Ahmed Sultan’ is said to have been one of the dervishes sent by Ahmed Yasevi from Khorasan into Rum).

prosperous period on the pretext that the saint was spiritual 'founder's kin'. Presumably under Bektashi auspices, the cult of Karaja Ahmed has spread widely from its original home on the Sakaria near Akhisar, where two or even three *tekkes* bear his name.¹ Ramsay cites two more in the district of Ushak,² and other reputed tombs of Karaja Ahmed exist in the great burial-ground at Skutari near Constantinople,³ and in Rumeli near Uskub at Tekke Keui.⁴

The confusion which seems to exist at Haidar-es-Sultan between Khoja Ahmed Yasevi and Karaja Ahmed is found also in Evliya, who says that Ahmed Yasevi, an ancestor of his own, was a *disciple* of Haji Bektash, and on the same page that Haji Bektash was instructed by a pupil of Ahmed Yasevi and married his daughter.⁵ The error arises from the familiar confusion between two persons of the same name, in this case Ahmed, borne by two eminent saints, one the alleged master, the other the alleged pupil, of Haji Bektash.

¹ (1) On the banks of the Sakaria near its junction with the Pursak (von Diest and Anton, *Neue Forschungen*, p. 28); (2) at Pashalar above Levke (von Diest, *Tilsit nach Angora*, p. 18); (3) just east of Tarakli (Skene, *Anadol*, p. 275).

² (1) Six hours SSW. of Ushak, three hours NW. of Geubek; (2) an hour from Liyen. The latter is a famous place of healing (Ramsay, *Pauline Studies*, p. 171). There is a village named Karaja Ahmedli south of Nefes Keui (Tavium). Quite possibly the original Kara ('black') or Karaja ('blackish') Ahmed was, like Haidar, an eponymous tribal ancestor, successive heads of the tribe bearing his name having been buried in various places. *Kizil* ('red') Ahmedli was the name of a tribe settled in the Kastamuni district; divisions of the same tribe are often differentiated by colour-epithets (see above, p. 128).

³ Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, iv, 604; cf. Evliya, *Travels*, I, ii, 81 ('Convent of Kara Ahmed Sultan'), 83 ('Convent of Karaja Ahmed Sultan'). There is now no convent attached to the tomb, which is, however, kept in repair and venerated. The Bektashi still lay claim to the saint, though this grave has passed into other hands.

⁴ See above, pp. 274 ff. below, p. 582 (No. 19). ⁵ *Travels*, ii, 20.

THE 'TOMB OF S. POLYCARP' ¹

INTRODUCTORY

THE history and authenticity of the so-called 'tomb of S. Polycarp' at Smyrna have lately formed the subject of a monograph by Père S. Lorenzo of the Order of S. Francis,² who claims to have discovered the real church and tomb of S. Polycarp in a vineyard at some distance from the site tacitly accepted hitherto both by the Greek and Latin communities. The first section of this chapter attempts to trace as far as possible the history of the traditional tomb, the second to discuss the antiquity of its traditions and the value of tradition in general at Smyrna, the third to discuss the anti-dervish movement of 1656 to 1676 and the history of the tomb, the fourth to establish a point in the topography of ancient Smyrna on evidence arising from, or closely connected with, the former discussions.

§ I. *The Traditional Tomb and its History*

The so-called 'tomb of S. Polycarp' stands prominent on a spur of the castle-hill immediately adjacent to the stadium where the saint is said to have suffered martyrdom in A. D. 166.³ The tomb is Mohammedan in form, a rectangular bier built in masonry, with gables at either end, plastered over, and painted green. Like many other Moslem saints' tombs, it is very large as compared with those of ordinary mortals (which adhere to the proportions of an average man), measuring 3·30 × 1·80

¹ Reprinted with additions from *B.S.A.* xx, 80 ff.

² *S. Polycarpe et son Tombeau*, Constantinople, 1911.

³ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* iv, 15, 17. For the date see Réville in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* iii (1881), pp. 369-381.

metres. It stands in the open air with cypresses at head and foot. Of the two trees the former is old and well-grown, forming a conspicuous landmark, and to it rags are affixed, in accordance with the well-known custom, by the humble clients of the saint. Both tomb and cypresses stand in a small enclosed cemetery with a roughly-built hut for the guardian.

A tomb of S. Polycarp at Smyrna is first mentioned in 1622, when the town was visited by the French missionary Père Pacifique. His description is as follows :

‘ Au lieu où la Ville estoit auant qu’estre ruinee,¹ y a vne petite Cabane comme vn hermitage, où loge vn Dernis [*for Deruis*], c’est vn Religieux Turc, & dans cette petite chambrette, il y a le Cercueil de saint Policarpe sans son Corps, il est couuert d’un drap de couleur brune, & sur vn bout d’iceluy est posee la Mitre Episcopale du saint qui est faicte en la maniere que i’ay cy dessus descript : . . . elle est d’une estoffe fort simple, mais ouragee dessus avec des broderies de fil de cotton à guise de Canetille, le nom de Dieu est escript en Arabe sur le front, *Alla*, elle est doublee dedans comme de taffetas Colombin pasle & passé, elle est vn peu entamee par vn coing, quelquevn y en ayant couppé en cachette, les Turcs la tiennent avec reuerence, parce qu’ils disent que saint Policarpe estoit vn Euangeliste de Dieu, & amy de leur Prophete Mahomet : il y a encore vne Calotte aupres, qu’on tient estre celle que le saint mettoit sur sa teste, i’ay tenu dans mes mains l’une & l’autre, ie diray pourtant en passant afin de desabuser ceux, qui comme le commun croiroient que cette Calotte fust aussi veritablement de saint Policarpe qu’est la Mitre qu’ils ne croyent plus, parce que ie sçay de boñe part que la veritable a esté prise, & que celle-cy est supposee, à ce que les Turcs ne s’en aperceussent, & *qui pie furatus est ipse mihi dixit* : celui qui a fait ce pieux larcin me le dit a moy-mesme.’²

It is plain that Père Pacifique regarded the mitre, and presumably the tomb also, as authentic. Stochove, ten

¹ *i. e.* among the ruins on the hill below the castle gate ; *cf.* Le Bruyn, *Voyage*, i, 79, quoted below, p. 424, note 6.

² *Voyage de Perse*, pp. 11 f.

years later, makes it abundantly clear that the ' mitre ' was no more than a dervish sheikh's cap or *taj* ;¹ his account is as follows :

' Avant que d'entrer dans le chasteau, nostre Janissaire nous mena dans un petit bastiment faict en forme de chappelle, où il nous disoit que Saint Jean Polycarpe estoit enterré, lequel aussi bien parmy les Turcs que parmy les Chrestiens, a la reputation d'avoir esté un Saint personnage. A l'entrée nous vismes un Dervis ou Religieux Turc, lequel nous voyant nous salüa honnestement, & nous ayant dict qu'il falloit quitter les souliers, nous mena au lieu où ils disent estre enterré ce Saint. Nous y vismes une tombe couverte de deux robes, l'une de camelot minime & l'autre de velour vert ; aux pieds il y avoit un baston ferré avec deux pointes, portant au milieu un croissant de Lune, semblable à ceux dont usent des pelerins Mahometans, qui vont visiter le sepulchre de leur prophete à la Mecque ; au chevet il y avoit la façon d'une mithre, ayant un rebord avec trois pointes, où estoit piqué à l'eguille en caracteres Arabesques, *la Hilla beilla, balla Mahemet resul balla . . .* ; ce que nous fit cognoistre l'erreur des Turcs, & que ces habits, baston, & mithre n'estoient point de ce Saint : mais de quelque malheureux Mahometan. Les Turcs portent un grand respect & une devotion particuliere à ce lieu, ils y tiennent tousjours quelques lampes allumées, et a chaque Vendredy plusieurs y viennent faire leurs prieres.'²

It is hardly necessary to remark that such a saint as S. John Polycarp has never existed. We have probably to reckon with a divergent Christian tradition as to the occupant of the tomb. La Boullaye (1653), who does not mention the tomb of S. Polycarp, indicates the existence of a grave of S. John at Smyrna, which is not mentioned by any other writer and is of course incompatible with the venerable church traditions placing S. John's tomb at Ephesus. His words are : ' S. Jean estant mort en l'Isle de Patmos, ses Disciples le trans-

¹ The supposed mitre is last mentioned by Du Loir (1654) as " vne vieille Mytre faite selon la figure des nostres, mais d'vne estoffe qui m'est inconnuë " (*Voyages*, p. 14).

² *Voyage*, pp. 17 f.

porterent a Smirne et l'enterrerent, suiuant la tradition des Grecs, j'ay veu le lieu.'¹

In all probability the older and essentially popular tradition of the Greeks referred the tomb to S. John, the attribution to S. Polycarp being due to the more learned opinion of the Latin clergy, who cannot be traced at Smyrna before the end of the sixteenth century. It is significant that the oldest Greek church of Smyrna (in the 'Upper Quarter') is dedicated to S. John,² while the Latin parish claims S. Polycarp for its patron. To the Turks S. John would doubtless be the more acceptable, since S. John *the Baptist*, having a recognized standing among Mussulmans,³ might be considered by them an 'evangelist of God'.

In these, the earliest and most detailed accounts of the tomb and relics of S. Polycarp at Smyrna, there is to an unprejudiced eye no outward trace of anything more than a Turkish saint-cult associated by Christians, to judge by Stochove, as much with S. John as with S. Polycarp. It was probably one of those ambiguous cults organized by the Bektashi dervishes which Christians were encouraged to frequent.⁴

Three notices of the tomb about the middle of the seventeenth century are of special interest⁵ as showing that at this date it passed from Moslem to Christian

¹ *Voyages*, p. 20.

² The present cathedral, dedicated to S. Photine (the woman of Samaria), is of more recent date and probably owes its origin to the still existing holy well associated not unnaturally with the saint.

³ Menasik-el-Haj, tr. Bianchi, in *Rec. de Voyages*, ii, 115, on the former church of S. John at Damascus.

⁴ Cf. below, p. 564 ff. on *Ambiguous Sanctuaries and Bektashi Propaganda*, especially no. 12. Near the tomb now shown as that of S. Polycarp or 'Yusuf Dede' is at least one grave marked as that of a Bektashi dervish by the twelve-sided 'mitre' (*taj*) of the order carved on its headstone. Bektashi mitres embroidered with the confession of faith, like that seen at Smyrna by Pacifique and Stochove, are mentioned by J. P. Brown, *Dervishes*, p. 151.

⁵ The tomb of Polycarp is mentioned also by Le Bruyn, Spon,

custody. Monconys, in 1648, does not mention the dervish guardian. The chapel was 'toute rompue et decouverte' and the only thing to be seen in it was a tomb like that of a Turkish sheikh.¹ D'Arvieux (1654-6) expressly states that the tomb was in Greek hands :

'Assez près de l'amphithéâtre [*i.e.* the theatre] sont les restes de l'Église de S. Jean. C'étoit la Cathedrale de Smirne. Elle paroît avoir été fort grande, & accompagnée d'un grand nombre de chapelles. . . . De toutes ces Chapelles, il en reste une seule assez entière, dans laquelle est un tombeau *bien gardé par des Religieux Grecs*, qu'ils disent être celui de S. Polycarpe.'²

Thomas Smith (1665) implies that the tomb and the humble two-roomed 'chapel' that contained it were in Christian hands and kept in some sort of repair :

'Sepulchrum *S. Polycarpi*, quod in latere montis versus Euro- austrum adhuc conservatur, *Graeci* die festo . . . solenniter in- visunt : situm est in quâdam aediculâ, ecclesiae forte sacello, alii, per quam illuc transeundum est, contiguâ. In hoc monumento instaurando, si ab impressionibus aeriis, si a *Turcis*, si a *Chris- tianis* Occidentalibus, qui fragmenta marmoris quasi tot sacras reliquias exinde tollunt, laedatur temereturque, laudabilis illorum collocatur opera, ollâ fictili quoque illic appositâ, in quam quisque ferè . . . illic ductus, pauculos aspros conjicit, ut in omne aevum perennet.'³

The change of ownership may have been due to the movement against dervish orders and superstitious cults promoted especially by the vizir Mohammed Kuprulu and the preacher Vani Efendi in the latter half of the seventeenth century.⁴ D'Arvieux' account is further important as helping to explain the ambiguity of Stochove's 'S. John Polycarp'. It is evident that a group of ruins, located by our authors rather vaguely in the

Wheler, and Tournefort, none of whose descriptions adds anything material to our knowledge of it. ¹ *Voyages*, i, 425.

² *Mémoires*, i, 50.

³ *Septem Ecclesiarum Notitia*, p. 53.

⁴ Especially under Mohammed IV (1648-87), see below, § 3.

vicinity of the castle-gate and the theatre, had for long been regarded as the remains of a great cathedral church dedicated to S. John.¹ The tomb and chapel of 'S. Polycarp' or 'S. John Polycarp' were included in this group of ruins, but their exact position is nowhere exactly indicated.

Pococke (1739) is the first author to refer clearly to the present 'tomb of Polycarp', which he locates accurately at the north-west corner of the stadium, that is, with at least the length of the latter between it and the considerable ruins known as the 'Church of S. John'. To Père S. Lorenzo belongs the credit of having first recognized this change of site. It seems at least probable that the traditional tomb of Polycarp moved from one end of the stadium to the other about the beginning of the eighteenth century,² and passed once more into Moslem hands. How this happened, whether, for example, the Turks stole the sarcophagus, or set up a rival tomb independently, we shall probably never know. The former is rather suggested by Pococke's account, which runs as follows :

'It is said that great disorders had been committed here by the Greeks at the time of his [Polycarp's] festival; and that a *cadi* laid hold on this pretence to get money, ordering that, in case any Christians came to it, the community of Christians should be obliged to pay such a sum; but as he could not obtain his end, he put up a stone turbant on it, as if it were the tomb of some Mahometan saint, by which he thought to have his revenge in preventing the Christians from ever resorting to it again, which hitherto has had its effect.'³

¹ See below, § 4.

² Such a change of site is by no means unprecedented. The tomb of S. Antipas at Pergamon, which was supposed in the thirties to be in the mosque called S. Sophia (C. B. Elliott, *Travels*, ii, 127), is now shown outside the so-called 'Church of S. John' (Lambakis, *Ἐπιτὰ Ἀστέρες*, p. 284). Here again the Turks probably made difficulties for Christians entering the mosque.

³ *Descr. of the East*, II, ii, 36. The whole story may, of course, be

The Kadi's action may have kept the Greeks away from the tomb for a time and officially ; but a century of tradition, aided doubtless by the natural cupidity of the guardian, eventually overrode all artificial obstacles, and down to our own day both Greeks and Latins have connected the tomb with the name of Polycarp and frequented it. At the same time the site of the 'chapel' seems to have been the scene of the official Greek service down to quite a late date. Stephan Schulz in 1753 speaks of the old two-roomed chapel as the church of S. Polycarp,¹ and von Prokesch-Osten in 1830 says that service was celebrated within living memory in an adjacent building bearing the same name.²

Our deductions as to the history of the traditional tomb are therefore somewhat as follows. As early as 1622 an empty sarcophagus³ inside a humble building was associated with S. Polycarp and revered by Greeks and Turks alike : the tomb was Mohammedan in form, and in charge of a dervish. About the middle of the seventeenth century it passed into Christian hands. In the eighteenth the sarcophagus seems to have been removed, or at least the cult transferred by the Turks to the site of the present tomb, while the supposed chapel continued to be revered by Christians. The prestige of the sarcophagus made the outwardly Turkish tomb still an object of reverence for Greeks, who were encouraged from interested motives by the custodian.

Christian popular tradition still associates the tomb with S. Polycarp, though the Greek service in his a fable to account for the Mohammedan form of the alleged Christian saint's tomb.

¹ *Reise*, in Paulus' *Sammlung der Reisen* (1801), vi, 105 ; Weber, commenting on this passage (in Steinwald, *Evang. Gemeinde zu Smyrna*, p. 30) identifies the 'chapel of S. Polycarp' with substructures of the stadium recently removed.

² *Denkwürdigkeiten*, i, 520, quoted below, § 4.

³ *Sans son corps* (Pacifique).

honour is now celebrated in the stadium, and Latin tradition, in consequence of Père S. Lorenzo's recent discoveries, is focussing on the vineyard site.

It is interesting to note that the Mohammedan side of the cult has created for itself a new cycle of legend, investigated by Père S. Lorenzo. The tomb is for Turks no longer the tomb of Polycarp, the 'friend of Mohammed', but of Yusuf Dede, a Moslem warrior who fell before the castle-walls and carried his head to the 'tomb of Polycarp'.¹ Both traditions were till recently reconciled by the guardian, who showed a bare spot of ground near the tomb as the burial-place of the Christian saint.² The spot where Yusuf fell, before the gates of the castle, is marked by a recent but promising precinct containing a young cypress and a thorn-bush, but as yet no formal tomb, only a heap of stones.³ This

¹ Saints who carried their own heads are common in Turkish as in Christian hagiology; for examples see Mirković, in *Wiss. Mitth. Bosnien*, i, 462; Evliya, *Travels*, I, ii, 68, II, 228; Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 228; Patsch, *Das Sandschak Berat*, p. 9. The theme affords a convenient explanation for the existence of two tombs attributed to the same saint.

² The spot formerly shown is now covered by the guardian's cottage (S. Lorenzo, p. 205).

³ The custom of throwing stones on graves, noticed in Asia Minor also by Schaffer (*Cilicia*, p. 29; cf. Bent, *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xx, 275), is in Herzegovina restricted to the graves of persons who have met their death by violence (Lilek, in *Wiss. Mitth. Bosnien*, viii, 272). Passers by threw stones on Goliath's grave (*Antoninus martyr, De Locis Sanctis*, ed. Tobler, p. 33 (xxxii)): the modern Yuruks (Garnett, *Turkish Life*, p. 202) and the Arabs of Syria (J. L. Porter, *Damascus*, p. 318) also throw stones on graves. Tristram (*E. Customs*, p. 101) says the cairns are to keep jackals away, but later (pp. 102-3) says passers by curse the murderer as they throw the stone: Georgeakis and Pineau (*Folk-Lore de Lesbos*, p. 323) add that they should also pray for the murdered man; in Lesbos the cairns are called *ἀναθεματίστριαι*. The practice may have arisen from a desire to hold down the uneasy ghost. Solomon walled up *jinn*s in the pillars of the vaults under the Haram, and if a passer by fails to throw a stone, the *jinn*s catch him (de Vogüé, *Syrie*, p. 204).

is said to mark the spot where the saint's head is buried. It is instructive to remark that the negro village on the castle-hill, of which Yusuf has become the tutelary saint, is of recent immigrants: it is hence apparently that the new religious impetus has come which has swept the old tomb of Polycarp into its orbit. A dream come true, a prayer fulfilled, or some such accidental happening, is probably accountable. It is also to be noticed, in view of 'survival' theories based on the coincidence of festivals, that the festival of Yusuf is celebrated in June¹ and that of his predecessor Polycarp in February.

§ 2. *The Value of Tradition at Smyrna*

A reputed tomb of S. Polycarp, probably, as we have seen, not always at the same site, has thus been shown at Smyrna for nearly three centuries, that is, throughout the modern history of the town. The validity or otherwise of its claims to earlier traditions can only be conjectured from general probabilities. It is not safe to attach overmuch weight to 'tradition', especially at Smyrna. In such identifications as that of the tomb of S. Polycarp we have throughout to remember that irrational speculation, based on dreams and other accidental circumstances, normally plays a large part. Indeed, religious tradition in the East is quite as easily manufactured as perpetuated, and varies in the most arbitrary manner, even without an apparent cause, such as a break in the history of a community.

In the case of the tomb of S. Polycarp, it is *a priori* extremely unlikely that a tradition has survived even from the Middle Ages. One of the many long blanks in the history of Smyrna extends from the sack of the city by Timur (1402) to the renaissance of the seventeenth century. Our sole glimpse of the city in the

¹ S. Lorenzo, p. 203.

intervening period, which is afforded by Cepio's account of the Venetian sack in 1472, shows it as a purely Turkish place.¹

As to the Middle Ages it is true that Sherif-ed-din, the historian of Timur, says that Smyrna was in his time a place of pilgrimage for Christians :² but this need not refer to the cult, still less the traditional grave, of S. Polycarp.³ Of the cult during the Frankish occupation (1344 to 1402), the only trace seems to be the fact that all known relics of S. Polycarp can be traced to Malta,⁴ the later seat of the Knights of S. John, from whom Timur took Smyrna in 1402 : there is thus a possibility that these relics were from Smyrna. In the fairly voluminous literature of the Frankish occupation there is no mention of a tomb, relics, or cult of S. Polycarp. If the relics then existed, they were probably preserved in some church within the walls of the Knights' castle beside the harbour, which was the only part of the city in the hands of the Christians.

When Smyrna emerges from the obscurity of the Middle Ages, which is not before the early years of the seventeenth century, the names of S. John and S. Polycarp are applied to existing monuments and sites absolutely at random. The following are associated with S. John :

(1) A cave (near S. Veneranda, in the neighbourhood of the Jews' cemetery) to which he was said to have retired : this was early appropriated by the Kadi to serve as a cistern.⁵

¹ *Ap. Sathas, Μνημ. Ἑλλ. Ἰστ.* vii, 294.

² *Tr. Pétis de la Croix*, iv, 46.

³ In the thirteenth century an *eikon* of Christ was greatly revered there (*G. Acrop.*, p. 56).

⁴ S. Lorenzo, *op. cit.*, pp. 285-90. Two late fifteenth-century pilgrims, Joos van Ghistele (*T Voyage* (1483), p. 335) and Grünemberg (*Pilgerfabrt* (1486), p. 51) mention the head of S. Polycarp amongst the relics at Rhodes.

⁵ *Stochove, Voyage*, p. 20 ; this is probably the modern *Κρυφία*

(2) A font used by S. John for baptism was shown on the castle-hill in the middle of the eighteenth century.¹

(3) The mosque in the castle was by some supposed to be a transformed church of S. John.²

(4) The columns of Namazgiah in the Jewish quarter were traditionally said to be those of a church of S. John.³

(5) 'A mile from the city' (direction not specified, but not, so far as one can judge, on the castle-hill) were the walls of a church also, according to some, dedicated to S. John.⁴

(6) In spite of the long medieval tradition of S. John's burial at Ephesus, the 'tradition of the Greeks' in the seventeenth century pointed out his tomb at Smyrna.⁵

With S. Polycarp were similarly associated, besides the tomb which we are discussing :

(1) A 'prison', apparently near S. Veneranda, but the locality is not exactly indicated.⁶

Παναγία, a chapel in a subterranean watercourse (Oikonomos (1809), *Τὰ Σωζόμενα*, i, 338; Weber, in *Jahrbuch*, xiv, 186 f.).

¹ Schulz (1753), *Reise*, p. 105.

² Le Bruyn, *Voyage* (Paris, 1725) i, 74; Spon, i, 232; Earl of Sandwich, *Voyage*, p. 308; Schulz, p. 104. In Arundell's time the same building was said to have been dedicated to the twelve Apostles (*Asia Minor*, ii, 394): it has also been called the church of S. Polycarp (see below). The real dedication may have been to S. Demetrius (as Fontrier, *Rev. Ét. Anc.* ix, 114, basing on *Acta et Diplom.* i, 52), if, indeed, the building was not, as it has every appearance of being, a mosque from its origin.

³ Oikonomos, *Τὰ Σωζόμενα*, i, 337: these columns have also been said to belong to (a) a 'Palace of Alexander' (De Burgo, *Viaggio*, i, 461), and (b) the Homereion (*Museum Worsleyanum*, ii, 43).

⁴ T. Smith, *Notitia*, p. 53: '*Franciscani templum nuncupant; forte D. Johanni olim dedicabatur.*'

⁵ La Boullaye, *Voyages* (1653), p. 20, quoted above, p. 409. The author does not mention the tomb of Polycarp, and is probably alluding to it under this name.

⁶ De Burgo, *Viaggio*, i, 461: is this Stochove's 'Cave of S. John'?

(2) A tree on the castle-hill, which had grown from the saint's staff.¹

(3) The mosque in the castle is said by Oikonomos to have been a church dedicated to S. Polycarp,² by others, as we have seen, to S. John or the Apostles.

(4) In 1851 a mutilated statue lying on the ground near the castle was pointed out as that of S. Polycarp.³

The wholly speculative nature of the identifications made at Smyrna during the seventeenth and later centuries is shown best of all by the variety of 'traditions' current as to the conspicuous group of ruins on the acropolis hill between the castle gate and the stadium. Three travellers (d'Arvieux, Thévenot, and de Burgo) call this group of ruins a church of S. John, three others (Le Bruyn, Tournefort, and Lucas⁴) a church of S. Polycarp.⁵ The former identification seems certainly old,⁶ though probably not authentic. D'Arvieux, as we

¹ Des Hayes (1621), *Voyage*, p. 343: 'Il y a vn arbre que l'on dit estre venu du baston de *Saint Polycarpe*, Euesque de ce lieu, qu'il planta, quand il fut pris pour estre martyrisé.' The tree of S. Polycarp is called by Stochove a terebinth, by Spon (i, 232) a cherry, and by the botanist Tournefort a *micocoulier* or lotus.

² *Tὰ Σωζόμενα*, i, 337: 'Ἐπάνωθεν δὲ τοῦτου [*sc.* τοῦ ἀμφιθεάτρου] στέκει καὶ μέρος ἰκανὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ ἁγίου Πολυκάρπου, μεταμορφωμένης εἰς ἤδη ἔρημον τσαμίον [*mosque*], ὅπου ἦτο καὶ ὁ τόπος τοῦ μαρτυρίου καὶ ὁ τάφος αὐτοῦ. So also Sestini, *Lettres* (1789), iii, 10. 'The only mosque on the hill was that inside the castle walls which is marked 'Church of S. Polycarp' in Admiralty charts of 1834.

³ Walpole, *Ansayrii*, i, 25.

⁴ *Voyage fait en 1714*, i, 154.

⁵ The distinction may be due to a discrepancy in 'tradition' between Greeks and Armenians: similarly at Ephesus certain ruins are associated by the Armenians with S. John the Divine, by the Greeks with S. Panteleëmon, each community holding service there on the appropriate day (Lambakis, *Ἐπὶ Ἀστέρες*, p. 107). A church at Angora is similarly associated both with S. Clement and S. John (Perrot and Guillaume, *Explor. de la Galatie*, p. 271), probably for the same reason. At Smyrna the S. John dedication, as more popular, is probably more ancient.

⁶ A cathedral church of S. John outside the precincts of the sea

have noted above,¹ seems to compromise by taking the chapel of S. Polycarp as part of the 'Church of S. John', as Stochove did by fusing S. John and S. Polycarp into one person. A seventh authority, Edward Melton (1672), who describes unmistakably a conspicuous portion of the group of ruins,² considers it either a church of S. Polycarp or a temple of Janus.³ Others have called the same ruin a 'Judicatorium',⁴ a 'Homereion',⁵ the 'Palagio del Consiglio',⁶ and the 'Room of the Synod'.⁷ Drummond (1744) doubts whether to call it a Homereion, a public library, or a temple of Janus. Prokesch (1830) accepts it as a church of Polycarp. Seventeenth-century classical archaeology at Smyrna, probably initiated by William Petty in 1634,⁸

castle, is mentioned in the Frankish period at Smyrna (1344-1402) by the contemporary *Anon. Romanus* (in Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.* iii, 364) : 'Era una Chiesa antiquissima, la quale hao nome Santo Ianni. Dicesi che lo biato Santo Ianni la edificò. Questa Chiesa fo lo Vescovato de quella Terra, nanti cha fossi destrutta la Cittate. . . . Po' la destruttione era rimasta campestre.' This church lay *juxta viam* as one went to the (upper) castle (*Joh. Vitodurani Chronicon*, ed. Eckhart, *Corpus Hist. Med. Aev.* i, 1909). ¹ P. 410.

² *Zee- end Land-Reizen*, p. 232 : 'Van de twee zijden gelijk als in Kapellen door kleine muurtjens, die noch over eind staan, afgescheiden zijn' ; cf. below, § 3.

³ Tavernier's church of S. Polycarp near the sea, otherwise called the temple of Janus (*Voyages*, p. 32), is probably a confusion with the above identification : his description is almost exactly Melton's. The building generally known as the temple of Janus (Duloir, p. 15 : La Boullaye, p. 20 ; Spon, i, 234 ; Le Bruyn, i, 79, &c.) and figured in Wheler's cut, stood on the low ground north of the city. Spon called it a Homereion and Stochove apparently a temple of Diana. Its identity seems to have been fixed (Le Bruyn, i, 79) by the discovery of a 'statue of Janus,' probably a double herm. It may still be doubted whether the building was more than a Turkish *turbe* built of old blocks.

⁴ T. Smith, p. 53.

⁵ Rycaut, *Greek and Armenian Churches*, p. 41 ; Alex. Drummond, (1754), *Travels*, p. 116.

⁶ Gemelli Careri (1693), *Giro del Mondo*, i, 216.

⁷ Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, II, ii, 36.

⁸ Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles*, p. 11.

is in the same empiric stage. The celebrated bust at the castle-gate figures in various authors as (1) Helen of Troy,¹ (2) Semiramis,² (3) the Amazon Smyrna,³ and (4) Apollo,⁴ not to mention (5) the Turkish legendary heroine Coidasa,⁵ or Kadifé.⁶

It is apparent that the identifications made during this period, religious and secular alike, are simple guesswork, varying with the guide's fancy, and resting on no tradition inherited from the Middle Ages. The identification of the ruin or group of ruins called the church of S. John is the only one which is known to date from medieval times.⁷

§ 3. *The Anti-dervish Movement of 1656-76*

At all times in Turkish history the dervish orders have exercised a considerable, if ill-defined, influence over certain sections of the population. At some periods, *e.g.*, at the end of the sixteenth century,⁸ political and other combinations have enhanced this influence to such an extent as to make them potentially important allies or dangerous enemies to the civil government. At the period we have mentioned one dervish-order, the Bektashi, set the seal on their ascendancy by changing their already existing secret connexion with the

¹ F. Arnaud (1602), in de Vogüé, *Florilegium*, p. 471; Stochove, *Voyage*, p. 19.

² Le Bruyn, *Voyage*, i, 75; Spon, *Voyage*, i, 230.

³ Tournefort, *Lett.* xxii; Pococke, II, ii, 36.

⁴ Monconys, *Voyages*, i, 424.

⁵ Rycaut, *Greek and Armenian Churches*, p. 39.

⁶ Carnoy and Nicolaidis, *Folk-Lore de Constantinople*, p. 16 ff.

⁷ The modern identification of ruins recently discovered in the vineyard by Père S. Lorenzo thus falls to the ground in so far as it is based on the travellers' reports I have attempted to summarize. The ruins themselves are indeterminate, and the supposed tombstone of S. Pionius (S. Lorenzo, p. 315) no more than a portion of a granite bench inscribed (not ΠΗΝΗΥ but) -ΛΗΝΗ: it is possibly from a tomb-edra put under the protection of Sipyrene (*cf.* C.I.G. 3385-7 incl.).

⁸ See below, p. 611.

Janissaries into an official one.¹ This official connexion, backed by the sanction of the superstitious classes of the population, made the Janissary-Bektashi combination a very dangerous one during the succeeding period of weak monarchs and decadent national *moral*, and it continued to embarrass the Turkish government down to the abolition of the Janissaries and the fall of the Bektashi in 1826.

Recrudescence of troubles with the Janissaries are one of the chief internal causes of the decay of the Ottoman power in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the seventeenth Osman II (1617-21) and Ibrahim (1640-8) made vain efforts to curtail their power, only to become their victims.² If we can point to one interlude of national revival, it is in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, notable for the last important extension of the Ottoman empire, the conquest of Crete. The cause of this revival lies, not in the ability of the sultan (Mohammed IV), but in that of his vizirs; it dates from the appointment of the elder (Mohammed) Kuprulu in 1656 and ends with the death of his son Ahmed in 1676. With the turn of the century the Janissary-Bektashi combination is again all-powerful.

The Kuprulus, father and son, attempted, not without temporary success, to make a stand against the power of the Janissaries in politics and the extraordinary prevalence of heterodoxy and superstition in religion, much of it due to dervish (*sufi*) influence, which threatened to undermine the Mohammedan faith in Turkey. A concrete instance of the expansion of the dervish sects about this time is afforded by the fact that one Kadri sheikh, Ismail Rumi (d. 1643), founded no less than forty-eight convents.³ Rycout gives a long account of the numerous heterodox sects existing about

¹ D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, iii, 325.

² Pouillet, *Nouvelles Relations*, i, 307.

³ Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii, 77.

this time, several of which, it is curious to note, were strongly impregnated with Christian ideas. Misri Efendi a celebrated Khalveti sheikh of Brusa, seems, like the founder of the Mevlevi, to have had leanings towards Christianity: he is said to have frequented the bishop of Brusa and openly to have commended the Gospel.¹ A sheikh of Akhisar, whose name and order have not come down to us, is said to have been converted by an Arabic translation of the Gospel² and to have suffered martyrdom for Christianity in 1649 with twenty-two of his followers.³ This particular tendency is no doubt due on the one hand to the permeation of Turkish society by Christian renegades and on the other to intermarriage with Christian women. The general falling away from the principles of Islam is to be attributed to closer contact with Europe and decreasing conviction of the invincibility of Turkish arms, and, consequently, of the unique position of the Mohammedan faith.

The Kuprulu vizirs, regarding with apprehension these ominous symptoms, made a determined effort to root out the disease. Mohammed, called to office late in life for the express purpose of quelling an unusually dangerous rebellion of the Janissaries (1656), at once asserted his authority. Four thousand persons implicated in the movement, including several influential dervishes, were at once executed by his orders⁴ and his

¹ Cantimir, *Hist. Emp. Oth.* ii, 228 f.

² For this see further Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 141.

³ Carayon, *Rel. Inéd. de la Compagnie de Jésus*, pp. 228 ff.; cf. Pacifique, *Voyage de Perse*, p. 54, for an account of two converted dervishes martyred in Rhodes. Cf. Rycaut, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 64. The beginnings of this movement towards Christianity may be traced very much further back (see Jacob, *Bektaschijje*, p. 29, and Hauser's note on p. 146 of his edition of Du Fresne Canaye's *Voyage*).

⁴ Hammer-Hellert, *op. cit.* xi, 17; d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, iv, 559; Rycaut, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 65; cf. the same writer's *Hist. of the Turks*, p. 81 (*s. a.* 1649). Evliya says 400,000 rebels were killed in Anatolia by Kuprulu (I, i, 156).

influence was felt throughout the empire till his death. During his vizirate we hear vaguely of action against the dervish orders as such, apparently discriminating against the Mevlevi.¹ La Guilletière says that his son banished all dervishes in the European provinces to Asia Minor: in conformity with this order, the Parthenon at Athens, exploited according to him by dervishes as the centre of a superstitious cult, became once more an orthodox house of prayer.² A Bektashi (?) convent at Adrianople, long notorious for its scandals, was razed to the ground.³

In the vizirate of the younger Kuprulu, Ahmed, who followed his father's policy, appeared an important ally in Vani Efendi, a persuasive preacher of the strictest Sunni principles, who obtained a great influence over the orthodox Sultan. As a member of the Ulema party, Vani was the determined foe of the dervish orders, always suspected of heresy by the stricter Mussulmans.⁴

¹ T. Smith in Ray's *Voyages*, ii, 58; d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, ii, 311; Ubicini, *Turquie*, i, 110; Tournefort (letter xiv) ascribes the movement to Murad IV, probably wrongly, since the Mevlevi were considerably favoured in this reign (Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* ix, 257, 316; d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, ii, 307) though they seem to have been implicated in the deposition (1648) of Sultan Ibrahim (Hammer-Hellert, ix, 285: *cf.* xi, 5). Stern (*Die Moderne Türkei*, p. 117) merely follows Hammer in his account of this persecution of the Mevlevi.

² See above, pp. 14-16.

³ Rycaut, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 69; *cf.* Jacob, *Beiträge*, p. 15.

⁴ On Vani Efendi see Hammer-Hellert, *op. cit.*, xi, 162 f., xii, 191, and xviii, 103. He was a native of Van and rose to eminence about 1664; after the siege of Vienna (1683), at which his prayers proved unsuccessful, he was banished to Kestel, near Brusa, where he died the following year. Contemporaries estimate him very differently. Hammer regards him as a great hypocrite and a sworn enemy of Jews and Christians (*op. cit.* xii, 191); his famous religious argument with Panayotes Nikusses (Sakkeliou in *Δελτίον 'Ιστορ. 'Εταιρείας*, iii, 235; *cf.* Cantimir, ii, 61), being written from the Greek side, shows him in the worst light. But the less-known discussion with Sir Thomas Baines, reported by Coval (*Diaries*, pp. 269 f.), exhibits him as a very liberal-minded man, at least to Protestant (as 'non-idolatrous') Christianity.

His activity, which seems to date from 1664, was the religious counterpart of the political measures of the Kuprulus ; he opposed lawlessness in religion as they in politics. A strict Puritan, he made a strong stand against the mystic *sufi* doctrines professed by many members of the upper classes and the cult of saints and other superstitions in vogue among the lower. In 1670 he forbade the selling of wine,¹ laxity in regard to which has always been regarded as characteristic of the *sufi* sects. He banished the Khalveti dervish Sheikh Misri of Brusa and the Kadri Karabash Ali of Skutari, and condemned the mystic poets of his time.² He made an effort to abolish the piping of the Mevlevi,³ and the public exercises of the dervishes in general.⁴ His attempt to stamp out the superstitious cult of Kanbur Dede near Khavsa⁵ in Thrace is typical of his general policy and that of the Kuprulu vizirs : it is in all probability paralleled by unrecorded action of the same sort elsewhere. The ' tomb of Polycarp ' is transferred from the keeping of Moslem dervishes to Greek monks by 1657.⁶ The change may well have been due to the politico-religious movement we have described.

§ 4. *The Ruins on the Castle-hill*

We turn now to examine the ruins near the castle-gate and the theatre. The general position of this group of ruins is made certain by a consensus of seventeenth century authors of whom de Burgo and Tourne-

¹ Hammer-Hellert, *op. cit.* xi, 335.

² *Ibid.* xii, 45. For Misri see further Cantimir, *op. cit.* ii, 218 ff., 228 ff. ; Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iii, 312.

³ Rycaut, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 68.

⁴ Covell, *Diaries*, p. 269 (' about 6 yeares since ' in 1676) ; but the Mevlevi were back into imperial favour by Covell's time (*ibid.*, p. 168).

⁵ Hammer-Hellert, *op. cit.* xi, 250 (1667) ; the cult is probably identical with that of Sari Saltik at Eski Baba, below, pp. 431-2).

⁶ The date of d'Arvieux' departure from Smyrna.

fort are the clearest.¹ The ruins included (1) the so-called chapel of S. Polycarp, a building of no pretensions, containing two compartments, and (2) near this and south-east of it² the conspicuous ruin shown in Le Bruyn's plate³ as a large arch or apse flanked by tower-like projections. By some authors both these buildings are considered as parts of the cathedral of S. John,⁴ while by others the second is regarded as a separate building and called by many names, of which, as distinctive, we shall adopt that of 'Judicatorium'.⁵ The whole group of ruins seems to have been a good deal excavated by amateurs⁶ and finally used as a quarry by the Turks in the latter half of the seventeenth century for the building of Sanjak Kale (1656) and certain mosques.⁷ But considerable remains, especially of the 'Judicatorium', existed into the early part of the nineteenth century and are perhaps indicated in Storari's map⁸ (c. 1855).

As regards the 'Judicatorium' we are well documented. Besides Le Bruyn's drawing we have a con-

¹ The former places them 200 paces from the castle (i, 460) and 100 from the 'amphitheatre' (i, 461).

² Pococke, II, ii, 36.

³ Reproduced in *B.S.A.* xx, Pl. XI.

⁴ Certainly d'Arvieux (i, 50) (followed by Thévenot) and von Prokesch-Osten (quoted below).

⁵ Above, § 2, p. 418.

⁶ Le Bruyn, i, 79:—'A une petite lieue de la Ville, en allant vers le Château, on trouve, à ce que l'on croit, l'endroit où étoit l'ancienne Smyrne [*cf.* Pacifique, quoted above, § 1, *ad init.*]; on y voit aussi encore quelques restes d'Antiquitez. C'est autour de-là qu'on trouve sous terre la plûpart des Statuës, comme il arriva dans le tems que je demourois à Constantinople' [here follows an account of four statues sent to the French king, probably those mentioned in Gronovius *Mem. Cosson.* p. 36]. For other digging in this neighbourhood about the same period, see Galland's *Journal*, ii, 214 (1673) and *cf.* Omont, *Miss. Archéol.* i, 209 (1680).

⁷ *Cf.* G. de Burgo (1686), i, 460:—della gran chiesa di S. Gio. Apostolo non resta altro che le fondamenta, hauendo gli Turchi portate via le pietre per fabbricare gli Castelli alla marina, sicome anche alcune Moschee.'

⁸ Reproduced in *B.S.A.* xx, Pl. X, 2.

temporary description by Smith, a plan by Drummond, and detailed notes by Pococke and von Prokesch-Osten. Smith's account is as follows :

‘[Prope sepulchrum Polycarpi exstat] saxeam aedificium, quod judicatorium fuisse videtur, tria conclavia habens eidem solo insistentia, quorum medium duodecim fere ab omni latere passuum est. Frontispicium ipsius ornarunt quatuor columnae, quarum solae bases manent.’¹

Pococke says of it :

‘[There is a tradition that the cathedral church was built on the north side of the circus, which seems probable, there being some ruins that look like the remains of such a building ;] and to the south east of it there is a fabric of three rooms, which had a portico before it, the pillars of which are taken away . . . probably the synod room of the archbishop, whose house might have been between this and the church.’²

By far the clearest account of the building is Drummond's, who, though in doubt what to call it, took the trouble to secure a plan and measurements. The building is divided into three parallel compartments, communicating with each other by doorways in the party-walls. The whole was prefaced by a portico of four columns *in antis* (all missing). The central of the three compartments opened on the porch by a doorway, the others by windows. The dimensions of the building ‘within the walls’ were 50 × 27 feet, of the ‘temple’ 16 × 27 feet, and of the ‘cloister’ 13 × 27 feet. The main entrance was 10 feet wide, the side doors 3½, and

¹ *Septem Ecclesiarum Notitia*, pp. 53 f.

² *Descr. of the East*, II, ii, 36. The Earl of Sandwich (*Voyage*, p. 308) makes the relative positions of the buildings rather clearer : ‘Descending this hill [from the castle], on the south-west side, you discover an ancient building of large square stones very well cemented together, vulgarly called Homer's School [*i.e.* our “Judicatorium”] . . . A little lower is a small chapel consecrated to Saint Polycarp, whose sepulchre is to be seen at a small distance from it . . . Near this chapel are the remains of a stadium.’

the windows 3 feet. The walls were 4 feet thick.¹ There are some discrepancies in these measurements, but the general idea is given by the plan.

Von Prokesch-Osten's account of the same building, under the name of 'Chapel of S. Polycarp', shows that it did not suffer materially in the next hundred years :

'[Das Kirchlein des Heiligen Polykarpus] hoch auf dem westlichen Abfall des Schlossberges gelegen ist. Noch leben Viele, die sich des Gottesdienstes darin erinnern. Es bestand aus drei Räumen, länglich und klein, finster und enge, voll Nischen und Gewölben, und war aus Granitblöcken des Schlosses gebaut worden. In der linken Capelle soll der Predigtstuhl, in der mittleren ein Gnadenbild gestanden haben. Der Eingang ging durch einen von Säulen getragenen, bedeckten Vorhof. Die Säulen sind verschwunden, aber die Bogen greifen noch aus den Mauern vor.'²

From all these descriptions we gather a perfectly clear idea of the plan of the building. As to the elevation, for which Le Bruyn's drawing is our only source, we can only be certain that the central compartment was higher than the others. This arrangement, as suggesting a nave and aisles, has led to the supposition that the building was a church. Nothing in the plan, however, warrants that supposition : the absence of an apse is conclusive against it. The position, moreover, outside the medieval citadel and at the same time remote from the port, is not a likely one for a cathedral. All the buildings in this direction seem to belong to ancient, not to medieval, Smyrna.

¹ *Travels* (London, 1754), pp. 116 f. (plan faces p. 118).

² *Denkwürdigkeiten*, i, 520; see also this author in *Jahrbücher der Literatur* (Vienna), lxxvii (1834), *Anzeigerbl.*, p. 62. The last vestiges of this building are marked on Storari's Plan of Smyrna (1855) as *Ruine*, between the castle gate and the south-east end of the stadium. Fontrier (*Rev. Ét. Anc.* ix, 114) says that this site is now occupied by a vineyard in which stone water-pipes have been found. The vineyard mentioned is the site of Père S. Lorenzo's supposed church and tomb of S. Polycarp.

It is further evident that our seventeenth-century authorities saw their 'church of S. John' in a great complex of ruined building, of which the 'Judicatorium', if included at all, is but a portion. De Burgo, for instance, gives the dimensions of the 'church of S. John' as 158×38 paces¹ or nearly as large as the court of the great mosque at Damascus. Smith's 'chapel of S. Polycarp' is joined to the 'Judicatorium' by a 'long series of vaults set in a row', evidently interpreted by some as the remains of the great church. Another interpretation is possible.

The late Dr. Weber, in his minute and learned study of the aqueducts of Smyrna, traces the 'high-pressure' aqueduct of Kara-Bunar step by step up to the very saddle of the castle hill where the 'Judicatorium' stood.² I have myself seen stone pipes from it hereabouts (in the vineyard of Père S. Lorenzo's discoveries),³ and in recent times there has come to light at some spot on the castle hill an inscription⁴ duplicating C.I.G. 3147 and recording repairs early in the reign of Hadrian to an aqueduct known from C.I.G. 3146 to have been built about A.D. 80.⁵ The exact provenance of C.I.G. 3146, 3147, is unknown, but the finding of the second copy of the latter on the castle hill is strong evidence for connecting all three, not (as Dr. Weber)⁶ with the lower (Ak-Bunar), but with the upper (Kara-Bunar)

¹ *Viaggio*, i, 461.

² *Jahrbuch*, xiv, 4 ff.

³ Cf. Fontrier, *Rev. Ét. Anc.* ix, 114, cited above.

⁴ *Μουσείον*, 1880, p. 139 (181), now in the Greek Museum at Smyrna:—'Τραιανου | υδατος αποκα|τασταθέντος | υπό Βαιβίου Τούλλου|ανθυπάτου.' The text is a duplicate of C.I.G. 3147 = Dittenberger, *Orient. Gr. Inscr.* no. 478, now at Trinity College, Cambridge. For the date see Weber, *loc. cit.*, p. 174.

⁵ For this date see Weber, *loc. cit.*, and Dittenberger, *Orient. Gr. Inscr.* no. 477. Smith (p. 53) found a dedication to Hadrian built into the 'chapel of S. Polycarp'.

⁶ *Jahrbuch*, xiv, 167, 174. Dr. Weber seems to have been biassed by his opinion that the temple of Zeus Akraios stood on 'Windmill Hill'.

aqueduct. Dr. Weber found no trace of any aqueduct within the walls of the fortress, but odd blocks of stone piping, apparently from the Kara-Bunar aqueduct, have been discovered near the theatre, and in the Upper Quarter of the Greeks,¹ both on the slopes of the castle hill.

It is tempting to suggest that the 'Judicatorium' formed the ornamental terminus of the Kara-Bunar aqueduct or *Aqua Traiana*. The high site on the saddle of the castle hill was particularly fitted for one of these buildings, generally called *nymphæa*, which served the double purpose of public fountains and *dividicula* or points for the distribution of water by smaller channels to different parts of a town. The three 'narrow and dark' chambers of the 'Judicatorium' may have been cisterns or settling chambers for the water.

Fine specimens of this class of monument are to be found elsewhere in Asia Minor, at Aspendus, and especially Side.² The 'exedra of Herodes' at Olympia is a monument of the same order. If, as is not impossible, such a building stood on the castle hill at Smyrna, and especially if it formed one end of a public open space such as an *agora*,³ the mistake of the earlier travellers is readily explained. The debris of such a group of buildings, with its colonnades and lines of shops and the triple building at one end, might easily suggest an immense ruined church with a number of fallen side-chapels and the chancel still standing. But excavation alone can turn such conjectures into proof.

¹ Weber, *loc. cit.*, pp. 19 f.

² Durm, *Baukunst der Römer*, pp. 168 ff.: Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, i, Pl. xxx (Side).

³ For an *agora* in a similar position between lower town and citadel we may compare those of Assos and Pergamon. Ramsay (*Seven Churches*, p. 260, cf. Calder in *Studies in History and Art, &c.*, p. 104) conjectures that the Golden Street of Smyrna ended in the neighbourhood of our hypothetical *agora*

SARI SALTİK ¹

§ 1. At Kaliakra

THE legend of Sari Saltik, set down by Evliya Efendi in the middle of the seventeenth century from particulars retailed to him by the dervishes of Kaliakra (Kilgra) near Varna,² is an example of the growth of religious myth not without value for the appreciation of similar tales in Greek and other mythologies. It has also a more positive interest as shedding some light on that very obscure subject, the influence of the dervish orders on Turkish religion and politics. The main points of the story are as follows :

A certain dervish, by name Mohammed Bokhara, called also Sari Saltik Sultan, who was a disciple of the celebrated Khoja Ahmed of Yasi [d. A.D. 1166-7] and a companion of Haji Bektash [d. A.D. 1337], came to the court of the Ottoman sultan Orkhan [1326-60], and after the conquest of Brusa was sent with seventy disciples into Europe. In his missionary journey Sari Saltik visited the Crimea, Muscovy, and Poland : at Danzig he killed the patriarch ' Svity Nikola ', and, assuming his robes, in this guise made many converts to Islam.³

He also delivered the kingdom of Dobruja from a seven-headed dragon, to which the two daughters of

¹ A much poorer version of this chapter appeared in *B.S.A.* xix (1912-3), pp. 203-8.

² *Travels*, ii, 70-72, *cf.* 20, 21.

³ This curious incident is twice related : (I, ii, 245) ' Saltuk Mohammed went disguised into Poland, killed the monk Sari Saltuk, whose name he took, and dwelt in his cell ' ; (ii, 70) ' At Danzig he conversed with Svity Nicola the patriarch, whose name is the same as Sari Saltuk whom he killed, adopted his habit, and by this means converted many thousands to Islam.'

the king were exposed as victims, cutting off first three, and then the remaining four, of its heads with a wooden sword. During this adventure, a monk picked up the ears and tongues of the three heads first cut off and, armed with these trophies, claimed to have slain the dragon himself.¹ Sari Saltik then proposed an ordeal of fire² to decide the rival claims. Both he and the monk were bound and put into an immense cauldron (*kazan*, whence, according to the legend, the name of the Kazan Balkan in Bulgaria). This was placed on the fire, whereupon the monk was burnt to death but Sari Saltik suffered no hurt. The king of Dobruja was in consequence converted to Islam.

Before his death the saint gave orders that his body should be placed in seven coffins, since seven kings should contend for its possession. This came to pass: each king took a coffin, and each coffin was found, when opened, to contain the body. The seven kingdoms blessed by the possession of the saint's remains are given as (1) Muscovy, where the saint is held in great honour as Svity Nikola (S. Nicolas); (2) Poland, where his tomb at Danzig is much frequented; (3) Bohemia, where the coffin was shown at 'Pezzunijah'; (4) Sweden, which possessed a tomb at 'Bivanjah'; (5) Adrianople, near which (at Eski Baba) is another tomb; (6) Moldavia, where the tomb was shown at Baba Dagh; and (7) Dobruja, in which district was the convent of Kaliakra containing the seventh tomb. The veracious history concludes with the remark that 'in Christian

¹ The incident of the false claim is a well-known episode in folk stories of dragon slayings (Hartland, *Perseus*, iii, 47; Cosquin, *Contes de Lorraine*, i, 61; Monnier, *Contes Populaires en Italie*, p. 288; cf. below p. 434). In the Near East it figures in the Bulgarian legend of S. Elias (Shishmanova, *Légendes Relig. Bulg.*, pp. 87 ff.) as well as in the Turkish of Sari Saltik.

² For the ordeal by fire of the 'monks' of Sidi Ghazi see Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.*, p. 477; possibly also in George of Hungary, see below, p. 498.

countries Sari Saltuk is generally called S. Nicolas, is much revered, and Christian monks ask alms under his auspices.’

§ 2. At Eski Baba

Of the seven towns said to have contained tombs of Sari Saltik, four, if we include ‘ Muscovy ’ as referring to the Crimea, are in lands actually conquered by the Turks, three in Christian Europe. The fable of the existence of the latter group can be dismissed at once as based on nothing more than the arbitrary identification of Sari Saltik with S. Nicolas.¹ In the case of three of the four Turkish tombs we can supplement, and to some extent check, Evliya’s legend.

The Kaliakra tomb, in a ruined fortress of the same name on a headland north of Varna, is still visited by local Christians as that of S. Nicolas.² It is probable that this was the original (pre-Mohammedan) dedication of the sanctuary ; it is certainly appropriate to the coast-site, and the fortress of Kaliakra was in Byzantine hands till A.D. 1370³ so that it is difficult to imagine a break in the cult. The ‘ tomb ’ at Eski Baba was, and is, a famous sanctuary, frequented for healing both by Greeks and Turks. The building is said to be an old Greek church of S. Nicolas.⁴ The association with Sari

¹ This saint is evidently chosen, not only because one or two of the sanctuaries occupied by Sari Saltik had been churches of S. Nicolas (see below, p. 578), but also on account of the extraordinary popularity of the latter in the countries first touched by the propaganda, Russia and Bulgaria. Bulgarian peasants are said to believe that, when God dies, S. Nicolas will succeed him (Slade, *Travels in Turkey*, 2nd ed., p. 344).

² For its frequentation by Turks see below, p. 578.

³ Cf. *Acta Patr.* i, 95, 528, in Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et Diplom. Gr.*

⁴ J. Covell, *Diaries* (1675), p. 186 : ‘ This Church [of S Nicolas] is standing pretty intire. It is but little . . . but very handsome, in the same forme almost with Sta. Sophia, with a great *Cupola* over the body of it ; but the outward wall is scaloped.’ Eski Baba is mentioned under that name, thus implying the cult, as early as 1553 (Verantius,

Saltik seems to be late and arbitrary; ¹ the saint was locally known as Kanbur Dede ('S. Humpback').² Baba Dagh, which appears to have been the starting point of the cult in Europe, will be discussed in the next section.

§ 3. At Baba Dagh

If such a story as that of Sari Saltik were told by Pausanias of prehistoric Greeks, it would be interpreted as an echo either of a movement of peoples, a conquest, or, at the very least, commercial or missionary activity, extending far beyond the limits which we know in the present case to be credible. Even with the historical background we possess, any interpretation of the story which pretends to disentangle the medley of fact and fiction contained in it must be regarded as tentative. The following claims to be no more than a suggestion.

The town of Baba Dagh in Moldavia was founded by Bayezid II in 1489 and colonized with Tatars.³ In all probability a pre-existing Christian cult was then mohammedanized. The Mohammedan saint with whom the site was associated is most likely identical with Baba Saltuk, a saint who had given his name already half a century earlier to a town near Sudak in the Crimea.⁴

ap. Jireček, *Heerstrasse*, p. 167). For other references see above, pp. 54-5 and for texts below, pp. 761-3.

¹ The existence of a village Saltiklu in the vicinity may have aided the identification.

² For further details see above, p. 55, and notes.

³ Hadji Khalfa, *Rumeli und Bosna*, p. 28; Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xvi, 247; *cf.* Vassif Efendi, *Guerre de 1769-74*, p. 281. Sari Saltik is consistently associated with Tatars. His great missionary successes were among the Tatars of Heshdek in Muscovy and Lipka in Poland (Evliya, I, ii, 245; *cf.* ii, 70). Apart from his connexion with the Bektashi he was claimed as patron by the guild of buza-makers, who, says Evliya, 'are for the greater part Tatar gipsies' (I, ii, 245): it should be remarked also that *buza* is yellow (*sari*) in colour (it is a fermented liquor made from barley).

⁴ Ibn Batuta, tr. Sanguinetti, ii, 416, 445. There may be also a contamination between *Saltik of Bokhara* and *Satok Bogra*, Khan of

We may well imagine that Baba Saltuk was a tribal saint ¹ imported by the Tatar colonists to Baba Dagb.

Bayezid's foundation at Baba Dagb included, as Evliya tells us, a mosque, an *imaret*, a college, a bath, a *khan*, and a monument of the saint. In all probability dervishes were attached to the cult from the first; by these or their successors Sari Saltik was brought into the cycle of Haji Bektash, the reputed founder of the Bektashi order. The basis of the legend of the seven coffins and seven tombs is probably to be sought in some folk-story turning on the immense size of the hero.² This legend was used for the purposes of their own religious propaganda by the Bektashi dervishes, who probably occupied, or justified their occupation of, the two other sanctuaries of Rumeli on this pretext.³ The further extension of the legend to non-Ottoman countries may perhaps be considered as politico-religious propaganda, devised again by the Bektashi in their character of warrior-dervishes,⁴ to stimulate good Mohammedans to the conquest of the lands in which the saint's reputed tombs lay.⁵ The identification of Sari Saltik with the Christian S. Nicolas is only one of the many

Turkestan, a semilegendary personage of the tenth century who is credited with having been the first Turkish ruler to embrace Islam (see Grenard in *Journ. Asiat.* xv (1900), pp. 5 ff). The mention of a dervish *Sari Salte* in a Kurdish folk-story (Jaba, *Recueil de Récits Kurdes*, p. 94) may mark a stage in the westward journey of the Sari Saltik myth, or may be due merely to Bektashi propaganda in Kurdistan.

¹ See also below, p. 576, n. 3.

² Cf. the similar legend of Digenes Akritas (Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 131): it is hard to distinguish cause and effect since this type of legend may equally well arise from a desire to reconcile conflicting claims to a hero's remains. See above, pp. 234 ff.

³ They were said to claim as their own any saints called Baba, see below, p. 567, and note 4.

⁴ Their connexion with the Janissaries is well known, see above, pp. 419 ff.

⁵ The fiction of the three tombs in Christendom may, however, have been devised merely to bring the total up to the mystic number seven.

manifestations of their philosophic creed that all religions are one. The sanctuaries of Kaliakra and Eski Baba are, as we have seen, probably old churches of S. Nicolas.

The incident of the ordeal by fire to decide between the rival claims of Sari Saltik and the Christian monk suggests that a Christian saint was supplanted, and from the dragon legend (located at Kaliakra) we should naturally infer that this saint was S. George. But in a nearly identical Bulgarian folk-story,¹ which includes the episodes of (1) the rescue of the princess, (2) the vindication of the dragon-slayer against a false claim, and (3) the conversion of the king, the hero is the Prophet Elias. On the other hand, in a Bosnian variant both S. Elias and S. George are introduced, each in his proper character, the former as the sender of thunder, the latter as a dragon-slayer.² The Bulgarian legend may be a compression of this.

Whatever saint was supplanted, we know from contemporary history that such a transition from Christianity to Islam is quite possible in the Crimea and the Balkans. If we had no history to guide us, we might logically assume that the slaying of 'Svity Nikola' at Danzig, a legend very similar in form, implied the victory of Islam here also, after which we should proceed to accept the successful propagation of Islam in Muscovy, Bohemia, and Sweden likewise as historical fact.

§ 4. At Kruya

The Sari Saltik legend has spread further to Albania, where the 'S. George' type of legend was evidently

¹ L. Shishmanova, *Légendes Relig. Bulg.*, pp. 87 ff. The lake here mentioned as the abode of the dragon points to Baba Dagh rather than Kaliakra as the place where this story was localized. But both places were probably brought into the storylike Kruya and Alessio (see below, pp. 435-6) in Albania. A localized (?) S. George legend from Varna is given by Polites in *Λαογραφία*, iv, 234. For another account of S. Elias and the dragon see *Sbornik za narodni oumotvorenia*, vol. v.

² Hartland, *Perseus*, iii, 41.

already current.¹ The episode of Sari Saltik and the dragon is located near Kruya, and the importation of the *nameh* of the hero is certainly to be attributed to the Bektashi sect, who are specially influential in this part of Albania. At Kruya the dragon lived by day in a cave and by night in a church. Sari Saltik arrived at the town *incognito*, assuming the part of a humble dervish, the day before the sacrifice of the King's daughter was to take place. In the morning, he accompanied the princess on her way to the dragon's haunt, armed with a wooden sword and a cypress staff. With the latter he produced a miraculous spring, with the former he cut off the dragon's seven heads, putting the points of the seven tongues in his pocket. He then retired to obscurity. The princess's hand being offered to her unknown deliverer, the 'false claim' episode is developed, but the 'Christian monk' does not figure. The true hero, Sari Saltik, is at length discovered, resigns the hand of the princess, and claims only the right to live as a hermit in the dragon's cave. This being granted, he lives there till he is told by the man who brings him his food that the people of the land are plotting against his life, and that he is in imminent danger. On hearing this, the saint throws the melon he was about to eat, with his knife in it, into the air, and they remain to this day, turned to stone in the roof of his cave. He himself retired to Corfu in three strides, which are marked by a footprint at each stage (Kruya,² Bazaar Shiakh, Durazzo); eventually he died at Corfu.³

Here again, rationalizing on orthodox lines, we should

¹ For the secular form see von Hahn, *Alban. Studien*, ii, 167. The legend of S. Donatus in the Chimarra district (M. Hamilton, *Greek Saints*, pp. 32 f.) is of similar type. The fight of S. George and the dragon is localized also in Old Serbia (Mackenzie and Irby, *Turks, Greeks, and Slavons*, pp. 672 f.).

² This footprint (called *Jurmi Scheintit*) is in a chapel half an hour from the town of Kruya (Ippen, *Skutari*, p. 77).

³ Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, pp. 236 ff.

suppose that Islam, represented by Sari Saltik, had but a short-lived victory at Kruya, and was eventually forced to retire; but why to Corfu, which has never been Turkish? In the light of history we might infer that the ejected dragon-slayer was in reality not Sari Saltik, but his Christian predecessor, possibly S. George, whom the Albanians of Alessio claimed as a compatriot.¹ But this is probably at best but a partial explanation. The figure of Sari Saltik is amongst other things a stalking-horse for Bektashi propaganda amongst Christians. Like the Mevlevi, the Bektashi order has always been conciliatory to Christianity; ² the number of its adherents in Albania, especially in the district of Koritza, many villages of which are said to have been converted within the last hundred years to Islam, or rather to Bektashism, shows that their policy has had considerable success. It is for the purposes of this propaganda that the identification of Sari Saltik with the universally popular Christian saint Nicolas was devised. Other important local saints were identified in the same manner. Examples are S. Naum, the Christian healer of Lake Okhrida, to whom Bektashi of the Koritza district make pilgrimage as Sari Saltik,³ and S. Spyridon the patron of Corfu.⁴ The latter identification is the explanation of the Bektashi legend of the 'flight' of Sari Saltik to the Christian island.

¹ W. Wey, *Itineraries* (1462), p. 119. This is a confusion with George Kastriotës (Skanderbeg). It was to Alessio that Sari Saltik after his victory threw the carcass of the dragon; *Lesh*, the Albanian name of the town, signifies *corpse* (Degrand, *op. cit.*, pp. 174, 238; cf. von Hahn, *op. cit.* i, 137).

² See especially below, pp. 564 ff. For the tolerant attitude of a Hurufi dervish in the fifteenth century see below, p. 568, n. 3. The traces of Christianity in Bektashi doctrine are discussed at length by Jacob, *Bektaschijje*, pp. 29 ff.

³ F. W. H. from a Greek priest at S. Naum.

⁴ Miss Durham heard this at Kruya (*Burden of the Balkans*, p. 304), I from a southern Albanian Bektashi at Uskub, from the sheikh of the *tekke* at Aivali in Thessaly, and from the (Greek) abbot of S. Naum.

Possibly similar propaganda purposes explain the variations in a version of the Kilgra legend found by Degrand in a manuscript at Tirana in Albania.¹ This manuscript is said by Jacob² to be the *Vilayet nameh* of Hajim Sultan, a sixteenth century Bektashi saint whose tomb is venerated near Ushak in Asia Minor.³ In this version Sari Saltik ordered forty coffins to be prepared after his death, and, as in the other legend of the seven coffins, each of them was found to contain his body. The king of the Dobruja examined the forty corpses, and, observing that one of them moved its hand, decided that this was the genuine body of the dead saint. He therefore buried it in the centre of a circle formed by the other thirty-nine. This looks like an attempt to attach the legend of Sari Saltik to some locality associated with the Forty Saints, possibly Kirk Kilise in Thrace,⁴ or even SS. Quaranta in Albania.⁵

§ 5. Bektashi Propaganda

Side by side with such adoptions or attempted adoptions by the Bektashi of Christian saints and sanctuaries we find the converse phenomenon, viz., the adoption by Christians of Bektashi saints and sanctuaries with the consent, or even encouragement, of the Bektashi. Examples are the identification of the *tekke* of Aivali in Thessaly with the site of a monastery dedicated to S. George,⁶ of the *tekke* of Sersem Ali at Kalkandelen with an earlier monastery of S. Elias,⁷ and of the central

¹ *Haute Albanie*, pp. 240 ff.

² *Beiträge*, p. 2, n. 4. The work is also mentioned by Browne in *J. R. Asiat. Soc.* 1907, p. 561 (3).

³ Jacob, *Bektaschijje*, p. 27.

⁴ See above, p. 397.

⁵ For the 'ruined' monastery containing forty underground chambers, at SS. Quaranta see Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 10, and pl. 6. Ali of Yannina whose connexion with the Bektashi and the Sari Saltik legend is discussed below, restored the adjoining fortress (Petrides in *Παρθενός*, ii, 642; cf. Leake, *N. Greece*, i, 11.). But a Bektashi *tekke* has never existed there.

⁶ Below, p. 582.

⁷ *Ibid.*

Bektashi *tekke* near Kirshehr in Anatolia with an ancient monastery of S. Charalambos.¹

We find thus in our own times, as in those of Ala-ed-din of Konia,² a distinct *rapprochement* between an order of dervishes and popular Christianity, probably forwarded by the dervishes with a view to establishing a common basis of religion for both creeds. In the area touched by the Bektashi, as in the Mevlevi radius, the chief outward manifestation of this *rapprochement* is the attempt to render certain sanctuaries accessible to both parties by pious fictions.³ The Bektashi undoubtedly aimed at an ultimate religious supremacy in the countries touched by their propaganda. At the time of the Turkish revolution they had still hopes of a Bektashi state in Albania.⁴ Such a religious supremacy could hope to hold its own if supported by a sympathetic civil power. As regards the Mevlevi movement at Konia, we have hinted at such an alliance between the Mevlevi, represented by their founder, Jelal-ed-din, and the ruling house.⁵ In the case of Albania the evidence for a similar combination is much stronger. There, particularly in southern Albania,⁶ Bektashism, though Asiatic in origin, has now its chief stronghold. Even in such places as Crete and Lycia the majority of professed dervishes of the order seem to be Albanians. If the grave of Sersem Ali at Kalkandelen is genuine, Bektashism must have been introduced into this country before 1550.⁷

Mohammedanism of any sort in Albania is of com-

¹ Below, p. 571. ² Above, pp. 370 ff. ³ Below, pp. 564-96.

⁴ This I have on good Bektashi authority. ⁵ Above, p. 377.

⁶ Brailsford (*Macedonia*, p. 244) goes so far as to say that 'nearly every Albanian—at all events in the South—who has any interest in religion at all, is a member of the Bektashi sect.'

⁷ Jacob, *Bektaschijje*, p. 27. A false prophet, claiming to be an incarnation of Ali, appeared in Albania in 1607 (*Ambassade de Gontaut Biron*, p. 138). See, however, below, p. 524.

paratively recent date, the Turkish conquest having been late and partial. Before it the population was Christian. There was little or no colonization of the country by genuine Turks, as was the case in some other parts of Rumeli: the Moslem Albanians to-day thus represent to a very large extent Christians converted at various dates.¹ The southern part of the country (Epirus) remains to this day a patchwork of Christians and Mohammedans, many of the latter being converts of the last hundred and fifty years and adherents of the Bektashi. This is the country which once bid fair to become an independent state under Ali Pasha of Yanina (d. 1822), who owed his power, firstly, to his own astounding energy and force of character and, secondly, to his alliance with the Bektashi, of which a full account is given elsewhere.²

We shall there find evidence of Ali's interest in Bektashi propaganda in his own district of Yannina and at Kruya, both of which districts are to-day strongly Bektashi, in Thessaly, a province which came under his political influence, and at Skutari, where his designs were evidently discovered and thwarted in time. It is thus extremely probable that the Bektashi under Ali's auspices were responsible for much of the recent conversion to apparent Islam in Epirus and elsewhere,³ and that the phenomena which we barely detect in Seljuk Konia during the thirteenth century were repeated only a hundred years ago in Albania. It is even possible that Ali's well-known designs on the Ionian islands⁴ are partially or wholly responsible for the identification of S. Spyridon of Corfu with the Bektashi saint Sari Saltik.

¹ For the conversion of Albania see T. Arnold, *Preaching of Islam*, pp. 152 ff.

² Below, pp. 586 ff.

³ For the part possibly played by the rise of Russia in these forced conversions to Islam see below, p. 471.

⁴ Beauchamp, *Vie d'Ali Pacha*, pp. 163, 194; Holland, *Travels*, i, 405, 450.

S. JOHN 'THE RUSSIAN'

S. JOHN 'the Russian', whose body is preserved at Urgub, is a little-known Greek neo-saint¹ of great local repute. According to the official tradition,² the saint was made prisoner in Russia³ at the age of fifteen by the Turks during their wars with Peter the Great, and served a local *bey* at Urgub for many years as stable-boy, retaining his faith, whereas his fellow-captives became Turks, thereby, of course, bettering their condition considerably. S. John died in 1738 and on 27 May, the anniversary of his death, his sainthood was duly established by the appearance on his grave of a supernatural light.⁴ Miracles by him begin to be recorded as early as 1837, when his body was preserved intact in a fire. In the sixties S. John is said to have appeared to a woman who had lost her child and to have revealed to her that it had been murdered and by whom. Another miracle said to have been wrought by the saint during his lifetime is an obvious plagiarism from Turkish hagiology. It relates how the poor stable-boy miraculously conveyed to his master, then on pilgrimage at Mecca, a plate of *pilaf*, which duly arrived smoking hot.⁵ The same fact is related of at least two Turkish saints.⁶

In the nineties⁷ a large church was built to enshrine

¹ For neo-saints see below, pp. 452-9.

² This is given by Oberhammer and Zimmerer, *Durch Syrien*, pp. 211 f. A *Life* of the saint is said to be on sale at Urgub and at the Russian monastery on Athos, but I have not seen it.

³ He is generally called *Προκόπιος*, which suggests Perekop in Russia as his place of origin, but on the whole it is not likely that natives of Urgub would know his Russian birthplace.

⁴ Kinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor*, p. 88. For sainthood revealed by supernatural lights see above, p. 254.

⁵ Oberhammer and Zimmerer, *op. cit.*, p. 211, n.

⁶ See above, p. 293.

⁷ Archelaos, *Σίνασος*, p. 117.

the remains: the building was completed by funds raised by the sale of the saint's right hand to certain Russian monks of Athos.¹ It appears to be preserved at the *skete* of the Thebaid.² At the same time, probably, a conventional picture of the saint, framed in smaller ones representing his miracles, was painted, of which prints are sold in the church.³

As regards the real date of S. John, it is probably about a century later than the traditional. It is in the first place remarkable that he is not mentioned by the Archbishop Cyril,⁴ who described Urgub in 1815. In the second, Kinneir,⁵ who passed through Yuzgat in 1813, found there a considerable number of Russian prisoners from the war of 1807-8, who had renounced their faith, like S. John's companions, married Turkish women and settled down in the country. It seems highly probable that the neo-saint of Urgub is to be referred to the same period.⁶ That is, he may have refused to renegade with his companions and may have been popularly canonized accordingly.

¹ Oberhummer and Zimmerer, *op. cit.*, p. 212; Pharasopoulos, *Tà Σύλλατα*, pp. 72, 95; Smyrnakes, "Ἄγιον Ὄρος", p. 674.

² Smyrnakes, *loc. cit.*

³ F. W. H.

⁴ *Περιγραφή*. Rizos, *Καππαδοκικὰ* (1856) also does not mention the cult: he mostly copies Cyril, however.

⁵ *Journey through Asia Minor*, p. 88 (quoted above, p. 97, n. 2).

⁶ French deserters from the army of Egypt established themselves in the service of local *beys*: they renegaded, took Turkish names, and had harems, slaves, &c., and, though (southern) French of no birth or education, enjoyed considerable privileges among their new co-religionists (Chateaubriand, *Itinér.* iii, 87). Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.*, p. 462, cites from George of Hungary cases of voluntary conversions among natives of Bosnia, Albania, Serbia, who came, poor, to work in Turkish towns and found it to their material advantage to renegade. Establishing the probable date of S. John 'the Russian' is not without importance for the theory of the presence of 'Galatians' remarked in Asia Minor by Ramsay and others. In general, in dealing with transported populations the *latest* date of the supposed immigration is the best: the alleged 'Galatians' may be no more than the descendants of the Russian prisoners of the war of 1807-8.

RENEGADE SAINTS

IN 1270 S. Louis, king of France, died of a fever on the site of Carthage, while crusading against the Moors of Tunis : his remains were embalmed and duly buried in his native land. In 1841, on the spot where the royal saint breathed his last, the government of Louis Philippe erected a commemorative cenotaph in the Arab style.¹ Twenty years later Beulé, in his *Fouilles à Carthage*,² notes the curious local tradition there current to the effect that S. Louis was identical with a *marabut* named Bu Said, patron saint of a village of the same name in the immediate neighbourhood. The pious Christian, the story ran, had before his death embraced Islam and assumed a Mohammedan name.

To those familiar with the vagaries of popular canonization in Mohammedan countries,³ the existence of a Mohammedan cult of S. Louis will cause little surprise. There is every probability that the tradition is, as Beulé suggests, late,⁴ and that its immediate cause was the erection of the French cenotaph in the style of the country. For the Tunisian peasant such a monument implies a saint : the presumed occupant of S. Louis's cenotaph doubtless proved no less gracious to his petitioners than any other *marabut*, while the legend of S. Louis's conversion and his identity with Sidi Bu Said

¹ Poiré, *Tunisie Française*, pp. 126 f., quoting Beulé, *Fouilles à Carthage*, p. 17 : cf. L. Michel, *Tunis*, p. 238. Montet (*Culte des Saints Musulmans*, p. 24) found that the Moslems of Tunis venerate S. Louis. Sébillot (*Folk-Lore de France*, iv, 344) quotes Michel's account.

² P. 17.

³ See above, pp. 255-7.

⁴ For instance, Chateaubriand gives a long account of the death of S. Louis at Carthage, but makes no mention of any local tradition (*Itinér.* iii, 196).

accounted for the apparent anomaly of a Christian saint's efficacy as intercessor for Moslems.

The legend is particularly interesting as focussing several ideas widely current in Mohammedan circles and often closely paralleled, as we shall see, in Christian hagiology. These ideas predicate a special aptitude for sainthood in persons spontaneously converted from the rival religion—*animae naturaliter islamicae*—whose secret leaning towards the true faith is often manifested only by posthumous miracles. Inside this class, potentates and men of authority like S. Louis form a characteristic and interesting category.

We may take first the Franciscan legend of the death-bed conversion of the sultan of Egypt.¹ The legend is history up to a certain point, S. Francis being really received by the sultan and well treated.² The tale goes on that the sultan was so much impressed by the preaching and personality of S. Francis that he gave him every facility for preaching. The saint, however, saw that his mission was more profitable elsewhere, and decided to leave the country. On his taking leave of the sultan the latter said he was prepared to embrace Christianity, but that, if he did so, both he himself and S. Francis would be assassinated. S. Francis therefore promised that after his death he would send two friars who would baptize and so save him. It happened that after S. Francis's death the sultan, being ill and on the point of death, remembered this promise and stationed guards on all his frontiers with orders to conduct to him at once two Franciscan friars, if they should appear. At the same time S. Francis appeared to two friars and ordered them to go to the sultan and save his soul. Thus, the sultan received absolution and died in a state of grace.³

¹ *Fioretti* of S. Francis, ch. xxiv.

² Castries, *L'Islam*, pp. 339 ff., citing William of Tyre *ap. D. Martène, Collect. Maxima*, v, 689.

³ Cf. the similar stories of Shems-ed-din secretly converted to

With the Franciscan story may be compared that of the supposed conversion to Islam of the emperor Heraclius. It is, I believe, historical that Mohammed sent to him, as to other potentates of his time, an embassy which seems to have been less rudely received by Heraclius than by the others.¹ 'Arab writers boast that he was really converted to Islamism',² in conformity with which tradition the Turks treated as a saint's a remarkable sarcophagus discovered about 1837 in or near the arsenal at Galata and reputed that of Heraclius.³ In this and the Franciscan stories polite treatment from a potentate of a rival religion is considered explicable only on the hypothesis that the potentate was secretly in favour of the religion represented by the persons politely treated.⁴

Christianity (see above, pp. 87, 376), of the converted slave whose tomb is venerated at Tatar Bazarjik (see above, p. 206), and the caliph El Hakim, said by the Copts to have ended his days in a convent (see below, p. 450, n. 2).

¹ See above, p. 355, n. 1.

² Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ed. Bury, v, 395 (quoted above, p. 355, n. 1).

³ Miss Pardoe, *City of the Sultans*, i, 420 f., quoted above, pp. 354-5.

⁴ In the same way Christian tradition represents (see Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, i, 284-6) Gamaliel as a crypto-Christian because of his treatment of the Apostles (*Acts*, v, 34 ff.). Similarly, Publius of Malta (*Acts*, xxviii, 7 ff.) has a church in Città Vecchia (Baedeker, *S. Italy*, p. 445). Rubriquis says that the Nestorians considered several heathen potentates Christians, simply because they had treated Christians well (Baring Gould, *Curious Myths*, 1st Series, ii, p. 50). Fabri says the Soldan of his time (Kotube, presumably Kait Bey) was kindly disposed to Christians and should be prayed for: his conversion even to Christianity was not impossible, if a Christian, 'maturus, eloquens, et auctoritativus', were to read to him what Magister Nicolaus de Cusa had said about the Koran (*Evagat.* i, 478). The younger Pliny is supposed to have been converted by Titus in Crete (Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii, 1047): the tale may have been concocted at Como, but probably arose from a combination of the mildness of Pliny's letters about the Christians, the conversion by Titus in Crete of a proconsul Secundus, and the existence at Como of a S. Secundus, one of the Theban Legion.

In contradistinction to such a fortuitously Moslem saint as S. Louis, authentic renegade saints, of which there are probably numerous examples, admit of a rational explanation. A convert to Islam is not unnaturally regarded as a person specially illuminated by God, being thus enabled to see the true faith in spite of the errors of his upbringing. There is ground for such a supposition in the fact that real converts see themselves in this light: for instance, S. Paul and S. Augustine, converted by instantaneous miracle in the one case and after a long spiritual struggle in the other, assumed that their conversion was proof of their election and framed their theory of predestination accordingly.¹ In Islam the idea is assisted by a passage of the Koran which says, ‘They unto whom we have given the scriptures which were revealed before it [the Koran], believe in the same; and when it is read unto them, say, We believe therein; it is certainly the truth from our Lord: *verily we were Moslems before this. These shall receive their reward twice.*’²

The prototype of the spontaneous convert is of course Abraham,³ who, according to Talmudic and Koranic tradition, was the son of an idolater divinely called to the worship of the True God. Similar conversions are related of saints in historical times. At Bagdad is the tomb of Maaruf Cerchi Abu Daher, who was born of Christian parents but steadfastly refused to recognize the Trinity by repeating the formula, ‘In the name of

¹ That is, they consider that, since they were neither born nor coerced into Christianity, God had obviously sought them out for His purposes and taken trouble to secure them. Paul lays stress on his extreme Judaism and Augustine on his stormy past as incongruous things, just as cruder people almost boast of what sinners they have been before conversion. To such minds the only inference possible is that they have been in some way chosen arbitrarily.

² Sale’s ed. (Chandos Classics), ch. xxviii, p. 294.

³ For pre-Islamic Moslems and pre-Christian Christians see above, pp. 72-3.

the Father,' &c., for which he substituted the Mohammedan monotheistic invocation, 'In the name of God, all merciful'. His mother punished him by shutting him up in a dark cellar and feeding him on bread and water, evidently supposing him to be obsessed by a demon. Maaruf refused the bread and water and was found after forty days surrounded by a halo of miraculous light, a sure sign of sanctity. His mother, however, confirmed in her idea of his obsession, drove him from the house. He then openly confessed to the faith of Islam and eventually became a great Mohammedan *savant*.¹

The same theory of divine instruction may be predicated of any spontaneous convert. A curious instance is reported from Syria by d'Arvieux of a young Venetian who in the seventeenth century 'turned Turk' for the basest motives. He was so ill-instructed that he could only lift the finger,² thus attesting the unity of God, and say, 'La, la, Mehemed,' but this was accepted as proof that God had assuredly predestined him to be a Mussulman and had put the soul of a Turk into the body of a Christian for the express purpose of manifesting Himself by a miracle, inasmuch as without being instructed the convert had pronounced the name of the Prophet.³

Even after death a Christian dead in the Christian faith may be received into the true faith. Thus

'ils tiennent que parmy nous autres, qu'ils nomment Iaours, ou Infidelles, il y en a tousiours quelques-vns, à qui Dieu fait ceste grace d'ouurir & illuminer l'entendement, & les guider au vray

Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 246.

² Moslems *in extremis* hold up the first finger to profess their faith, that being the simplest way of indicating the central dogma of the Unity of God (Castries, *L'Islam*, p. 196). Lifting the finger is part of the ordinary prayer (Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, i, 98).

³ D'Arvieux, *Voyage dans la Palestine*, ed. de la Roque, pp. 48 ff.

chemin de salut.’¹ Conversely, ‘entre eux il y a des meschans & reprouvez, qu’il laisse viure en tenebres, & suivre pour leur perdition, la loy des Chrestiens, & que Dieu ne voulât permettre que les corps de ses esleus soiēt apres la mort, contaminez & honnis, par la compagnie des Infidelles & meschans, a ordonné septante deux mille chameaux, qui continuellement transportent les corps des Chrestiens qui meurent Musulmans, dans les sepultures des Turcs, & les Turcs qui entre eux meurent Chrestiens ou Infidelles, dans la sepulture des Chrestiens.’²

This again, like the theory of secret believers above, is warranted by a text of the Koran³ which runs, ‘O true believers, whoever of you apostatizeth from his religion, God will certainly bring other people to supply his place’. Illustrative of this is a story told to Gervais-Courtellemont at Mecca itself. An Indian king had come to Mecca, intending to assure his salvation by burial in the Maala cemetery there. To prove to him that such ideas were vain and superstitious, he was taken by night and shown the camels engaged in bringing there for burial the bodies of pious Moslems who had died elsewhere, in the place of reprobate Moslems who had been buried in the Maala. The same ghostly agency transferred their bodies to the former graves of the just.⁴

This tale is not only reminiscent of the Koran text but is also a rebuke to formalism,⁵ implying that the holiest graveyard does not secure salvation and that judgement by externals may be wrong, since God alone knows the heart. In another story told to Gervais-Courtellemont at Mecca a romantic *motif* is introduced.

¹ De Brèves, *Voyages* (1628), p. 24.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 24-5.

³ Sale’s ed., ch. v, p. 80.

⁴ *Voyage à la Mecque*, 1896, pp. 104-5.

⁵ Dr. Zwemer suggests that Al Ghazali (c. 1100) started the idea in a different form, viz. that at the Resurrection bad Moslems would be excused Hell and their places taken by Jews and Christians. This is probably in the same cycle of thought, but it sounds to me like a fanatic’s counterblast to the idea that it is better in the sight of God to be a good Christian than a bad Moslem.

The son of a Moorish Andalusian king, he was told, was enslaved and in the service of a Christian monarch as gardener, when he fell in love with his master's daughter. She begged him to change his religion and marry her. He refused, however, and eventually persuaded her to pronounce the sacred formula, 'There is no God but God and Mohammed is His Prophet.' The intrigue was discovered and the princess died. The captive prince, wishing in memory of his love to keep a bracelet he had given her and which had been buried with her, opened her tomb in order to take the bracelet. To his surprise he found in the tomb the body of an old Arab with a pearl chaplet, which, without knowing what he was doing, he took. On going later to Mecca, he was challenged by a Meccan to account for his possession of the chaplet, which the Meccan recognized as buried with his father at Mecca. The prince told his story and the old man's grave was opened to test it. In the grave was found the body of the princess, transferred, as a true believer, by the camels.¹

This story, as may be any such told in Mecca, is evidently widely circulated. At Monastir I found an open *turbe*² which is said to mark a grave where a *khoja* was buried, but in which they afterwards discovered the body of a non-Mohammedan princess.³ A similar tale of recent and historical transference and exchange was told to

¹ Gervais-Courtellemont, *op. cit.*, pp. 106 ff. There may be here omitted an incident of miraculous liberation, for which see below, pp. 663-7. The addition of the marvellous substitution of the body of a female for a male may be due to some legend of the Roman monument outside Algiers, which is known as the 'Grave [of the Roman or] of the Christian Woman' (Berbrugger, *Tombeau de la Chrétienne*), though I have not been able, so far, to find evidence in support of such a theory. The mention of Andalusia, however, points to a Maghrabi source: 'el Andalus' is used in the *Arabian Nights* for Spain.

² In a graveyard where the rain-prayer is made.

³ F. W. H. See above, p. 360, n. 1. A rather dull variant is given by Pierotti, *Légendes Racontées*, pp. 64 ff.

Lady Duff Gordon in Egypt :¹ she herself was told that ' thou knowest that wherever thou art buried, thou wilt assuredly live in a Muslim grave '.² A vulgarized and attenuated version is given by Mills from Nablus. A Moslem dreamt that a certain prominent Christian, recently dead, had been transferred by four men to the Moslem cemetery.³ The dream was considered sufficient proof of the miracle and the grave left undisturbed by any test of the dream : the original theme also is entirely lost sight of. The ambiguous sex of S. Spyridon at Corfu⁴ may be a trace of the same story.

The reason of the application of the story to an open *turbe* is possibly that these are commonly built by women for the shelter and retreat of themselves and other women mourning their dead.⁵ They are thus really not tombs at all, though sometimes dedicated formally to saints, especially Khidr. They may consequently be named from either the (male) saint to whom they are dedicated or the (female) dedicator.⁶ This apparent ambiguity gives foothold to the popular miraculous story.

To return once more to renegade saints, it is clear that a genuine convert to Islam would be likely in his enthusiasm for his new faith to exhibit all the outward marks of saintly life, while, on the other hand, an impostor had everything to gain by punctiliousness in matters of religion.⁷ Such punctiliousness would in its

¹ *Letters from Egypt*, p. 199.

² *Ibid.*, p. 198.

³ J. Mills, *Three Months*, p. 156.

⁴ Lafont, *Trois Mois en Albanie*, p. 50. Note, however, that the Bektashi claim that S. Spyridon is really Sari Saltik and Sari may, by its likeness to Sara, suggest a female : see below, pp. 583-4.

⁵ See above, p. 325, n. 4.

⁶ The ' Khidrlik ' *turbe* at Angora, for instance, is now thought of as the tomb of Bula Khatun (F. W. H. : above, p. 325).

⁷ Cf. Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*, pp. 147 ff., for a story of a Moslem who made his fortune by pretending to be a renegade. Probably, too, the assumption of the role of ascete or fool-saint would

turn confirm the already existing idea of the special sanctity of renegades and would come easily enough among a credulous people, the more so that continence is not essential to Moslem sainthood. In addition, the numerous class of renegades who 'turned Turk' for convenience and rose by their ability to enviable positions might affect fanatic zeal as a protection from their inevitable detractors. Such was the case of an Armenian renegade mentioned by d'Arvieux. Instigated by fear of jealous rivals, who threw doubts on the genuineness of his conversion, he proclaimed it by a signal act of piety, which took the form of seizing a Christian church and consecrating it as a mosque.¹ Similarly, the caliph El Hakim destroyed, it was alleged, the church of the Holy Sepulchre to prove his anti-Christian tendencies to those of his enemies who accused him of favouring the Christians because of his Christian mother.² Not a few renegades to Islam were of western origin.³ Their European upbringing would, certainly in the late centuries, give them an intellectual superiority over the

in reasonably capable hands have proved an excellent speculation, and, having a popular basis, would be less open to calumny than a political career with its greater prizes and risks. The converse of the sanctity attaching to renegades from Christianity is the severity of the punishment meted out to renegades from Islam: examples are S. John, son of a dervish of Konitza and martyred at Vrachori, the sheikh of Akhisar, who turned with twelve of his followers, and the Shazeli dervishes of Syria who renegaded about 1870: for all of these see below, pp. 452-9.

¹ D'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 373.

² Williams, *The Holy City*, i, 346 ff.: cf. Corroyer, *L'Arch. Rom.*, p. 205. His mysterious death was attributed to this act of sacrilege, as also his reputed withdrawal to a Christian convent, for which see Artin Pasha, *Contes du Nil*, pp. 19-20. For him see Fabri also (*Evagat.* ii, 247), who says it was his son who allowed the Sepulchre church to be rebuilt.

³ An excellent example is Manzur Efendi, a renegade Frenchman who became Ali Pasha of Yannina's chief gunner and wrote an interesting book of *Mémoires* of the Pasha: see the bibliography, *s. v.*

masses, which could be effectively exploited for purposes of charlatanry.

A most remarkable example of this comes from North Africa. A celebrated *marabut*, who had formerly been a blacksmith, died at Kairuan in 1856, leaving behind him a number of prophecies engraved on sword-blades, which in times of stress were consulted like oracles. In 1881 the French were about to march on Kairuan and so caused there the greatest consternation,¹ whereupon the *imam* in charge of the prophetic swords proposed to consult them. This was done : the oracle left no doubt that the city must be surrendered without resistance, and the white flag was at once hoisted. The curious part is that the *imam* in question was a French renegade, born at Elbœuf, who had ‘ séjourné à la Trappe, à la Chartreuse, et à Frigolet ’ before embracing Islam. He had himself forged the sword-blade consulted, but no one questioned his authority, for ‘ très instruit, orateur, parlant bien l’arabe, habitué aux jeûnes et à l’abstinence, Si Ahmed . . . acquit par ses prédications enflammées dans les cafés de Tunis et les mosquées de Kairouan, une grande réputation de sainteté.’ He died a Moslem in 1885 at Kairuan.²

¹ Kairuan is of course a very holy city.

² Poiré, *Tunisie Française*, pp. 200 ff. : the quotations in the text are from Plauchut’s account in the *Rev. Deux Mondes*, 15 Oct. 1890, p. 832. Si Ahmed was the son of M. Lefebvre Duruflé, a senator under the Empire (Poiré, *op. cit.*, p. 205) : the sword is still shown at Kairuan (*ibid.*). The part played by Si Ahmed is perfectly in harmony with the traditions of *défaitistes marabouts*, for which see Montet, *Culte des Saints Musulmans*, p. 33.

NEO-MARTYRS OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH

THE passions of the Greek neo-martyrs are of considerable interest both for the study of hagiology in general and as affording curious sidelights on the history of the Greek Church under the Turkish yoke. A *Lexicon of all the Saints*, published at Athens in 1904,¹ enumerates over forty saints who suffered death for their faith chiefly in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries: this list could probably be considerably lengthened by the inclusion of martyrs who perished during and after the Greek Revolution.² Whether on account of the growing fanaticism of the Turks or merely the insufficiency of early documents, only a small minority of the recorded martyrdoms occurred before the latter half of the seventeenth century.³

¹ *Λεξικὸν τῶν Ἀγίων πάντων τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας* by B. Δ. Ζωτὸς Μολοττός, Athens, 1904. The other main sources for the lives of Greek neo-saints are the Patriarchal list (*ap.* Sathas, *Μεσ. Βιβλ.* iii, 605 ff.) from 1492 to 1811, the *Νέον Μαρτυρολόγιον* giving a list from 1492 onwards (the Athens edition of 1856 adds S. George of Yannina dated 1830), and the *Νέον Λειμωνάριον*.

² Martyrs unmentioned in these lists are the Anonymous of Tenos recorded by de la Magdeleine, *Miroir Ottoman*, p. 67, as martyred about 1670, and perhaps the Athanasius mentioned by Wilson, *Narrative of the Greek Mission*, p. 402, a martyr of 1819. A martyr may also be forgotten. Wheler saw the *λείψανον* of S. Philothea ('*Οσία*) at Athens, but she is not now known, according to Kambouroglous, *Ἱστορία*, i, 173 ff., iii, 189: see her life in *N. Λειμων.* pp. 43 ff.

³ The Patriarchal list (*ap.* Sathas) gives the martyrs' names, birth-places, and dates, occasionally their place of martyrdom. According to this list there was one martyr in the fifteenth century, with 15 in the sixteenth, 31 in the seventeenth, 39 in the eighteenth, and 7 in the nineteenth (up to 1811).

As to the personalities of the martyrs included in the *Lexicon*, it is noteworthy that nearly all are men in a humble station of life, many of them not renowned for their virtues. On this point the Passions are extraordinarily candid. A good instance is the case of the three (anonymous) martyrs of Agrinion, who masqueraded as Turkish tax-collectors and, wearing Turkish dress and using the exclusively Mohammedan salutation *Selam Aleïkum* for the purpose, were on this account haled before the Kadi and offered the choice of apostasy or death.¹ To choose the latter rather than the former is regarded, and rightly, as the supreme test ; by it the sins of a lifetime were regarded as honourably erased.

The supernatural details added to the recitals are, in comparison with those in earlier saints' lives, Greek and Latin alike, insignificant.

As a general rule the neo-martyrs seem to have been men who 'turned Turk' for various motives, often in extreme youth,² or were alleged by the Turks to have done so.³ After a shorter or longer period they repented and publicly avowed themselves Christians.⁴ The Turkish law was explicit and their doom, if they persisted, was certain. In one or two cases the convert was a Turk by birth :⁵ one certainly was not an orthodox Moslem,

¹ *Λεξικόν*, p. 704 (three anonymous martyrs of Agrinion in 1786) : cf. *N. Λειμων.*, pp. 491 ff. Cf. *Νέον Μαρτ.*, p. 55 (Loukas, tailor in Mytilene, martyred in 1564).

² Cf. Michaud and Poujoulat, *Corresp. d'Orient*, i, 221, for a Greek martyred about 1830 for blaspheming the Islam he had embraced in youth.

³ Cf. the extraordinary case of a Greek of Alashehr (Philadelphia) who, perverted in childhood, repented at twenty-five and was visited by a number of Turkish sorcerers who attempted to draw him back to the true faith (*Νέον Μαρτ.*, p. 74) by their magic arts.

⁴ A case is that of Damaskenos who renegaded in youth, repented, became a monk, and in 1681 a voluntary martyr (*Νέον Μαρτ.*, p. 96).

⁵ About 1540 a *mufti* turned Christian with his son and pupils : all were burned (Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, p. 58). A Turk preaching Chris-

but deeply imbued with the mystic teaching of the dervishes.¹ A case is recorded in which a Turk was converted by his Christian wife.² A few martyrs only were actuated by the passion for martyrdom,³ such as was evidenced by S. Ignatius and some early martyrs,⁴ and of their own free will blasphemed Islam and its Prophet⁵ before the Kadi. This morbid state of mind was to some extent shared by renegades: it was doubtless an effect of their remorse. It is greatly to the credit of the Turks that at least one case is recorded where a renegade monk, stimulated doubtless by a similar morbid craving, went before the Kadi and blasphemed, not Mohammed but Christ, and *was at once beheaded*.⁶

The ex-renegades, who form the bulk of the martyrs, were converted to Islam in various ways.⁷ Many were tianity and therefore martyred is mentioned by Hauser in his notes on Canaye's *Voyage* (1573), p. 146. Two dervishes were baptized and martyred in Rhodes in 1622, miraculous lights being seen on their tombs (Pacifique, *Voyage de Perse*, p. 54). A dervish of Akhisar (Thyatira) was converted to Christianity with twenty-two of his followers and martyred in 1649 (Carayon, *Rel. Inéd. de la Compagnie de Jésus*, pp. 228 ff.). Other cases are mentioned by the *Νέον Μαρτ.*, p. 33 (Saint Jacob of Kastoria), and the *N. Λειμων.*, p. 217 ('dervish' Alexander).

¹ S. John of Konitza (*N. Λειμων.*, p. 331), who was a Bektashi sheikh's son.

² *Λεξικόν*, p. 288 (Ahmed, martyred 1682), also in *Νέον Μαρτ.*, p. 99.

³ *Λεξικόν*, p. 181 (Anastasios of S. Vlasios, 1743), p. 552. Cf. *Νέον Μαρτ.*, p. 39 (S. John of Yannina, 1526), p. 86 (Gabriel of Aloni, 1676), p. 87 (Kyprianos, 1679), p. 104 (Romanos of Constantinople).

⁴ Delehaye, *Culte des Martyrs*, p. 7: cf. Allard, *Dern. Perséc.*, p. 141; Le Blant, *Perséc. et Martyrs*, pp. 99 ff., especially 103 ff. and 134. For the merit of voluntary martyrdom see Eulogius, *Lib. Memor. Sanct.* i, §§ 22, 24. See also Castries, *L'Islam*, pp. 90 ff.

⁵ *Νέον Μαρτ.*, pp. 47, 54, 55, 63, 68 (SS. M. Mavroudis, Dem. Tornaras, Joannes Koulikas, Nicolas of Trikkala, Jordanis of Trebizond).

⁶ Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xii, 45: for the psychology of the renegade see Allard, *Hist. des Perséc.*, p. 306.

⁷ De Maillet (*Descr. de l'Égypte*, ii, 207) records a curious case of the apostasy and martyrdom of a Franciscan.

circumcised by force while young,¹ many in their cups made the Profession of Faith² and were held to it when sober by their Turkish boon-companions. The motives of the Turks in pressing a conversion of this sort are not generally represented as malicious, and might, indeed, have been the result of a genuine or fuddled attachment.³ Occasionally their motives were political⁴ and sometimes a Greek was merely slandered by a rival.⁵ There are a few cases where the apostasy was more or less forced on the Christian, either by a love affair with a Moslem woman⁶ or by malicious interpretation of phrases lightly said.⁷

A renegade convinced of his error generally made his way to Athos⁸ or some other monastic centre away from the world,⁹ confessed, and was put to penance by his

¹ *Νέον Μαρτ.*, p. 65 (Theophilus), p. 67 (Markos of Smyrna), p. 71 (Nicolas of Karaman).

² Anastasios was circumcised when mad because of the magic practised against him by his deserted fiancée's family (*Νέον Μαρτ.*, p. 71): *cf. ibid.*, p. 80, for Joannes Navkleros of Kos, p. 81 for Nicolas the general merchant, p. 99 for Paul the Russian.

³ So our own countryman, Thomas Dallam, the organist, who brought Queen Elizabeth's present to the sultan, was entreated to stay in the Seraglio and turn Turk for no more interested reason than the pleasure the Imperial pages took in his company and his skill: see his *Travels*, p. 73 ('towe jemaglanes, who is keepers of that house, touke me in theire armes and kissed me, and used many perswations to have me stayer with the Grand Sinyor and sarve him').

⁴ *Νέον Μαρτ.*, pp. 63, 73, 79, 81, 101.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 77: *cf. pp.* 54, 55, 65, 67, 70, 92, 93, 102. *Cf.* especially Cosmas of Berat slandered by Jews (Wheler, *Journey into Greece*, p. 124).

⁶ *Λεξικόν*, pp. 392 (Demetrius of Chios, 1802: *cf. N. Λειμων.*, p. 18) and 543-4 (John the Bulgarian, 1802: *cf. N. Λειμων.*, p. 88).

⁷ *Cf.* Nicolas the general merchant, in *Νέον Μαρτ.*, p. 81.

⁸ *Cf.* Leake, *North. Greece*, iii, 137; Hartley, *Researches* (1831), p. 57. There is a special service for repentant renegades (*cf.* Jowett, *Christian Researches*, pp. 20-22: *cf.* Castries, *L'Islam*, pp. 323 ff. and Rycaut, *Greek and Armenian Churches*, p. 287).

⁹ Patmos in *Λεξικόν*, p. 360 (George of New Ephesus, 1801): *cf. N. Λειμων.*, pp. 113 ff.

confessor.¹ It was generally held that the guilt of apostasy could be purged only by martyrdom, so that a permanent refuge in a monastery was impossible. The penitent, fortified by prayer and fasting, then returned to the place where he had renounced Christianity, and, throwing down his turban before a Turkish court, declared that he returned to his original faith. The judge generally used every means in his power to persuade the new convert to return to Islam, and allowed him several days to reconsider his decision.² At the end of this grace the saint was beheaded or hanged in public. The fortitude of some such victims excited the admiration not only of their co-religionists but of their Catholic contemporaries: nor, as we shall see, were the Turks altogether unmoved.

While the body was still exposed, or even while the prisoner was still in jail, signs of his sainthood were eagerly looked for. The most generally accepted token was a phosphorescent light (an idea doubtless derived from the tongues of fire at Pentecost) hovering over the prisoner, the corpse, or the grave. Another was the failure of the body to decompose by the time prescribed by Greek custom for the gathering up of the bones (*ἀνακομιδή*).³ The validity of these signs depended on the presumption that the deceased had died a martyr. Both Turks and Greeks consider that if a body does not decompose before the prescribed time, it is either that of a great saint or a great sinner. Consequently, when the phosphorescent light was seen by the Turkish authori-

¹ Rycaut (*Greek and Armenian Churches*, pp. 285 ff.) says the treatment varied for repentant renegades according to age. Under fourteen they were given only bread and water for forty days and made to pray day and night. If over fourteen, they had numerous fasts and continual prayer to observe, and for six or seven years were not allowed to communicate.

² Cf. *Νέον Μαρτ.*, p. 74 (Demetrios of Alashehr).

³ *Λεξικόν*, p. 250 (S. Argyrios, 1725): Wheler, *Journey into Greece*, p. 123 (Gerasimos of Crete): *Νέον Μαρτ.*, pp. 33, 81, 93, 107.

ties round the body of a martyr, they held that 'God was burning him'; but were quite consistently prepared to acknowledge his innocence, if it were found that this light had not consumed the body.¹ In this case the saint was recognized by Turks as divinely vindicated, and in some cases is reported to have performed posthumous miracles for Turks.²

The miracles performed by the neo-martyrs are of the usual sort attributed to the other saints in the Greek calendar. The missionary Hartley, 'walking over the ruins of Tripolitza, in the year 1828, happened to inquire . . . whether the plague was of frequent occurrence in that place. The answer implied that the plague had never visited the town since the martyrdom of a certain individual of the class just described' (*i.e.* a neo-martyr).³ Particularly interesting is the case of one George, a neo-martyr of Scala Nova, who appeared to a sick Carpathiote who in classical fashion 'incubated' at the tomb of the saint. The saint appeared to the patient in his sleep under the form of S. Panteleëmon (a popular Orthodox healing saint) and, with a staff he carried, touched the ailing part, the patient being of course healed.⁴ A closer parallel to the ancient 'incubation' at Epidaurus could hardly be desired.

The canonization of saints of this type seems to have depended mainly on the popular voice. If it was generally admitted that the choice between apostasy and death had been offered to the person executed, especially if his sanctity had been borne out by the tokens

¹ *Λεξικόν*, p. 560 (John of Sphakia, 1811: *cf.* *N. Λειμων.*, p. 328). A similar proof was the refusal of the street dogs to touch the corpse of the saint in *Νέον. Μαρτ.*, p. 107 (Athanasius of Adalia, 1700).

² *Λεξικόν*, p. 368 (George of Grevena, 1810). It was the policy of the Turks in 1830 to make Christians renegade.

³ *Researches*, p. 58.

⁴ *Λεξικόν*, p. 362 (George of Scala Nova = New Ephesus, 1801: also in *N. Λειμων.*, p. 113).

we have described or by posthumous healing miracles, his popular canonization was secure.

‘A person, of whose veracity I have no doubt, informed me’, says Hartley, ‘that he saw a Greek at Tzesme, named Gabriel Sandalges, hanged by the Turks. His countrymen, from a cause which I cannot recal, believed that he died a martyr. In consequence, a painter was employed to sketch his features, while he was still hanging; and the portrait was forthwith suspended in the church, and worship paid him under the name of Stratolates.’¹

In other cases the canonization of the saint was ordered by the local bishop. An instance of this is recorded by Hartley, as follows :

‘A Spezziot, who had commanded a brig of war during the Revolution, gave me the following fact. Two young Spezziotes, who had been the juvenile companions of my informant from the days of childhood, had the misfortune to be shipwrecked on the Island of Scio. Having fled for refuge to a Greek of the island, he had the baseness to betray them.

‘On being brought before the Turkish Pasha, he offered them the alternative of embracing the Mussulman religion, or of death. The young men manifested that fortitude in the cause of their faith which has been so often witnessed in the Turkish Empire. They professed their readiness to submit to the worst extremities, rather than abjure their religion. The menace of the Pasha was executed, and they died the death of martyrdom. . . . The Bishop of Scio addressed a Letter to the Spezziotes, informing them, not only of the martyrdom of their two countrymen, but also of the observation of the luminous appearance, which is the indication of Saintship. On the strength of this occurrence, he exhorted them to place the pictures of the two young men in their church, and to address to them a course of worship (*ἀκολουθία*). The admonition of the Bishop was duly attended to: and, as my informant asserted, their pictures are now receiving this worship: though his own recollection of these young men led him to suppose that it was altogether misdirected.’²

¹ *Researches*, p. 55.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 55–56.

In conclusion, as illustrating the essentially popular nature of such saint-cults, we may cite the case of an eighteenth-century ascetic of Katirli in Bithynia, Auxentios. He gained an immense following, and, it is said, also immense wealth, by his reputation for sanctity and miracle-working. He seems to have been a disreputable character and to have owed his success partly to the backing of a deposed patriarch of Constantinople and partly to his influence over women. The reigning prelate, having tried in vain by means of his emissaries to put an end to Auxentios' vogue, at last called for Turkish intervention. The impostor was inveigled into a boat, strangled, and thrown into the Sea of Marmara. The inhabitants interred his body in their church, and down to the sixties, in spite of all ecclesiastical protests, revered it as a miracle-working relic.¹

¹ Kleonymos and Papadopoulos, *Βιθυνικά*, pp. 95 f.; Sir James Porter, *Turkey*, i, 359 f.; Gedeon, in *Νεολόγος*, Sept. 1887, no. 5481; Dapontes, *Ἰστ. Κατάλογος*, p. 129 (in Sathas, *Μεσ. Βιβλ.* iii), 1751-2, and *Καθρέπτῃς Γυναικῶν*; Koumas, *Ἰστ. Ἀνθρ. Πράξεων*, x, 398 ff.; *Vie de saint Auxence*, ed. Léon Clugnet; *Le Mont Saint-Auxence*, by R. P. Jules Pargoire; *Νέον Μαρτ.*, p. 108.

STAG AND SAINT ¹

BOTH in Islam and in Christianity tales are told connecting stags with saints. On the Moslem side is the story that Kaigusuz Baba, while still in the world, went hunting and, having shot a stag, was amazed to see it turn into a venerable dervish. In remorse, he forthwith left the world for the cloister.² Another saint was converted by Haji Bektash, who showed him on his own person the wounds which the future saint had inflicted on a stag.³ Haji Bektash was the spiritual disciple of Kara (otherwise Karaja Ahmed) : ⁴ *Karaja* bears the meaning of *stag*.

These stories are founded on the belief that deer are the familiars of forest-dwelling hermits, who, by their sympathy with the natural world, can milk and ride on them,⁵ that is, use wild animals as domestic : more extravagant stories attribute to desert hermits the same power with regard to lions.⁶ A possible contributory cause of the generation of such myths is the use of deer-

¹ This chapter has been written up by M. M. H.

² See above, pp. 290-1. A degradation of this story may perhaps be discerned in the succouring of the Chelebi's son at Konia by S. Chariton (see above pp. 373-4 f.), where the saint may have been originally the stag which led to the mishap and subsequent miracle.

³ F. W. H.

⁴ Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 21 : cf. ii, 215.

⁵ Geyikli Baba rode on a stag to the siege of Brusa (Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 24) ; the Khalveti great-grandfather of Halil Khalid rode every Friday to Mecca on a stag (Halil Halid, *Diary of a Turk*, p. 5). The same Geyikli Baba tamed deer and lived on their milk (Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de Constantinople*, p. 10 : cf. above, p. 290) ; his name means literally *Stag Dervish*.

⁶ e. g. Ahmed Rifai (Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 229). The same tale is told of Haji Bektash in Cholet, *Voyage*, p. 47, and also of Mohammed (by Cappadocian Greeks) : see above, p. 289, and 2.

skins as prayer-mats,¹ which are looked upon as the vehicles of miraculous journeys,² in the ecstasy of contemplation, to Mecca and elsewhere. Such probably is the origin of the belief that the deer-skin preserved in the family of Halil Khalid belonged to the stag which carried Halil's dervish ancestor regularly to Mecca for the Friday prayer.³

In general, stags are holy animals and it is unlucky to shoot them.⁴ In Pontus they built the enclosure of a saint's grave.⁵ They are said to offer themselves for the *kurban* sacrifice, when other animals fail;⁶ on this account their horns are often hung in *tekkes*.⁷ Dervishes can, and do, take the form of stags.⁸ Finally, another source of legends of conversion by stags is the fact that stag-hunting is the typical employment of rich and worldly young men.⁹

On the Christian side, in the East, S. Mamas of Capadocia, who was martyred under Aurelian, milked deer¹⁰ and is said in Cyprus to have ridden on a lion.¹¹ Even in western Europe similar miracles occur.¹² Thus

¹ Van Lennep (*Travels*, ii, 46) says the most appreciated prayer-mats are the skins of the stag, the roebuck, and the wild goat.

² For miraculous journeys in general see above, pp. 285-7.

³ Halil Halid, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de Constantinople*, p. 10.

⁵ Professor White in *Mosl. World*, ix, 11.

⁶ F. W. H. The miracle is a very old one (*cf.* Plutarch, *Lucullus*, p. 10) and is found also on the Christian side (a stag offered itself for slaughter to S. Simeon the hermit, celebrated on July 26).

⁷ See above, p. 231, and n. 7.

⁸ *Cf.* above, p. 460 (Kaigusuz Baba, Haji Bektash).

⁹ See above, p. 460 (Kaigusuz Baba), and below, p. 465 (S. Eustace, S. Hubert of Liège).

¹⁰ *Synax. Cp.*, Sept. 2; Greg. Naz., *Or.* xliv, cap. xii; Basilius, *In Mamantem*: Allard, *Dern. Perséc.*, p. 259, where, however, his date is given as July 17.

¹¹ M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Gr. Sitten und Gebräuche auf Cypern*, p. 162. A similarly extravagant story deals with Ephraim Angaua, for whom see above, p. 289, n. 2.

¹² See Maury, *Croy. du Moyen Âge*, pp. 256 ff.

S. Telo of Brittany¹ rode on a stag, while S. Maximus of Turin,² being spied upon, sent a miraculous thirst on the spy and afterwards relieved it by introducing him to a deer which gave him milk. S. Gilles of Provence³ used to milk a deer and was accidentally wounded in mistake for it by a royal hunting party. On the festival of S. Rieul deer came from the forest, entered the church, and remained on the tomb of the saint during mass.⁴ The English S. Guthlac sheltered a stag from its pursuers.⁵

Conversion by a supernatural stag occurs in the legend of S. Eustace, supposed to have been martyred under Hadrian.⁶ This tale is as follows :

A Roman officer, named Placidus, was hunting near Rome. His hounds brought to bay a stag with a crucifix between its horns,⁷ which cried out, 'Why pursuest

¹ Maury, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

² *Acta SS.*, June 25.

³ *Ibid.*, Sept. 1. This sixth-century saint (otherwise Aegidius) is said to have come from Greece.

⁴ Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, i, 28.

⁵ Hutton, *English Saints*, p. 225. In general, he had power over wild things. A gazelle, hunted by the sickly son of the Sultan Sanjar, took refuge in the mud house built over the tomb of the Imam Riza near the city of Tus. The prince's horse shied away from the tomb, whereupon the prince surmised he was on holy ground, dismounted, and, praying at the tomb, was at once miraculously healed (D. M. Donaldson in *Mosl. World*, ix, 1919, pp. 293-4). This story combines the themes of the hunted animal which takes sanctuary (*e.g.* S. Guthlac's stag : the stag in Sébillot, *Folk-Lore de France*, i, 169 : the wild sow in Greg. Turon., *Vitae Patrum*, xii, ch. ii) and of the plague-smitten prince guided by an animal to cure (*e.g.* Bladud at Bath, Philoktetes &c.), for which see further below, p. 686.

⁶ *Acta SS.*, Sept. 20. The legend is certainly prior to the schism between the Churches, as it occurs in *Synax. Cr.* also. S. Bracchion's conversion was very similar (Maury, *op. cit.*, p. 257).

⁷ In the Greek life, which is the source of all known lives and probably dates before Metaphrastes (tenth century), the text runs : 'ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν κεράτων τοῦ ἐλάφου τὸν τύπον τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ ὑπὲρ τὴν λαμπρότητα τοῦ ἡλίου λάμποντα, μέσον δὲ τῶν κεράτων τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ θεοφόρου σώματος.'

The antithesis indicated is to be noted. The earliest mention of S.

thou me? I am Jesus Christ.'¹ Here, the main theme is sudden conversion effected by a miraculous beast.

After his conversion Placidus took the name of Eustathius, endured a number of Job-like trials,² and was eventually martyred, showing great fortitude in his death (*Εὐστάθιος*).

The two halves of the story are quite distinct and

Eustace is by S. John Damascenus, who lived all his life in Syria and Palestine and died before 754. It is therefore possible that the legend is of Syrian origin, in which case it is interesting to find that an Arabic expression speaks of the sun's rays as the *horns of a deer* (H. B. Tristram, *Eastern Customs*, p. 172). Cf. 'horns' for 'rays' in Hebrew (*e.g.* in *Exodus*, xxxiv, 29, where the Authorized Version reads 'Moses put forth horns', and *Habakkuk*, iii, 4). Is the introduction of the stag into the Eustace story caused or helped by a misunderstanding by the Greek translator of this metaphor or of a gloss which has crept into the text? The *eikons* ignore the difficulty raised by the position of the crucifix and merely place it on the stag's head between its horns. Maury, however, ingeniously explains (*Croy. du Moyen Âge*, p. 260) the introduction of the stag by a confusion between it and the unicorn and the ancient symbolical reference of the stag to Ps. xli, 1. This may have been contributory, but in the East the stag *is* a holy man; Eustathius' stag *is* Christ, and the stag wounded by Kaigusuz (above, p. 460) assumed the form of a venerable dervish. The *Acta* do not help much towards a solution, being late: they make the stag itself speak, not the crucifix. The second early mention of S. Eustace is by the patriarch Nicephorus, who lived in the early ninth century. Both he and S. John Damascenus were of the pro-image party, so that if the story originated in Syria, as suggested, we may owe it to the desire of the pro-image party to stimulate image worship. Miracles probably produced for some such reason are the statue of the Virgin at Damascus, half of which came alive and talked (Baronius, *s. a.* 870, quoted by Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, ii, 332) and the bleeding crucifix of Beirut, which is mentioned by Theodericus (*c.* 1172: ed. Tobler, p. 109) and by the German pilgrim of 1507 quoted by Röhricht, in *Z.D.P.V.* x, 202. See further Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 199, and for bleeding hosts and crucifixes in general see Maury, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

¹ The wording is evidently influenced by the conversion of S. Paul (*Acts*, ix, 4, 5). Balaam's ass is the prototype for the beast with human voice.

² De Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, p. 525: cf. P. Guérin, *Vie des Saints*, *s. v.*

may possibly even belong to two different persons.¹ The confusion may perhaps be explained by supposing Placidus to be a translation of 'Ηούχιος, and 'Ηούχιος to be a bad reading of Εύστορόχιος appropriate for the huntsman *motif* as Εύστοράθιος is for trials and martyrdom. It is noteworthy that the West uses the bastard form *Eustathius*. It is highly probable that the whole story belongs to the class of edifying, as opposed to historical, legends, of which the type is Barlaam and Joasaph:² to this class belong also S. Christopher³ and the similarly unlocalized S. Julian,⁴ whose story, be it noted, combines the *motifs* of the supernatural stag and the ferrying of Christ in disguise, analogous to the Christopher story. The heroes of these edifying tales seem to have no very definite cult centre or place of burial: perhaps that is characteristic. The transformation of Christ into animal form is unknown to me in the Christian cycle,⁵ though the Devil favours such disguises. The pagan gods of antiquity and Hinduism, Buddha, and, as we have seen, Moslem saints, have no such scruples. In the case of S. Eustace the difficulty is partly evaded by the introduction of the crucifix.⁶

Deriving directly from the first Eustathius story, perhaps because the relics of S. Eustace are mainly in Belgium, we have the legend of the Belgian S. Hubert,⁷

¹ The authenticity of the details of the life of S. Eustace is doubted by most authorities. There is an historical Placidus (Josephus, *De Bell. Jud.* iv, 6). ² Hastings' *Encycl. of Religion*, s. v. ³ May 9.

⁴ *Acta SS.*, Feb. 12. The *Legenda Aurea* seems the first source known. See further Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 167.

⁵ Cf., however, two very popular French stories in which Christ and the Virgin respectively take the form of butterflies (Sébillot, *Folk-Lore de France*, iii, 333).

⁶ Barlaam and Joasaph is known to be of Buddhist origin. There is some reason to believe that the prototype of all stag stories is Buddhist: see *Jatakas*, tr. Cowell.

⁷ *Acta SS.*, Nov. 3: martyred in 727. See further Maury, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

who is converted, not from paganism, but from indifference. The story¹ varies only in the fact that he was hunting on a feast-day of the Church. This variation has no doubt been introduced in order to make the story more moral, S. Hubert as a Christian needing no conversion from paganism. This idea of hunting as the typical worldly pursuit, found also on the Moslem side,² is much used in popular mythology³ and corresponds to dancing in women. Many great lords and even kings, including King Arthur,⁴ have been punished for neglecting church for its sake, and have been condemned to hunt eternally in woods or in the sky.

¹ S. Jean de Matha, died 1213 (*Acta SS.*, Feb. 8), and S. Felix of Valois, died 1212 (*Acta SS.*, Nov. 20), founders of the Trinitarian order, were given an omen of their future foundation by the apparition of a stag bearing a red and blue cross between its horns. This is an aetiological tale composed to account miraculously for the badge of the order and explain the name of the first monastery, Cerfroid, near Meaux. For similarly aetiological reasons the Trinitarian convent at Murviedro in Spain, which was founded in 1266, is said to be on the site of an ancient temple of Diana (Bradshaw's *Spain*, p. 85). Hare (*Walks in Rome*, ii, 200) gives a compact account of the legends of SS. Hubert, Felix, Eustace, and Julian.

² Cf. Kaigusuz Baba, above, p. 460.

³ For France see Sébillot, *op. cit.* i, 168, 169, 278 : cf. also iv, 13, 292. The typical *bourgeois* faults corresponding are, for men, cutting wood or hedging (Greg. Turon., *De Mirac. S. Mart.* III, xxix) ; for women, washing linen (Sébillot, *op. cit.* ii, 425, 426, 427), or dancing (Sébillot, iv, 26, 42) or baking (Greg. Turon., *loc. cit.* III, xxxi) on Sundays or holy days. For dancing see also Lecoy de la Marche, *La Chaire Française*, p. 447.

⁴ Sébillot, *op. cit.* i, 168.

THE SAINTS OF ARMUDLU

THE hot springs of Armudlu, in the valley above the village of the same name on Bos Burun (Cape Poseidium) opposite Mudania, are dedicated, according to the Greeks, to three saints, Nymphodora, Metrodora, and Menodora.¹ The conjunction of three female saints is rare in the Greek calendar, and the names suspicious,² but the Christian cult is early. The saints were, according to tradition, put to death in the reign of Maximian at Nicomedia. As early as the tenth century their martyrdom is celebrated by Symeon Metaphrastes:³ at this date their tomb was shown 'near the hot springs' and they were already considered notable miracle-workers.⁴ They had a church at Constantinople already ancient in 1341,⁵ and their relics are still preserved at the monastery of Lavra on Athos.⁶ At the springs of Armudlu are shown the *ayasma* of the saints (in the bath-chamber built for the accommodation of visitors

¹ *Acta SS. and Synax. CP.*, Sept. 10; cf. *Bibl. Hag. Gr.*, p. 177.

² Cf. the equally unconvincing Cappadocian triad Speusippus, Elasippus, and Mesippus (Rendel Harris, *Dioscuri*, pp. 52 ff.). Are they the 'three children' who lie at Langres in a tomb of bronze with a Latin inscription saying they were sent by the king of Persia to rid the town of demons (Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, i, 20)?

³ Migne, *Patr. Gr.* cxv, 653 ff.

⁴ Cf. Sym. Met., p. 664: *τάφον αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ τῆς τελειώσεως ἔχωσαν τόπῳ . . . τέμενός τε εἰς δεῦρο πρὸ τῷ τάφῳ αὐτῶν ἱερὸν ἴδρυται οἰονεῖ τινα ποταμόν, ἔνδον προχέοντα θαύματα; Synax. loc. cit.: θάπτονται πλησίον τῶν θερμῶν ὑδάτων, πολλὰς ἰάσεις ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἐπιτελοῦσαι.*

⁵ *Acta Patr.*, § xcvi, in Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et Diplom. Gr.* i, 221.

⁶ Smyrnakes, "Αγιον Όρος, p. 394: the art type of the three saints is given in the 'Ερμηνεία Ζωγράφων (in Didron, *Iconographie Chrétienne*, p. 380).

to the springs) and the place of their burial a few paces further down the valley, where there are amorphous rubble ruins of Roman or Byzantine date. The earth of the grave is used medicinally.¹

A female triad, though rare in the Byzantine calendar,² is common enough in ancient mythology, where the figures are called Eumenides, Graces, Nymphs, &c. The nymphs of springs commonly appear in art as a triad,³ and they are naturally connected with hot springs and their healing properties.⁴

At least one ancient inscription has been found at the Armudlu baths, which is (slight) evidence of their frequentation in ancient times: but this is on the face of it probable. Further, a local writer of the sixties professes to have seen in the bath itself a 'picture in relief (*ἀναγεγλυμμένη εἰκών*) of the three saints'.⁵ In 1913 I could find no trace of such a relief, but the bath was too full at the time of my visit for a satisfactory examination: local people spoke vaguely of 'figures' (which they did not connect with the saints) visible before the bath was repaired with cement. The use of a pagan relief as a Christian *eikon* is not unprecedented; numerous instances of reliefs of the 'Thracian horseman' are cited by Dumont as serving in Thrace for *eikons* of S. George.⁶ There is therefore a strong presumption that the cult of the three saints of Armudlu is based on an earlier worship of the nymphs.

¹ P. G. Makris, *Τὰ Κατιρλί*, p. 38: οἱ πιστοὶ λαμβάνουσι γῆν πρὸς θεραπείαν πασῶν τῶν ἀσθενειῶν.

² Above, p. 466.

³ See especially Imhoof-Blumer in *Journ. Int. Num.* 1908, pp. 181 ff.

⁴ Cf., e.g., Cumont, *Stud. Pont.* ii, 124, iii, 37 ff., on the nymphs at Kafsa near Amasia.

⁵ Kleonymos, *Βιθυνικά* (1867), p. 96; cf. P. G. Makris, *Τὸ Κατιρλί* (1888), p. 38, who speaks simply of an εἰκών.

⁶ *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Épigraphie*, p. 219. A horseman relief is worshipped as an *eikon* of S. Demetrius at the village church of Luzani in Lower Macedonia, see above, p. 190.

The village of Armudlu contains a fairly equal mixture of Turks and Greeks, and the bath is naturally frequented by both. Beside it are two Moslem graves, one of which is known to be that of a patient who died at the baths. Only lapse of time and suitable exploitation are needed to bring these into relation with the hot springs : and the unknown *dedes* will under favourable circumstances succeed to the heritage of the nymphs and the saints.

THE CRYPTO-CHRISTIANS OF TREBIZOND¹

THOUGH the number of crypto-Christians among the heterodox tribes of Asia Minor has probably been considerably exaggerated, it cannot be denied that crypto-Christians exist or that cases of forced conversion affecting large sections of the population can be cited.² But under the Ottoman Turks at least there is very little historical evidence for conversion on a large scale in Asia Minor. So long as the *rayahs* were not dangerous, they could be 'milked' better than True Believers, and conversion *en masse* was to no one's interest.

Exceptionally in the district of Trebizond we have both a credible legend of conversion and an existent population, outwardly Mohammedan, which seems in some cases to retain something from the more ancient faith and in others to practise it in secret. Of the first category may be cited certain villages in the district of Rizeh, which, though Mohammedan by profession, preserve some memories of the rite of baptism and speak, not Turkish, but Armenian.³ Crypto-Christians proper, belonging to the Greek rite and Greek by speech, also

¹ Reprinted from *J.H.S.* xli, 199 ff.

² Individual conversions are in a different category and have probably at all times taken place to a greater or less extent. Cf. Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 197, who cites the case of a Meccan *sherif* family, which, being entrusted with the rule of the mountain, became crypto-Christians in order to have more hold over the Christians of Lebanon. Lady Burton (*Inner Life of Syria*, p. 146) records wholesale local conversions which took place in Syria on account of government or private oppression.

³ Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 121. These people seem to be identical with the Armenians of the Batum district, who were converted 'two hundred years ago' (Smith and Dwight, *Missionary Researches in Armenia*, 1834, p. 457).

existed till recent years in the neighbourhood of Trebizond: they were known generally as 'Stavriotae', from a village Stavra in the ecclesiastical district of Gumush-hane. They are said at one time to have numbered 20,000 in the *vilayets* of Sivas, Angora, and Trebizond: now all have returned to the open profession of their faith.¹ The local authorities refer these populations to a persecution which arose at the end of the seventeenth century and resulted in the conversion of 8,000 families and the flight of many others to the Crimea and elsewhere. Of the converted Greeks some were till lately to be found in the mining district of Kromna and were only outwardly Mussulman; but most reverted to open Christianity about 1860.² Others are settled in the regions of Rizeh and Ophis; ³ all retain their language and some, in spite of their changed religion, jealously preserve their Christian sacred books.

All the traditions of the persecution at Trebizond seem to go back to one source.⁴ The date (*c.* 1665) is fixed rather arbitrarily after the building date of a certain famous house which is supposed to mark a 'high-water mark' of Christian ⁵ prosperity and more particu-

¹ R. Janin, in *Échos d'Orient*, xiv (1912), pp. 495-505. Cuinet (*Turquie d'Asie*, i, 12) says there are 12,000 to 15,000 Kromlis, living in nine villages not far from Trebizond.

² S. Ioannides, *Ἱστορία Τραπεζοῦντος*, pp. 134-5.

³ For the Ophites *cf.* M. Deffner, *Πέντε Ἑβδομάδες παρὰ τοῖς ἀρησιθρήσκους ἐν Ὀφει*, in *Ἐστία*, 1877, no. 87, pp. 547-50.

⁴ Apparently S. Ioannides, *Ἱστορία Τραπεζοῦντος*, pp. 132 ff., which is followed by Triandaphyllides, *Ποντικά*, p. 56, and preface to the same author's *Οἱ Φυγάδες*. E. I. Kyriakides, *Ἱστορία τῆς Μονῆς Σουμελά*, pp. 91 ff., adds a reference to Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Fontes Hist. Trapez.* i, 150-65, for a contemporary poem. David's history of Trebizond may be the source of all. For the Christian practices of the Stavriotae of Lazistan (the Ophite crypto-Christians?) see Pears, *Turkey*, p. 266 f.; Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey*, p. 241.

⁵ The Trapezuntine crypto-Christians are also mentioned casually by Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, i, 340; Smith and Dwight, *op. cit.*, p. 453; Flandin and Coste, *Voyage en Perse* (1840-1), i, 38, who call the sect

larly by the transformation of two churches (S. Sophia and S. Philip) into mosques a few years later. But the real dates of these transformations are given by Evliya¹ as 1573 and 1577 respectively, while the date of the house is irrelevant. It thus seems probable that we have to reckon with two outbursts of anti-Christian fanaticism in the sixteenth and seventeenth² centuries respectively. We may surmise, but cannot prove, that these were due to political circumstances, the earlier perhaps to the battle of Lepanto³ and the later to the Russian aggressions.⁴

Kroumi (from Kromna, one of their villages) or *Messo-Messo* ('half-and-half'). The best and most recent account of them is given by Janin in *Échos d'Orient*, xiv (1912), pp. 495-505. He draws for their early history on the Greek authors mentioned above, and for recent events on local sources, describing the gradual return of the crypto-Christians to open profession of their faith. They are now said to be undergoing a forced re-conversion to Islam (*Иарпис*, April 16, 1915).

¹ ii, 45-6. He wrote about the middle of the seventeenth century.

² Two Cappadocian villages near Nevshehr are said by Oberhammer and Zimmerer to have been converted to Islam 'a hundred and eighty years ago' (*Durch Syrien*, p. 143). There was an unsuccessful Turkish campaign in 1677 against the Russians. It is to be noted that Trebizond is particularly accessible to Russian agents.

³ See below, p. 723. Cf. also Hobhouse, *Albania*, ii, 976.

⁴ About the same time, Thomas Smith at Constantinople mentions that 'a certain Prophecy, of no small Authority, runs in the minds of all the People, and has gained great credit and belief among them, that their Empire shall be ruined by a Northern Nation, which has white and yellowish Hair. The Interpretation is as various as their Fancy. Some fix this character on the *Moscovites*; and the poor *Greeks* flatter themselves that they are to be their Deliverers . . . Others look upon the *Sweeds* as the persons describ'd in the Prophecy' (Ray's *Voyages*, ii, 80 f.). This is the 'Yellow Race' of the Prophecy of Constantine (Carnoy and Nicolaidis, *Folk-Lore de Constantinople*, pp. 48 f., &c.) current already in the sixteenth century (cf. Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, p. 102). The text was said to have been found in the tomb of Constantine and to have been interpreted by the patriarch Gennadius, according to the regular machinery of apocryphal 'discoveries' (see below, p. 716). As the Russians are Orthodox and the Swedes Lutheran the prophecy more probably refers to the former and may have been

The Greek authors give some curious details of the secret Christianity of their compatriots in the Trebizond

concocted about the time we first hear of it, as Ivan the Terrible was then showing that the Russians would one day be dangerous. It probably revived regularly when Russia threatened: for instance, Volney (*Voyage*, i, 42) found the prophecy common among the Turks about 1784, during the Turko-Russian war to which the treaty of Kainarjik put an end. Similarly, Hobhouse heard it during his wanderings in Turkey. The eighteenth century K. Dapontes speaks of τῆς Ἐλισάβετ τῶν Ξανθῶν μεγάλης Βασιλείου (Κῆπος Χαρίτων, p. 195), presumably with the prophecy in mind. In his time Burckhardt found that the Syrians made no mystery of it: the 'Yellow King' was merely another way of saying 'Emperor of Russia' (*Syria*, p. 40). According to Polites (*Παραδόσεις*, ii, 669, drawing on Du Cange, *Glossar.*, s. v. *flavus*), the prophecy appears first in Roger de Hoveden, who says that a prophecy written up over the Golden Gate of Constantinople stated that a Yellow King, who was a *Latin*, should enter by it. As the Flavian Theodosius built the Golden Gate, there may have been a long Latin inscription, full of abbreviations and containing the word *Flavius* over the gate. This, misread, may have originated the idea. It is interesting that the prophecy should have been applied first to a conqueror rather than a deliverer. Something of the same confusion as to the Yellow Race appears in the tenth-century 'Οράσεις of Daniel (Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, ii, 665 ff.; Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii, 188), alleged to have been found by Leo the Wise in the tomb of Daniel, the Daniel in question having been a monk, later confounded with the Biblical prophet. The 'Οράσεις may thus be merely another name for Leo's oracles. Such discoveries of magic books in graves are rather interesting: they add prestige to the books in question: the 'discovery' sounds genuine owing to the practice of burying books with the dead: cf. L. Cahun, *Excursions sur les Bords de l'Euphrate*, p. 263, who found a copy of the Koran in a sheikh's tomb he had opened. I myself heard the same tale at Manisa. In such cases the Koran is possibly intended to help the dead in the examination he undergoes from the two angels after death, for which see especially d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, i, 239, and Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, ii, 265 (above, p. 250). The practice among Moslems may derive ultimately from Jewish custom. Jewish rabbis are frequently buried with a pentateuch (a perfect copy is never used): hence discoveries of holy books in Jewish prophets' graves are numerous (cf. Loftus, *Travels in Chaldaea*, p. 36, and Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii, 1309). Émile Deschamps, *Au Pays d'Aphrodite*, p. 230, and Tischendorf, *Terre-Sainte*, p. 201, both mention a gospel found in the tomb of Barnabas

district. They kept the Orthodox fasts strictly. Their children were baptized, and habitually bore a Christian and a Turkish name for secret and public use respectively: such Turkish names as ' Mehmet ' and ' Ali ' were however, avoided. As to marriage, they never gave their daughters to Turks, but the men were not averse to taking wives from among their Turkish neighbours. In this case the parties were married secretly according to the Christian rite in one of the monasteries before the consummation of the marriage. If pressure were necessary, the bridegroom threatened to leave his bride. When a crypto-Christian died, the burial service was read for him in a Christian church while he was being interred. Mollahs were sent to the crypto-Christian villages in Ramazan, but were got out of the way when services were held.¹

I mention here for the curiosity of the subject a community of crypto-Jews alleged to exist in the neighbourhood of Pergamon at a village named Trachalla. This village was visited by MacFarlane in 1828-9: ² according to his account, the inhabitants betray their Jewish origin by their physical type and, though in externals Mohammedans by religion, keep Saturday as a holiday. We can only suppose them to be an offshoot of the

in Cyprus. In the Jewish instances, the book, not the holy man, is the essential: as they prohibit images and are eager for knowledge to which the sacred book is the key, this book becomes almost an object of adoration with them. At Tedif near Aleppo a certain synagogue was greatly venerated by Jews on account of an ancient manuscript kept there (Pococke, *Voyages*, iii, 495). A pentateuch written by Esdras was preserved in a synagogue of Old Cairo: it was so holy that people could not look on it and live (Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, pp. 527, 542-3: cf. Pierotti, *Légendes Racontées*, p. 39). A glance at the half stone, half flesh image of the Virgin in the Syrian convent of Sidnaya had the same fatal effect (J. L. Porter, *Damascus*, p. 130; cf. Ludolf, *De Itinere*, pp. 99 ff., Maundrell, *Voyage*, Utrecht, 1705, pp. 220-1, and Baronius, *s. a.* 870).

¹ Triandaphyllides, *Ποιτικὰ*, pp. 55-92.

² *Constantinople*, ii, 335 ff.

Turco-Jewish (*Dunmeh*) community of Smyrna,¹ probably attracted to the Pergamon district by its prosperity under the rule of the Karaosmanoglu family during the eighteenth century.²

¹ The heresy of Sabatai Tsevi, the seventeenth-century Messiah whose followers turned with him to Islam, had much hold in Smyrna, though its chief connexions are now with Salonica. A follower of his, Daniel Israel, was expelled by the Kadi from Smyrna in 1703, but seems to have been still living there in 1717 (G. Cuper, *Lettres*, pp. 396, 398).

² Crypto-Christians are recorded elsewhere also. Walpole mentions a group of five such Albanian villages in the Morea (*Travels*, p. 292). Professor R. M. Dawkins heard in Crete that during the Greek revolution of 1821 many Cretan crypto-Christians declared themselves openly for Christianity and were massacred accordingly. A long article by R. Michell in the *Nineteenth Century* for May 1908 describes the Lino-Vamvaki (*lit.* 'linen-cotton') of Cyprus. Hahn cites the Karamuratadhes of the middle Voyussa in Albania as recent and partial converts to Islam (*Alban. Studien*, p. 36). The alleged date (1760) of their conversion squares well with the accounts of the Vallahadhes in south-west Macedonia, for whom see Wace and Thompson, *Nomads of the Balkans*, p. 29; Bérard, *Macédoine*, pp. 110 f.; and Margaret M. Hasluck, in *Contemp. Rev.*, 1924, pp. 225 ff. Their turning seems to have been part of a considerable movement in the Balkans during the eighteenth century, when the Russian danger caused the Turks to put pressure on their *rayah* populations to convert. It may be noted that the Vallahadhes preserve their churches as they were, especially at Vrosdan, Vron diza, and Vinyani, and frequent them at certain seasons—or so my informants assert. A community of some 400 souls exists at the present day in the heart of Constantinople itself, in the Top Kapu Serai quarter, which lies between the east end of S. Sophia and the Serai walls: outwardly they are Moslem and attend the mosque, but in secret they have eikons: they are very poor and live by making beads. Crypto-Christians are mentioned in Bosnia by Boué (*Itinéraires*, iii, 407), and in south Albania (*ibid.* iii, 407-8). On the phenomenon in general in Islam see G. Jacob, *Bektaschijje*, p. 29.

LISTS OF HETERODOX TRIBES

§ 1. *Yuruk Tribes*

- (i) According to Tsakyroglous, *Περὶ Γιουρούκων*, pp. 13 ff.
- (a) In the north-west portion of the Aidin *vilayet* :
Abmedli : part at Kula, part at Simav in the adjoining *vilayet* of Brusa.
Altji ('Αλτσι) : about Attala as far as At-alan.
Anamasli : in the *kaza* of Demirji. It has 50 tents and 70 houses (*dam*), 16,000 beasts, and pays 15,000 piastres in *verghi*.
Arapli : about Salikli, and extends into the *vilayet* of Brusa.
Chakal : in the *sanjak* of Sarukhan.
Charik : in the *kaza* of Kula.
Farsak : all over the *vilayet* of Aidin. It is a very rich and populous tribe, counting 1,200 families.
Gueuk Musali : in *kaza* of Demirji, above the village of Injikler. It has 50 houses and 50 tents.
Ivatli : about Karneit : it possesses 22 tents.
Kachar : at Selge and Alashehr, extending south as far as Nazli. A large and important tribe divided into *mahallas*, Kula-Kachar, Keles-Kachar, Ova-Kachar, &c.¹
Kara Tekkeli : winters about Smyrna.
Kburzum :² in the *vilayets* of Aidin and Brusa.
Kizil Kechili : at Prinar-Keui, in the *mudirlik* of Selenti (Kula). It has 800 tents, 60,000 beasts, and pays 60,000 piastres taxes.
Kombach : about Soma.

¹ Vambéry adds Selge Kachar.² Vambéry's Khorgun.

Manavli : between Alashehr and Salikli and in the *vilayet* of Brusa.

Narinjali : *kaza* of Kula, in the neighbourhood of Omur Baba Dagh up to Denizli.

Sarach : between Ushak and Esme.

Sari Tekkeli : between Nazli and Denizli, and in the *vilayet* of Brusa.

Shebidli : *kaza* of Kula. It has 60 houses.

Sheikhli : winters at Uluborlu, summers at Afium Kara Hisar. It is divided into ten *kabilehs* (including Arpat-sheikhli, Kisat-sheikhli, Haji-sheikhli), possesses 70–80 tents and 200 houses, and pays 15,000 piastres taxes.

Yaghji Bendirli (or *Yangji Bendir*) : Soma and the *vilayet* of Brusa.

(b) South-western and other districts of Aidin *vilayet* .

Abdal : Uluborlu and elsewhere.

Akdaghli : about Nazli.

Ak-kozali.

Alaja Koyunlu : up to Konia.

Allah-Abeli : *sanjak* of Sarukhan.

Beylikli.

Boïni Injeli.

Burkhan : also in *vilayet* of Brusa.

Chambar : *vilayets* of Aidin and Brusa.

Chepni : an important tribe, scattered all over the Aidin *vilayet*.

Chitmi.

Dede Karkinli : *sanjak* of Sarukhan.

Deriji : *vilayets* of Aidin and Brusa.

Dosuti-Arapli.

Eski Yuruk.

Eshpek (Ἐσχηπέκ).

Geigel.

Gerinisli : Nazli to Mughla.

Giushji : Nazli.

Guzel-beyli : about Nazli.

Harmandali.

Hartal.

Igneji (Ἰγνεζί) : *sanjak* of Sarukhan.

Imir-harigi : *sanjak* of Sarukhan.

Jerid : about Nazli.

Karafakoglu : *vilayets* of Aidin and Brusa.

<i>Karamanli</i> : Nazli to Isbarta.	<i>Muzan</i> : also in <i>vilayet</i> of Brusa.
<i>Karayaghjili</i> .	<i>Omurlu</i> .
<i>Keusheler</i> : Nazli	<i>Rakhman</i> .
<i>Kilaz</i> .	<i>Saatji-Karali</i> (<i>Σαατζι</i> <i>Καραλι</i>) ¹ about Nazli.
<i>Kirtish</i> .	<i>Sari-Kechili</i> .
<i>Kislilerli</i> : <i>sanjak</i> of Sarukhan.	<i>Tash Evli</i> .
<i>Kizil-Isbikli</i> : also in the <i>vilayet</i> of Brusa.	<i>Tekkeli</i> : Nazli.
<i>Koja-Beyli</i> : <i>vilayets</i> of Aidin and Brusa.	<i>Teraji</i> .
<i>Musarlarli</i> : <i>sanjak</i> of Sarukhan.	<i>Yataganli</i> : about Kara- gach.
	<i>Yel-aldi</i> .

(c) Mainly in *vilayet* of Konia :

<i>Durgut</i> : important tribe, perhaps Mongolian.	<i>Rumli</i> or <i>Urumli</i> .
<i>Piroglu</i> .	<i>Tapanli</i> .
<i>Risfan</i> .	<i>Terkiani</i> .
	<i>Turkmen</i> .

(d) Exclusively in *vilayet* of Adana :

<i>Berber</i> .	<i>Menemenji</i> . ²
<i>Karsant</i> . ²	<i>Sirkentili</i> . ²

(e) Additional (*habitat* not specified) :

<i>Barakli</i> .	<i>Kechili</i> .
<i>Chaban</i> .	<i>Mersinli</i> .
<i>Chebrekli</i> (Kurds).	<i>Nihar</i> .
<i>Imrazli</i> .	<i>Tarazli</i> .
<i>Kalabak</i> .	<i>Zeibekli</i> .
<i>Karandirlik</i> .	

¹ *Satchi Karali* in Vambéry.² These are, according to Grothe (*Vorderasiensexpedition*, ii, 145), subdivisions of the Afshar tribe.

(ii) In Cilicia, according to Langlois, *Cilicie*, pp. 21 ff.

(a) Tarsus :

Baxis and *H. Hasanoglu* with 300 H[ouses].

Kalaunlu with 30 H.

Karakaialu with 700 T[ents].

Kara-tekkeli with 150 H.

Melemenji with 3,000 H.

Puran and *Mustafa-bey* with 200 T.

Sortan and *Kujuoglou* with 500 H.

Tekkeli with 600 H.

Thoroglu with 300 H.

(b) Adana :

Busdagan [*Bosdaghan*] with 1,400 T.

Daundarlu with 200 T.

*Farsak*¹ with 800 T.

Jerid with 1,200 T.

Kara-hajelu with 500 H.

Karitinlu with 100 T.

Kerim-oglu with 2,500 T.

Khozanoglu with 500 H.

Sarkanteli-oglu with 800 T.

Tajerlu with 1,200 T.

(c) Marash :

Haji Koyunlu with 120 T.

Fejale with 200 T.

Kilisle with 400 T.

§ 2. *Turkoman Tribes*

(i) P. Russell's list as published in Niebuhr's *Voyage en Arabie* (Amsterdam), ii, 336 ff.²

¹ Mentioned also by Bertrandon de la Brocquière, p. 8.

² [Niebuhr complains of the difficulty he had experienced in making out the list because Russell had sent him no transcription of the Turkish names and he himself knew no Turkish. To facilitate use of the list by readers with no knowledge of Turkish I have sometimes inserted in square brackets a transcription more in harmony than Niebuhr's with

(a) In country of Sivas and Angora :

<i>Agbsje Kiuneli</i> [<i>Akje</i> <i>Koyunlu</i>]: 500 T.	<i>Kudsjikli</i> [<i>Kuchuklu</i>]: 10,000 T.
<i>Auschir</i> [<i>Avsbar</i>]: 500 T.	<i>Lek</i> : 1,000 T.
<i>Beherli</i> : 1,000 T.	<i>Pehlivanli</i> : 15,000 T.
<i>Dsjerid</i> [<i>Ŷerid</i>]: 500 T.	<i>Scham Biadli</i> : 500 T.

(b) In Sivas district :

<i>Dsjefrghanli</i> [<i>Ŷaferaghanli</i>]: 200 T.
<i>Eilebekli</i> [<i>Ilbekli</i> : <i>Ilbegli</i>]: 2,000 T. (half in Aleppo district).
<i>Irak</i> : 1,000 T. (summer at Sivas, winter at Zor).
<i>Kulindsjefli</i> : 500 T.
<i>Ribanli</i> : 2,000 T. (summer at Sivas, winter at Aleppo).
<i>Sufulir</i> [<i>Sofular</i>]: 500 T.

(c) In Angora district :

Burenik: 12,000 T.

(d) In Aintab district :

Dade Kirkan: 100 T.

Dindischli: 500 T.

Ditumli: 3,000 T.

Dsjadsjeli [*Ŷajeli*]: 1,000 T.

Kirsak: 2,000 T.

Musa Beikli [*Musa Beyikli* (? *Musabegli*)]: 500 T.

(e) In Caesarea district :

Dadli: 200 T. (summer at Caesarea, winter in Urfa *pashalik*).

Karadsjekerd [*Karaja Kurd*]: 500 T.

Kuluk [*Kulak*]: 200 T. (summer at Caesarea, winter at Adana).

(f) In Aleppo district :

Aulischli [*Aulasbli*]: 200 T.

the spelling usually adopted by my husband. In some cases, however, the Turkish names are too corrupt even for a rough rendering. Professor Margoliouth has kindly helped me with the transcriptions.—
M. M. H.]

(g) In Damascus district :

Kabeli : 1,000 T.

Kara Kojunli [*K. Koyunlu*] : 500 T.

(h) Syria, mostly Damascus *pashalik* :

Aiali : 1,000 T.

Fidsjeli : 200 T.

Asebdiuli [*Azedinli*] :
500 T.

Kikli [*Geikli*] : 2,000 T.

Saradsjäller [*Sarajalar*] :

Ausferli [*Auzarli*] :
1,000 T.

500 T.

Scherefli : 500 T.

Eilner [*Imir*] : 500 T.

Tuchtamarli : 500 T.

(i) In Urfa *pashalik* :

Baujindir [*Baindir*] :
300 T.

Bekdeli : 12,000 T.

Mahmalenli : 500 T.

(ii) List according to Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, pp. 633 ff.

(a) Rihanli : 3,000 tents : north-west of Aleppo : winter in Antioch plain, summer in mountains of Gorun and Albistan.

Sub-tribes of Rihanli :

Aoutshar : 20 horsemen.

Bahaderlu : 100 horsemen : mountains of S. Simon.

Cheuslu : 200 horsemen : from Badjazze (Baia?).

Coudanlut : 600 horsemen.

Delikanli : 600 horsemen.

Hallalu : 60 horsemen.

Kara Ahmetli : 150 horsemen.

Kara Soleimanlu : 50 horsemen.

Karken : 20 horsemen.

Leuklu : 100 horsemen.

Okugu : 50 horsemen.

Serigialar : ¹ 500 horsemen : Maden.

Toroun : 60 horsemen.

¹ [Niebuhr's Saradjalar.—M. M. H.]

(b) *Jerid*: between Badjazze (Baia?) and Adana: winter in plains, summer in the Armenian mountains.

<i>Sub-tribes of Jerid</i> :	<i>Karegialar</i> [<i>Karajalar</i>].
<i>Aoutsbar.</i>	
<i>Bosdagan.</i>	<i>Leck</i> . ¹
<i>Jerid.</i>	<i>Tegir</i> . ²

(c) *Pebliwanli*: live in district of Bosurk (? Bozuk, near Angora) and near Constantinople; summer one day's distance from the Rihanli.

(d) *Rishwans*: winter in Haimaneh district near Angora formerly near Aleppo.

Sub-tribes of the Rishwans:

<i>Deleyanli.</i>	<i>Mandolli.</i>
<i>Gelikanli.</i>	<i>Omar Anli.</i>

(e) *Karashukli*: near Bir on Euphrates.³

(iii) For comparison I add the list ⁴ of sub-tribes of

¹ These speak a language of their own (Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 642).

² Cf. Grothe's *Tedjerli*, below, p. 482.

³ A comparison with the list of the Turkomans of Luristan as given by Rawlinson (in *J.R.G.S.*, ix, 1839, 103) is also of interest. He enumerates them as follows: *Ulaki* and *Mal Ahmedi*, with 400 families, wintering at Sar Dasht and Dizful, summering at Japalak and Silakhir: *Bukhtiyariwand* with 600 families and the same *habitat* as the above: *Duraki* with 400 families, summering at Chahar Mahal and wintering as above: *Sallaki* with 2,000 families, summering at Burburud: *Kunursi* with 1,000 families, summering at Feridun and about Zardah Kuh, wintering at Ram Hormuz, Janniki-Garmasir, and about Shuster: *Subuni* with 1,500 families, *habitat* as Kunursi: *Mahmud Saleh* with 1,000 families and same *habitat*: *Mogui* with 500 families, *Memiwand* with 4,000, and *Zallaki* with 4,000, all with *habitat* as Kunursi: *Bawai* with 3,000 families, *Urak* and *Shalub* combined with 2,500 families, summering at Bazuft and wintering at Susan and Mal Amir.

⁴ [The corrections are Sir Harry Lamb's.—M. M. H.]

the AFSHARS given by H. Grothe, *Vorderasiener-
pedition*, ii, 145, n. 2.

Awschar.

Beisgitli.

Bosdan [Bosdaghan].

Djedjeli Salmanly.

Djerid.

Farsak.

*Hadji Mustafa Ali-U-
schak.*

*Hadji Mustafa Redje[b]
Uschak.*

Hodjan Ali [Hojanli].

Hür-Uschak.

Ƣaidji-Usch[ak].

Karsanty.

Kekili Uschak.

Kirli.

Kosan.

Melemendji.

Schabbach.

Tedjerli.

Torun.

(iv) KURDS¹ of Cilicia according to Langlois, *Cilicie*,
p. 23.

Afshar with 3,000 T.

Karalar with 600 T.

Karsanteli with 1,300 T.

Lek with 150 T.

¹ Some Kurds are pagan, some are Sunni, and some are said to be Yezidi (Langlois, *op. cit.*, p. 23). They winter at Adana and summer at Caesarea.

HAJI BEKTASH AND THE JANISSARIES

INTRODUCTORY

THE institution of the first Turkish standing army, the famous corps of Janissaries, enrolled by the sultans from a tithe taken on Christian children, is the subject of a picturesque legend till recently accepted as fact by the gravest historians. This legend associates the Ottoman sultan Orkhan with the saint Haji Bektash as co-founders of the Janissary system. Orkhan, the story runs, having raised his first levy of Christian youths for the corps, sent them to Haji Bektash, whom they found in the neighbourhood of Amasia, to crave his benediction. Haji Bektash, laying his hand on the heads of the recruits, invoked the blessing of heaven on the 'new troops' or *yeni cheri*; this was the origin of the name of the corps, by westerns corrupted into *Janissary*. In commemoration, as was said, of this benediction, the Janissaries wore attached to their head-dress a flap or pendant of cloth, supposed to represent the sleeve of the saint's habit, which had so fallen as he raised his hand to the recruits' heads in the act of blessing them.¹

In this legend, which cannot be traced farther back than the second half of the sixteenth century, two centuries later than the events related, Orkhan and Haji Bektash are represented as the civil and religious founders respectively of the Janissaries. Orkhan and the Janissaries are of course historical; the date of the foundation of the Janissaries has been disputed, and the

¹ Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.*, i, 123 f. A slightly different version is given by Evliya, *Travels*, I, ii, 106. See also below, p. 613, n. 3.

existence of an historical Haji Bektash called in question. Our investigation will thus concentrate on three points :

1. The date of the foundation of the Janissaries.
2. The personality of Haji Bektash.
3. The connexion of Haji Bektash with the Janissaries.

§ 1. *The Date of the Institution of the Janissaries*

Though von Hammer's authority has won general acceptance for the story given above, if we go behind von Hammer we find in the various authorities very conflicting accounts of the origin of the Janissaries, and especially in the matter of date ; their institution is attributed to the reigns of at least four sultans, viz. :

1. Osman I (1299 to 1326) : this is the version of Chalcondyles, who is supposed to have died shortly after the fall of Constantinople.¹

2. Orkhan (1326 to 1360) : this is the canonized version accepted by von Hammer on the authority of the Turkish historians Neshri (early sixteenth century) and Ali (d. 1599). The name of the vizir immediately responsible for the Janissary system is given as Kara Khalil.²

3. Murad I (1360 to 1389) is credited with the institution of the Janissaries by two Venetian *Relations* of the late sixteenth century,³ by Marsigli,⁴ and by Cantimir.⁵

4. Murad II (1421 to 1451), by Giovio⁶ and George-

¹ P. 8 P. : τοῦτον ἴσμεν . . . τάξιν ἀρίστην ἀποδείξασθαι ἀμφ' αὐτόν, τὴν θύρας Βασιλέως [see below, p. 486] καλοῦσι.

² *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 123 f., and note, p. 384.

³ Alberi, *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti*, ser. III, vol. iii, p. 343 (Moro in 1590), and ser. III, vol. ii, p. 331 (Lorenzo in 1592).

⁴ *État Mil. de l'Emp. Ott.*, p. 67.

⁵ i, 34, s. a. 1362.

⁶ Cited by Leunclavius, *Pandectes*, § 35. Giovio's treatise on the Turks (*Cose de Turchi*) is dated 1531 by the introductory letter

wicz,¹ as by other authorities of less independent value.²

The usual explanation of these puzzling discrepancies has been hitherto to assume that the Janissary system was instituted by an early sultan and reformed or systematized by Murad I or II. For this there is considerable authority,³ though the nature of the changes introduced by the reformer remains vague.

The distinctive feature of the Janissary system is the recruitment of the corps from a levy of the Christian children of the Empire, who were forcibly converted and specially trained for their profession. Of the levy of children as practised in the seventeenth century Evliya gives the following account.

‘Every seven years a Colonel of the Janissaries . . . sets out with five or six hundred men for Rumeli, to draft from all the villages, Albanese, Greek, Albanian, Servian, and Bulgarian boys. The seven or eight thousand boys collected in that way, according to the institute of Sultan Orkhan, sanctified by the benediction of Haji Begtash, are dressed in the town of Uskub, in jackets (Muwahadi) of red Aba, with a cleft on the shoulders, and with caps of red felt. . . . Arrived at Constantinople, their names are put down in register, and they are called Ajemogh-lans, receiving twenty aspers, and half a piece of cloth a year. The best are given to the artillery, the armourers, and the Bostanji, because this is the heaviest service.’⁴

¹ Georgewicz returned from his Turkish captivity not later than 1544, when he wrote his widely read *De Turcorum Moribus Epitome*.

² Geuffroy, *Court du Grant Turc*, Paris, 1546, cited by Leunclavius, *Pandectes*, § 35: see also Nicolay, *Raisz und Schiffart*, p. 144 of the Antwerp (1577) edition. The voyage was made in 1551, but the author takes most of his information on the Turks from earlier authors.

³ Cf. Phrantzes, 92 B: [Ἀμουράτης] πρῶτος τοῖς ἰαννιζάρους τὰ προνόμια ἃ ἔχουσιν ἐχαρίσατο· παλαιόθεν μὲν τὸ αὐτὸ τάγμα ἐτέρας συνηθείας καὶ τάξεις καὶ ἐνδύματα εἶχον.

⁴ Evliya, *Travels*, I, ii, 210. De Brèves states that in villages of mixed population Moslem parents sometimes passed their children off as Christian in order to assure them a career as Janissaries (*Moyens de Ruiner un Turc*, p. 24). One source of profit was the payments

Of this systematic collection of Christian children for service there is no hint in the early accounts of the Janissaries. Especially notable is the silence of Ibn Batuta, a Moorish traveller who visited the court of Orkhan; of Schiltberger, a prisoner of Nikopolis (1396) who passed many years as a slave in western Asia; and of Bertrandon de la Brocquière, a Burgundian soldier who travelled overland from Syria into Europe in 1432-3, taking a special and professional interest in Turkish military affairs.

The truth seems to be that the earlier sultans maintained a kind of bodyguard or *corps d'élite* formed of bought or captured slaves.¹ As in other Mohammedan countries, the sultan had the right to one-fifth of all prisoners as of all booty captured in war.² In the case of the early Turkish sultans the prisoners would be mainly Christians. This force was reorganized by one of the Murads: the prisoners were induced to abjure their faith by the privileges the service offered, and specially trained in the arts of war.³ The members of this corps are called by Chalcondyles⁴ and by Ducas (who mentions its presence at the battle of Nikopolis) *πόρτα* or *θύρα*, which the latter explains as indicating that these troops stood at the sultan's gate.⁵ In later

made to the Janissaries by local Christians in order to avoid oppression by the former: cf. Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 296; Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 654. Professor Dawkins heard a similar tale told in Crete of the grandfather of Professor Hatzidakis. For the steps in a Janissary's career from *ajemoghlan* to *bostanji* and Janissary see Quiclet, *Voyages*, p. 211.

¹ Cf. Bertrandon de la Brocquière, ed. Wright, pp. 347, 349.

² This right was exercised as late as the seventeenth century by the Ottoman sultans (Evliya, *Travels*, I, ii, 170). Hottinger (*Hist. Orient.*, p. 463) quotes George of Hungary as saying that the sultans claimed one tenth only of the booty.

³ Chalcondyles, pp. 121-2 P.

⁴ P. 8 P. (quoted above).

⁵ P. 52: [οἱ Τοῦρκοι] οἷ τινες πόρτα καλεῖται οἶον θύρα τοῦ παλατίου τῆς αὐλῆς. At this time Ducas says they were all bought slaves and over 10,000 in number: Sanuto (*Diarii*, i, 398) records 8,000 in 1496;

times certain Janissaries to whom these duties were entrusted were denominated *Kapu Kulu* ('Slaves of the Gate')¹ which we may perhaps assume was the original title of the early sultans' guards.

The earliest occurrence of the word Janissary (*γενίτζερι* translated *νεοσύλλεκτος στρατός = yeni sheri*), at least in a Christian author, seems to be that of Ducas in the middle of the fifteenth century: the Janissaries of his time were still largely Christian prisoners of war.² It is hard to believe that the levy of Christian children, always a bitter grievance to the Greeks, is thus passed over by a Greek author if the system already existed: yet in some form it certainly did, since in the Capitulations of Pera (1453) the children of the Perote Genoese are expressly exempted from impressment.³

The truth is, probably, that the levy of children was not yet systematized. So late as 1472 Cippico describes the Janissaries as recruited largely from the sultan's fifth of the prisoners of war; only when prisoners were not available in sufficient quantity were the numbers made up by the forcible impressment of Christian children.⁴ So that the organization of the system, so far from dating back to Orkhan or even Murad I, must be referred to a date subsequent to 1472.

Georgewicz (*op. cit.*) states that there were 12,000 in his time. This association with the gate has evidently (through *janua*) aided in the formation of the western word *Janissary*, which is used by English and French writers long after the dispersal of the corps for what is now called a *kavass* (*cf.* J. Farley, *Two Years in Syria*, p. 198; Lady Duff Gordon, *Letters from Egypt*, p. 87; Lubomirski, *Jérusalem*, p. 285). The fantastic derivations given by de Vigenère, *Illustr. sur Chalcondile*, p. 69 (in de Mezeray, *Hist. des Turcs*, vol. ii), may be ignored.

¹ Marsigli, *État Mil. de l'Emp. Ott.*, p. 66.

² Pp. 137 f.

³ Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et Diplom. Gr.* iii, 287-8: *cf.* Belgrano, in *Atti Soc. Lig.* xiii, 228.

⁴ In Sathas, *Μνημ. Έλλ. Έστ.* vii, 281: 'Se non possono avere prigionieri, tolgono per forza a' Cristiani loro sudditi per ogni parte del loro imperio i lor figliuoli.'

§ 2. *The Personality of Haji Bektash*

The traditional Haji Bektash is represented as having founded the dervish order which bears his name (*Bektashi*) as well as having blessed the Janissaries. He was both missionary and warrior. In the former character he is said to have established through his disciples seven hundred convents (*tekkes*) of dervishes, one in each of the towns conquered by Orkhan,¹ in the latter to have taken part with Orkhan in the siege of Brusa.² The connexion with Orkhan is firmly established by tradition in the seventeenth century.

According to the latest authorities, however, the heretical Hurufi, about 1400, usurped the tomb of Haji Bektash near Kirshehr and foisted their own doctrines as those of Haji Bektash on the latter's disciples.³ From this time onwards has existed the (merely nominal) connexion of the Bektashi sect with Haji Bektash; the long cycle of legend attaching to the saint's name seems to be the invention of the usurpers.

The earliest European writer who mentions Haji Bektash, George of Hungary, passed part of a long captivity in Turkey, apparently near Eskishehr, in the early years of the fifteenth century, yet knows the saint only as a patron of pilgrims.⁴ Ashik Pasha Zade, the earliest Turkish historian,⁵ whose family was from the district of Kirshehr, where Haji Bektash lies buried,

¹ Evliya Efendi, *Travels*, ii, 21.

² *Ibid.* ii, 4. The Brusa cycle is evidently devised to bridge the gap between Orkhan's capital and the *habitat* of Haji Bektash, as also to give the prestige of antiquity to Bektashi foundations in Brusa. Further details of the life and apocryphal works of Haji Bektash are given by Evliya, ii, 19 f. and ii, 70.

³ See above, p. 135.

⁴ *De Moribus Turcorum*, cap. xv: 'Est alius vocatus Hatschi Pettesch, quod interpretatur quasi adiutorius peregrinationis, qui etiam multum invocatur et veneratur maxime a peregrinis, qui eius auxilium experiri dicuntur.'

⁵ He lived in the reign of Bayezid II (1482-1512): cf. von Hammer, *Jardin des Mosquées*, p. 31 (318), in *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii.

denies his connexion with Orkhan, giving the following account of him :

‘[Hâjee Begtâsh] had never any connection with the Ottoman Sultans. He came from Khorassan with his brother Mentish and they established themselves at Siwas near to Baba Ilias. At a later period they went to Caisarieh, from which place his brother returned to their own country by Siwas, and was killed on the way. Begtâsh, whilst on his way from Caisarieh to the Kaza Ujuk¹ died, and was interred there where his holy tomb still exists.’²

Here we have an early author from Haji Bektash’s own country stoutly denying his traditional connexion with the early Ottoman sultans, which is on the face of it improbable, since neither the Amasia district, in which the Blessing of the Janissaries is generally located,³ nor the site of the saint’s tomb became part of the Ottoman dominions till comparatively late. The words of Ashik Pasha Zade may have also a positive value, and the clue to the elusive personality of Haji Bektash may lie in his statement that the saint was the ‘brother of Mentish’. Following this clue, we have already concluded⁴ that the original Haji Bektash was no more than the eponymous ancestor of the Bektashli tribe, kinsmen of the tribe which had his ‘brother’ Mentish for ancestor.

§ 3. *The Connexion of Haji Bektash with the Janissaries*

From a tribal eponym worshipped in a village Haji Bektash easily became, under the influence of the

¹ Perhaps *Kazi Uyük Boghaz* near Koch Hisar.

² Ashik Pasha Zade, quoted by J. P. Brown, *Dervishes*, p. 141.

³ The spot is generally given as Su Kenar, near Amasia. In the district of Amasia, Haji Khalfa (tr. Armain, p. 683) notes (between Turkhal and Merzifun) the tomb of a certain Haji Baba who ‘made a wall walk’. This miracle is especially characteristic of Haji Bektash (see above, p. 289 (for it at Beybazar cf. Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 240) and may account for his association with the district of Amasia.

⁴ Above, p. 341.

powerful sect which adopted him, a saint respected by a larger community. The so-called Bektashi sect, growing in power, eventually captured the Janissary organization. The Janissaries adopted Haji Bektash as their patron and were all affiliated to the sect. From 1591 onwards this connexion was officially recognized ;¹ the General of the Bektashi was given the honorary title of Colonel of Janissaries, and dervishes of the order were regularly quartered in the Janissaries' barracks and marched with them in public processions and on campaign. It is just before this official recognition that we first hear of the legend connecting Haji Bektash with the corps. There are two distinct cycles of legend concerning the connexion of Haji Bektash with the Janissaries :

(1) The canonized version, as we have seen, lays stress on the formal consecration of the new troops by Haji Bektash, which takes place in Asia Minor during the reign and at the instance of Sultan Orkhan. This version, including the incident of the sleeve, occurs at least as early as the second half of the sixteenth century.² The story was not, however, universally accepted, and its authenticity is denied by the contemporary historians Tash-Kupru-Zade (d. 1560) and Ali (d. 1599).³

(2) In the second version of the legend Haji Bektash plays a less conspicuous part. The institution of the Janissaries is associated with Murad I and his martyr's death on the field of Kossovo. Haji Bektash is introduced somewhat awkwardly and loses his life with the sultan. The Janissaries are instituted in accordance with his dying instructions or as a tribute to his memory. Our versions of this legend date from the seventeenth and

¹ D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, ii, 312 ; iii, 325.

² Leunclavius, *Pandectes*, § 35.

³ Jacob, *Beiträge*, p. 3 ; the same author says that the incident is mentioned neither by Neshri nor by Saad-ed-din. The latter, indeed, connects the head-dress of the Janissaries with the Mevlevi order, see below, p. 613, and n. 3.

eighteenth centuries, but it appears to have been current earlier, since a Venetian *Relazione* of 1590¹ speaks of the institution of the Janissaries by Murad I 'in memory of one of his *Santons* Aribietas (*sic*)'. Rycaut gives the story as follows :

' In the time that the Warlike and Victorious *Sultan Amurath* passed with his army into *Servia*, and overcame *Lazarus*, the Despot of that Countrey, and slew him in Battel, *Bectash* was then a preacher to *Amurath*, who amongst other his Admonitions forewarned him of trusting the *Servians*; but *Amurath*, out of his couragious spirit relying on his own Wisdom and Force, admitted a certain Nobleman called *Vilvo*, upon pretence of doing him homage, to approach near him and kiss his hand, who having his Dagger ready and concealed, stabbed *Amurath* to the heart, and with that blow made him a Martyr. *Bectash* knowing that this treacherous death of his Prince, must needs also be the cause of his, for being so near his person, and prophesying of this fatal stroke, sought not to prevent it, but made preparations for his own death. And in order thereunto provided himself with a white Robe with long Sleeves, which he proffered to all those which were his Admirers, and Proselytes, to be kissed as a mark of their obedience to him and his Institutions.

' This *Bectash* at his death cut off one of his sleeves and put it on the head of one of his religious men, part of which hung down on his shoulders saying, " after this you shall be *Janizaries*", which signified a new militia; and from that time begun their original institution; so this is the reason why the Janizaries wear Caps falling behind after the manner of sleeves, called *Ketche*.'²

Aaron Hill gives a similar story with slight variations in detail :

' The death of *Bectash* immediately succeeded that of *Amurath*, for having often prophesy'd the Blow and not preventing it, tho' near the *Sultan's* Person, he was cut in pieces by the furious Guards, as a *party* in the Treason; but foreseeing easily,

¹ Alberi, *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti*, ser. III, vol. iii, p. 343.

² Rycaut, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 72.

what Fate would soon befall him, he rent off a long Sleeve, which he wore continually on his Right Arm, and putting it upon the Head of one of the Soldiers, cried out prophetically in the *Turkish* Language,

*Life from my Death shall like a Phoenix spring,
To Guard from Dangers your Succeeding King.*

THIS said, he Fell, a bloody Victim to the Soldiers Anger, but had his *Prophecy* compleatly verifi'd in the First Year of the next *Sultan's* Reign, who reflecting seriously on the Fate of *Bectash*, resolv'd to take some Method of *perpetuating* his Memory, and Instituted a New Order of the Militia, by the Name of *Janissaries*, who to this Day in Imitation of the Sleeve which *Bectash* put upon the Soldiers Head, are all obliged to wear a Headpiece fac'd with polish'd Steel, to which is fastned a large piece of *Buff*, that falling in a moderate Breadth from the Crown of their Head spreads gradually wider to the midle of their Backs.'¹

There is no corresponding cycle of legend to connect Haji Bektash with the less prominent figure of Murad II, who, however, as a matter of history, seems to have been much under the influence of dervishes.²

To sum up, the legendary connexion between Haji Bektash and the Janissaries cannot be traced farther back than the second half of the sixteenth century, and at least two respectable authors³ of this date deny its authenticity. It therefore antedates by only a few years the official recognition of the connexion between the Bektashi dervishes and the Janissaries. I have attempted elsewhere to show that every point in the legend, which is devised to increase the power and prestige of the Bektashi, can be paralleled by similar,

¹ *Ottoman Empire* (1710), p. 19.

² Phrantzes (p. 92) says that Murad II, after his abdication and retirement, himself assumed the dervish habit at Brusa (*ὑστερον ἐφάνη αὐτῷ δερβίσης γενέσθαι ἤγουν μοναχός, καὶ ἐν τῇ Προύσῃ περάσας ἐγένετο*): cf. Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.*, pp. 482 ff., quoting George of Hungary.

³ Tash-Kupru-Zade and Ali.

and equally apocryphal, legends connecting the origins of the Janissaries with the Mevlevi.¹

Our conclusions are thus (1) that the recruiting of the Janissaries from specially trained Christian children,² as opposed to the much older employment of slaves and prisoners of war for the sultan's bodyguard, was a gradual change put on a regular footing in the fifteenth century at earliest ; (2) that Haji Bektash was originally a tribal saint afterwards exploited by the Hurufi-Bektashi sect and arbitrarily adopted by the Janissaries ; and (3) that the canonized legend of Haji Bektash, Orkhan, and the first Janissaries is entirely fictitious and probably devised to forward the Bektashi intrigue, which resulted in the ' capture ' of the Janissary organization and in the official recognition of Haji Bektash as its spiritual patron and of the Bektashi order as its spiritual allies.

¹ *B.S.A.*, xix, 214, note 1 : reprinted below, p. 613, n. 3.

² In South Albania, Fadil Bey Klissura informed me, it is said that Haji Bektash was seized in childhood and brought up as a Mohammedan ; later on he studied Christianity and, recognizing its superiority, invented Bektashism as a link between the two religions. This is a combination of the Janissary-Christian children tradition and of the fact that Bektashis and Christians are more friendly with each other than either is with Sunnis.

GEORGE OF HUNGARY, CHAPTER XV

INTRODUCTORY

THE following is a chapter (xv) translated from a tract published anonymously towards the end of the fifteenth century and entitled *Tractatus de Moribus condictionibus et nequicia Turcorum*. The author, variously known as George of Hungary and as George von Mühlenbach, was a slave in Turkey during the middle years of the century (about 1436–58) and on internal evidence seems to have been employed by a Turkoman *bey* as herdsman in the interior of Asia Minor. It appears that the district with which he was familiar included the pilgrimages of Sidi Ghazi, buried near Eskishehr, of Haji Bektash, buried in the village of the same name, and of Ashik Pasha, buried at Kirshehr; the clerical studies he had already begun at Schebesch (in German Mühlenbach) when Murad II took the town in 1436 explain the interest he took in Turkish religious practice.¹ Beyond the special value

¹ According to his own account (quoted by Cuspinian, *De Turcorum Origine*, f. 8 verso, who seems the only source of Schloezer's vague note on George in his *Krit. Hist. Neben Stunden*, p. 91), George was born about 1420 in the province of Siebenbürgen (*Lat.* Septem Castra, whence his name of *Septemcastrensis monachus* in Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.* pp. 457–8). On his release from captivity he became a Dominican monk (*cf.* Quétif, *Script. Ord. Praedic.* i, 901 a) and finally died at Rome, where he was buried in the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva, according to Quétif, *loc. cit.*, and a manuscript gloss on the British Museum copy IA. 19161 of the undated edition of his *Tractatus*, which was published at Rome c. 1481; the gloss adds that his tomb was famous for its miracles. The church in question is a Dominican foundation (*cf.* Baedeker, *Central It.*, p. 211). Hottinger (*op. cit.*, pp. 457–8, 459) rightly distinguishes *Septemcastrensis monachus*, author of *Tractatus de Moribus Turcorum*, from Bartholomaeus

of the passage for Turkish popular religion, the lively picture of social conditions among country Turks at this date more than justifies its publication.

Translation

Among others of this sect, who after their death have become and still are famous for false signs and prodigies, there is one principal, who hath great repute and veneration in all Turkey. His name is *Sedichasi*,¹ which is, being interpreted, *S. Victor* or *Victorious among saints*. His sepulchre and shrine are on the marches of the Ottomans and the Karamans, and, though these two be oftentimes at loggerheads, one invading the lands of the other, yet none dare ever draw near to his sepulchre or do scathe to the lands that are near it. For, as hath oftentimes been proven, if any venture this, upon them falleth the mighty vengeance of the saint. And the common voice of all hath it that none of them that implore his help in any necessity whatsoever, but especially in the works of war and in the conduct of battles, hath ever been cheated of his desire. And this is proved by the great number of vows that are paid each year by the king, the princes, and the common folk at his sepulchre in money, in all sorts of beasts, and in kind. For he hath very great fame and reputation, not only among the Turks, but also among all nations of that persuasion. And I would say that for these signs and prodigies he hath greater repute among Mohamme-

Georgewicz, author of *De Turcorum Moribus Epitome*, whereas Hammer-Hellert (*Hist. Emp. Ott.* ii, 290) incorrectly identifies one with the other. Our author, who is *Frater* George of Hungary, is also to be distinguished from *Magister* George of Hungary, who lived about the same time and wrote various mathematical tracts. [In expanding into the above note the somewhat scanty indications left by my husband I have had much assistance from Dr. H. Thomas and Mr. Wharton of the British Museum.—M. M. H.]

¹ Sidi Ghazi [Said-el-Ghazi] buried near Eskishehr (see below, pp. 705-10).

dans in general than hath *Saint Anthony* among Christians.

And there is another called *Hatschi Pettesch*,¹ which is, being interpreted, as who should say *Pilgrims' Help*; he also is much invoked and revered, most of all by pilgrims, who are said to receive his help.

Another is called *Ascik passa*, who hath his name from love and is called, as it were, *Patron of Love*; he is said to aid persons newly wed, or in the travail of childbirth, or in the quarrels of husband and wife, or other such-like necessities.

*Alwan passa*² grants concord to them that are at strife, and of him men say that to them that seek him he appears now as a youth and now as an old man.

*Sheych passa*³ solaces them that are troubled and afflicted.

But in those parts where I dwelt there were many aforetime held for saints whose names are forgotten. None the less their sepulchres are held in great veneration, for, if they are distressed for rain, or for fair weather, or for any such-like need, they do meet together at the sepulchres of these, and, having made their vows and orisons, go home with great hope they shall be heard. And at these meetings I oftentimes consorted with them, hoping that I might eat of the good things they carried with them to feast withal.

But among these are two whose names they know, and of these one is called *Goivelmir tchin* and the other *Barthschum passa*.⁴ In those same parts men were used to tell their marvellous doings, and chiefly in the guard-

¹ Haji Bektash: for the derivation of the name see below, p. 575, n. 5.

² Probably Elwan Chelebi, buried near Chorum (Anderson, *Stud. Pont.* i, 9 ff. : cf. above, p. 48.

³ Cf. Lucas's 'Chek Baba' (*Voyage fait en 1714*, i, 180), probably the patron of the still existing Sheikhli tribe (see above, p. 337).

⁴ For these two difficult and perhaps corrupt names I can make no suggestion.

ing and keeping of sheep and other beasts ; this most of all of him who is called *Goivelmir tchin*, of whom my Lady herself was used often to tell that she had received great blessings from him in the keeping of her calves. For this cause she was fain each year to vow and pay a certain measure of butter, and would add also thereto, saying, ' If I forget or neglect to pay my vow, anon I suffer therefor.' And she bade me also invoke him if a wolf vexed me as I fed my sheep.

Nor can I forbear to speak of a story my Lord was often wont to tell. One day, as he said, a bull of his herd was missing when the rest returned from pasture. And anon he called together the neighbours, as is the custom in those parts, each equipping himself as for the chase, with bow, arrows, and dogs, and, setting forth that same evening, searched the nearer woods, but found no trace and returned. On the morrow in like manner they ranged over all the pasture-grounds and came at nothing. On the third day, as it drew on to even and they were returning, weary and forlorn of all hope, on a sudden my Lord as he pondered bethought him and took a vow to this effect, that for the love of the saint *Goivelmir tchin*, if the beast should be found, he would eat with the pilgrims a hot loaf with butter laid thereon, the which they call ' *paslama* '.¹ And while he still thought thereon, on a sudden there was a running together and a shouting, and lo ! the bull was found, caught by the horns in a certain forked tree. And the marvel was the greater insomuch that for three days they had ranged that same place, nor (save for a miracle) could the bull have been spared by wild beasts. Then my Lord spake to them all of the vow he had made, and they marvelled greatly and gave thanks unto God and praised the name of *Goivelmir tchin* and so returned home with joy and gladness, not alone

¹ *Paslama*, a word still in use, is a sort of ' *pasty* ' containing meat or vegetables.

for the finding of the bull, but also for the miracle which had been vouchsafed unto them.

And there is another named *Chiderelles*,¹ who is before all a helper of travellers in need. Such is his reputé in all Turkey that there is scarce any man to be found that hath not himself experienced his help or heard of others that have so done. He manifesteth himself in the shape of a traveller riding on a grey horse, and anon relieveth the distressed wayfarer, whether he hath called on him, or whether, knowing not his name, he hath but commended himself to God, as I have heard on several hands.

But another marvel also must I tell for its manifest truth, and this is told by men who were themselves at that time living.

Now there were on a time certain religious men of that place which was near to us,² and these were slandered that they had made a complot against the king. Who, being exceeding wroth thereat, gave order that they should all be burnt alive. But he that was chief among them, after that he had essayed vainly to excuse or justify himself and his fellows, did publicly protest his innocence and theirs, and himself before the king entered first into the furnace to be burned. And for that the fire fled back before him, he went unscathed and abated the rage of the king and saved himself and his fellows from imminent peril of death, leaving unto his descendants and to all people of that persuasion this solemn ensample. And the shoes that with him went unscathed in the furnace are conserved to this day in those parts.

And there was another which still lived in the flesh not far from those parts where I abode. And of his

¹ Khidr-Elles, the 'Turkish S. George', with whom he shares the spring festival (April 23): see above, pp. 320 ff.

² Possibly the convent of Sidi Ghazi: cf. Menavino, *Cose Turchesche* (1548), p. 60.

mighty deeds there are very many that I have heard told whereof I hold my peace. But his fame was so bruited abroad that in every place where men frequented and gathered together there was talk of his true divinations of hidden matters and mostly of things lost or stolen ; insomuch that through him thieves and robbers ceased from the land in his time, for none dared show his head, and, though they laid many snares to catch him, yet could they do him no hurt. And what is a far greater marvel, to many of them that came to him he revealed their secret thoughts ere yet they had made them known to him.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE
BEKTASHI¹

INTRODUCTORY

IN the following pages an attempt has been made to bring together scattered notices from printed sources regarding the geographical distribution of the Bektashi sect, as indicated by the position of existing, or formerly existing, convents of the order.² I have further included such information on this subject as I have been able to obtain from my own journeys and inquiries (1913-15) among the Bektashi: nearly all this information is gathered from Bektashi sources, and much from more than one such source. I hope to have made a fairly complete record of Bektashi establishments in Albania, now the most important sphere of their activities, and a substantial basis for further inquiry in the other countries where the sect is to be found, with the exception of Asia Minor, for which my sources are inadequate.

From the evidence at our disposal the Bektashi establishments in Asia Minor would seem to be grouped most thickly in the Kizilbash or Shia Mohammedan districts, especially (1) in the *vilayets* of Angora and Sivas, and (2) in the south-west corner (Lycia) of that of Konia, where the Shia tribes are known from their occupation as *Takhtaji* ('wood-cutters').³ For the third great stronghold of Anatolian Shias, the Kurdish *vilayets* of Kharput and Erzerum, no information as to Bektashi *tekkes* is available.

In Europe, southern Albania, with its population of Christians converted in relatively recent times to Islam,

¹ An earlier edition of this chapter appeared in the *B.S.A.* xxi, 84 ff.

² On the Bektashi and their organisation see above, pp. 159 ff.

³ See above, pp. 158 f.

is the only country in which the Bektashi are strongly represented at the present day. Crete, where their numbers were till recently considerable, and the Kastoria district of Macedonia present the same phenomenon of Bektashism grafted on a Christian population. Elsewhere one sees traces of successful propaganda amongst the immigrant Asiatic village communities, which were probably half pagan and wholly nomadic at their first appearance in Europe. Such are the 'Koniari' of southern Macedonia and Thessaly,¹ the Yuruks of the Rhodope, and the Tatars of the Dobruja. From the number of *tekkes* traceable, in the Adrianople district especially, it seems legitimate to suppose that such military centres, owing to the close connexion which existed for more than two centuries between the Bektashi and the Janissaries, formed at one time important *foci* of missionary endeavour.

It seems possible to detect a characteristic variation in the types of Bektashi saint venerated in Anatolia, European Turkey, and Albania respectively. In Anatolia the typical saint is regarded as a missionary more or less closely connected with Haji Bektash himself,² and consequently so remote as to be mythical. In European Turkey the saints are again remote and ancient, being referred to the period of the Turkish conquest, but they are regarded primarily as warriors rather than as missionaries. This points to the development of Bektashism in these countries under the auspices of the Janissary-Bektashi combination in the sixteenth and following centuries. In Albania the typical saint is again a missionary, but differs both from the 'Anatolian' and the 'Rumelian' types in laying no claim to great antiquity:

¹ [Now transferred to Asia Minor according to the Treaty of Lausanne (1923).—M. M. H.].

² Cf. Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 20 f.: 'The seven hundred convents of Dervishes, Bektáshí, which actually exist in Turkey, are derived from the seven hundred dervishes of Haji Bektash.'

the Bektashi propaganda in Albania dates confessedly from the eighteenth century and the saints are historical persons.

We may further remark as regards the position of Bektashi *tekkes* that, whereas those of other orders are generally found in, or in the immediate neighbourhood of, the larger centres of population, those of the Bektashi are situated, as a rule, either in quite isolated positions or on the outskirts of villages. This is due, no doubt, partly to the fact that their propaganda and influence largely touch rustic populations, and partly to the hostility with which they are regarded by the Sunni clergy.¹ We may reasonably assume that, between the capture of the Janissaries by the Bektashi (about 1590) and the destruction of the former (1826), the provincial garrisons of Janissaries, like that of Constantinople, had a resident Bektashi sheikh in their barracks, and presumably a *tekke* within easy reach. These have, since 1826, ceased to exist as such, but the saints' *mausolea* still often to be found in, or at the entrance to, Turkish citadels may very probably be a surviving remnant of original Bektashi establishments connected with the Janissaries.

We turn now to the enumeration of the *tekkes*.

§ I. *Asia Minor*

A.—Vilayet of Angora.

HAJI BEKTASH (PIR-EVI). The reputed founder of the sect, Haji Bektash, lies buried at the village bearing his name near Kirshehr in central Asia Minor.² Adjoin-

¹ [Its main purpose, according to my information, is to keep the dervishes out of the way of worldly temptations.—M. M. H.]

² Evliya says of the tomb (*Travels*, ii, 21): 'Haji Bektash died in Sultan Orkhán's reign, and was buried in his presence in the capital of Crimea, where a Tátár princess raised a monument over his tomb. This monument having fallen into decay Sheitán Murád, a Beg of Caesarea of Sultan Suleiman's time, restored and covered it with lead.'

ing the tomb is a convent (*tekke*), called Pir-evi (‘ House of the patron Saint ’) which forms the head-quarters of the Bektashi order and its adherents. It contains, besides the tomb of the founder, that of Balum Sultan, a very important Bektashi saint, reputed the founder of one of the four branches into which the sect is divided : his tomb is in the part of the convent devoted to the celibate (*mujerred*) dervishes. The *tekke* is further remarkable as containing a mosque with minaret, served by a *khoja* of the orthodox Nakshbandi order ; this is an innovation of Mahmud II’s time (1826), emphasizing the Sunni version of Haji Bektash, which represents him as a Nakshbandi sheikh.¹

The *tekke* was formerly supported by the revenues of 362 villages, the inhabitants of which were affiliated to the Bektashi order. The number of these villages has been gradually reduced on various pretexts by the government to twenty-four.² The revenues of the *tekke*, estimated at £60,000, are divided between the rival heads³ of the order, the Akhi Dede, or Dede Baba, and the Chelebi.

Of these the former resides in the convent of Haji Bektash and under him are eight other Babas, each having a separate ‘ residency ’ (*konak*), who preside over the various departments of work carried on in the *tekke*. The ‘ capital of Crimea ’ is obviously a mistake for Kirshehr, possibly owing to the proximity of the ‘ Tatar princess ’. At the present day the cauldrons in the kitchen of the convent, which are among the sights of the place, are said to have been given by ‘ the Tatar Khan,’ who is curiously identified with Orkhan (Prof. White in *Contemp. Rev.*, Nov. 1913, p. 695).

¹ The *tekke* of Haji Bektash has been described by P. Lucas, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, i, 124 ; Levides, *Μοναὶ τῆς Καππαδοκίας*, p. 98 ; Cuinet, *Turquie d’Asie*, i, 341 ; Naumann, *Vom Goldenen Horn*, pp. 193 ff. ; Prof. White, in *Contemp. Rev.*, Nov. 1913, pp. 690 ff. See also below, pp. 571–2.

² From Cuinet, *loc. cit.*, except the last figure, which he gives, no doubt correctly for his time, as 42.

³ See above, pp. 161 ff.

directing the labours of the probationers under them. Their respective spheres are the buttery (*Kilerji Baba*), the bakery (*Ekmekji Baba*), the kitchen (*Ashji Baba*), the stables (*Ataji Baba*), the guest-house (*Mehmandar Baba*), the mausoleum of Balum Sultan (*Balum Evi*), and the vineyards (*Dede Bagh, Hanbagh*). The Chelebi lives outside the convent.

Other *tekkes* recorded in the same *vilayet* are the following :

BEYBAZAR (near). West of this town, on the Sakaria, is the *turbe* (mausoleum, of Emrem Yunuz Sultan, who is described by Lejean, evidently from an ignorant local informant, as ‘un sultan koniarite qui y a été enseveli avec sa fille et ses deux fils’.¹ Emrem Yunuz is in reality claimed by the Bektashi as a saint belonging to their order. There seems to be no establishment here, though the tomb is held in reverence locally.²

CHORUM (near). Ten kilometres west of Chorum, R. Kiepert’s map marks (from a native source) *Sidim Sultan*. Evliya mentions the place as, in his time, the site of ‘a convent of bareheaded and barefooted Bektashi’.³

ANGORA (near). On the Husain Dagh, a mountain east of Angora, is the tomb of Husain Ghazi,⁴ an Arab warrior-saint adopted by the Bektashi. In Evliya’s time there was a convent of a hundred Bektashi dervishes here and a much-frequented yearly festival.⁵ There is now only a mausoleum (*turbe*) kept up by the Bairami dervishes of Angora.⁶

YUZGAT (near). Here there is said to be a *tekke* at

¹ G. Lejean, in *Bull. Soc. Géog.* xvii (1869), p. 64.

² Anderson in *J.H.S.* xix, p. 70. For Emrem Yunuz (‘Yunuz Imre’) see Gibb (*Ottoman Poetry*, i, 164), who places him in the early fourteenth century : also above, p. 291.

³ *Travels*, ii, 223.

⁴ See below, pp. 711–2.

⁵ Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 228 ; cf. Haji Khalifa, *Djihannuma*, tr. Armain, p. 703.

⁶ Perrot and Guillaume, *Explor. de la Galatie*, i, 283.

a place called Mujur, which does not figure on our maps, but is distinct from the village of the same name near Kirshehr.

ALAJA (near). The Shamaspur *tekke*, containing a second grave of the Arab warrior Husain Ghazi, belongs to the order, but is now abandoned.¹

KIRSHEHR. A *tekke* called Akhi-evren in this district was cited to me by a Bektashi dervish.² A saint of the same name, described as a companion in arms of Sultan Osman, is mentioned by Haji Khalfa as buried at Akshehr.³ A third (?) saint, Ahiwiran or Ahi Baba of Caesarea, buried at Denizli, is said by Evliya to be the patron of Turkish tanners. A somewhat confused anecdote apparently derives his name from *Awren*, wild beast.⁴ A *tekke* of Ak Elven (*sic*) exists at Angora. The name is evidently one of those which have suffered from popular etymology. The original form may be *Akhi + eren*. *Eren* means 'saint', while *Akhi* is the Arabic for

¹ For references see below, p. 711, n. 2. Perrot found two or three Bektashi dervishes there in 1861 (*Souvenirs d'un Voyage*, p. 418).

² A Khalveti saint *Akhi Mirim*, who died at Akshehr in 1409-10, is mentioned by Jacob (*Beiträge*, p. 80, n. 3): his tomb may well have changed hands, like many others, affiliation to the newcomers' order being axiomatic.

³ *Hadji Ouren* in Armain's translation; *Hakhi Ouran* in Menasik-el-Haj, p. 12; *Akhi Oren* in Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 248 (*cf.* Huart, *Konia*, p. 112, where the tomb of Said Mahmud *Kheirani* at Akshehr is described).

⁴ *Travels*, I, ii, 206: '[Ahweran of Caesarea] was a great saint in the time of the Seljuk family. It is a famous story that, it having been hinted to the king that Ahibaba paid no duties, and the collectors having come to him in execution, they were all frightened away by a wild beast (*Awren*) starting from the middle of his shop, and which accompanied him to the king, who being equally frightened out of his wits, was very happy to allow him the permission asked, to bury the collectors killed. His tomb is a great establishment in the gardens of the town of Denizli . . . and all the Turkish tanners acknowledge this Ahúawren to be their patron.' In the last variation of the name there seems to be a play on *Abua*, a fabulous beast like a syren (C. White, *Constantinople*, i, 174).

my brother, and has a special signification in connexion with the important society or 'Brotherhood', known already in the early fourteenth century to Ibn Batuta as a widespread social league among the Turkomans of Seljuk Asia Minor,¹ and later as a political combination of some importance.² Among the Bektashi the word *Akhi* is preserved in the title of the sheikh of the convent of Haji Bektash, and they had formerly at least a subdivision called the 'Brothers of Rum (*i.e.* Anatolia)'.³ It may be that at some time in their history they amalgamated with, and eventually absorbed, the Turkoman 'Brotherhood'.

MUJUR (near Kirshehr). There is here a sacred stone guarded by a Bektashi dervish.⁴

PATUK SULTAN. This saint is buried in a village convent of the same (Kirshehr) district.

B.—*Vilayet of Konia.*

NEVSHEHR (near). Here there is said to be a Bektashi *tekke* containing the grave of a saint named Nusr-ed-din.

ADALIA. The order possesses a *tekke* here which seems to be of minor importance.

ELMALI had formerly a *tekke* containing the tomb of Haidar Baba; this is one of the convents destroyed in 1826. The town (or district?) is also known as the burial-place of Abdal Musa, a very celebrated saint.⁵

¹ Ibn Batuta, tr. Lee, pp. 68 ff.; tr. Sanguinetti, ii, 260 ff.

² Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 214. On the 'Brotherhood' see Karabashek in *Num. Zeit.* 1877, pp. 213 ff.

³ *Akheean-i-Room* (Brown, *Dervishes*, p. 142): the corresponding subdivisions were the *Ghazis* (warriors), *Abdals* (asketes), and *Sisters* of Rum. In Seaman's *Orchan*, p. 108, *Achi*=*frater* is given as a grade in dervish communities. Dr. F. Babinger (in *Z. D. Morgenl. Ges.* lxxvi, 1922, p. 135, n. 4) accepts Jean Deny's suggestion that *akhi* is Turkish and means (1) *chevalerie*, (2) *confrérie religieuse*, and (3) *corps de métier*.

⁴ Cholet, *Voyage*, p. 48.

⁵ Jacob, *Bektaschijje*, p. 28, cf. *Beiträge*, pp. 14, 85. See below (Cairo).

There is a village called *Tekke* about twelve kilometres S. by W. of the town. Elmali is the centre of the district inhabited by the primitive Shia tribes known as *Takhtaji* ('wood-cutters'). But the lay members of the order seem here, as in Albania, to include some well-to-do landowners and town-dwellers.¹

GILEVJI, three hours north of Elmali, has a *tekke* containing the grave of Kilerji Baba,² a disciple of Abdal Musa.

FINEKA, the port of Elmali, has a *tekke* with grave of Kiafi Baba. This may be identical with the *tekke* mentioned by Petersen and von Luschan as existing on the site of Limyra : there were two dervishes here in 1884.³

GUL HISAR, thirty kilometres south-east of Tefeni, in the northern part of this district, contains a *tekke* with the grave of Yaman Ali Baba.

C.—*Vilayet of Smyrna (Aidin)*.

SMYRNA. There is now a small Bektashi *tekke* here containing the grave of Hasan Baba, in the quarter of Kiatib Oglu on the outskirts of the town. Bektashi gravestones are to be seen in the small cemetery surrounding the 'tomb of Polycarp' on the castle hill.⁴

TEIRE. Here there are two *tekkes*, one of which contains the grave of Khorasanli Ali Baba.

DAONAS. Here is buried one of the successors (*khalife*) of Haji Bektash, Sari Ismail Sultan.

DENIZLI seems to be, or to have been, an important Bektashi centre. There are said to be three *tekkes* in the district. Within a radius of two hours are the

¹ Von Luschan, *Lykien*, ii, 203.

² Cf. above, p. 504.

³ *Lykien*, ii, 204 n. I note also, still nearer Fineka, a village *Halaj*, the name of which suggests Bektashi associations. Manzur-el-Halaj is claimed by the Bektashi as the spiritual master of their great saint Fazil Yezdan (Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 229) and a forerunner of the sect.

⁴ See above, p. 409, n. 4.

tombs of the saints Teslim Sultan and Dede Sultan. At Karagach ¹ is that of Niazi [Baba].

YATAGAN (near Kara Euyuk, in the south of the *vilayet*). A rich and important *tekke* containing the grave of a saint 'Jatagundie' (Yatagan Dede?) was visited here by Paul Lucas in the early years of the eighteenth century.² It was one of the Bektashi foundations destroyed in 1826, but seems since to have revived to some extent. Yatagan Baba is reputed the master of Abdal Musa.³ Another *tekke* at the same place contains the grave of Abdi Bey Sultan.

MENEMEN. The *tekke* here contains the grave of Bakri Baba.

MANISA. The Bektashi have no *tekke* at Manisa since the persecution of 1826, but claim that they were important there, and that the graves of Aine Ali and Niazi belong by right to their order.

TULUM BUNAR. The newly rebuilt *turbe* of Jafer Baba, a conspicuous object from the Kasaba line (near Tulum Bunar station) is claimed by the Bektashi as part of a convent dissolved in 1826.

D.—*Vilayet of Brusa (Khudavendkiar).*

BRUSA, though the Bektashi have now no footing there, seems formerly to have been a great stronghold

¹ Perhaps Kabagach, near Serai Keui, where Kiepert's map marks a *tekke*.

² *Voyage fait en 1714*, i, 171 f.: 'un Couvent, où l'on garde précieusement le corps d'un Mahometan nommé Jatagundie, qu'on dit avoir opéré de grandes merveilles dans tout le País. La Mosquée où il repose est très-belle & bien entretenuë ; il y a dedans 60 chandeliers d'argent massif de dix pieds de haut, & un fort grand nombre de lampes d'or & d'argent. Deux cens Dervis sont employez au service de cette Mosquée ; ils ont une Bibliothèque très-bien fournie . . . Comme cette Mosquée a des revenus immenses, il y a une fondation pour nourrir & loger tous les passans, & on y exerce l'hospitalité avec beaucoup de charité,' *cf.* below, p. 566.

³ See above, *Elmali*, and below, *Cairo*.

of the order.¹ The following graves are those of (real or supposed) Bektashi saints :

Abdal Murad. To this was attached a *tekke*, reputed of Sultan Orkhan's foundation ;² the saint himself is said by the sixteenth-century historian Saad-ed-din to have been a holy man of this reign,³ though his connexion with the Bektashi is not noticed, and is probably apocryphal. Evliya calls him a companion of Haji Bektash.⁴ The *tekke* is mentioned in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,⁵ and the tomb of the saint still exists.⁶

Geyikli Baba is regarded as the contemporary and companion in arms of Abdal Murad, and, like him, a follower of Haji Bektash and one of Ahmed Yasevi's apostles.⁷ The connexion with Haji Bektash and his cycle is a late development as in the case of Abdal Musa.⁸

Ramazan Baba is spoken of by Evliya as 'buried in a pleasant meadow at Brussa in a convent of Begtáshis,'⁹ but is claimed for the Nakshbandi order by Assad Efendi.¹⁰

Sheikh Kili. The foundation of the *tekke* attached to this tomb was ascribed by Evliya to Orkhan.¹¹

Akbeyik Sultan. This saint is assigned by the same author both to the Bektashi¹² and the Bairami.¹³

¹ Cf. Assad Efendi, *Destr. des Janissaires*, p. 302 ; the expulsion of the Bektashi from Brusa in 1826 was witnessed by Laborde (*Asie Mineure*, p. 24).

² Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 8, 24. Orkhan himself is buried at Brusa and is reputed to visit his tomb every Friday, play the drum, and use the beads on the tomb (Bussierre, *Lettres*, i, 154).

³ In Seaman's *Orchan*, p. 119.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ Sestini, *Lettere Odeporiche*, i, 117 ; von Hammer, *Brussa*, p. 57 ; Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, iv, 29.

⁶ Kandis, *Προῦσα*, p. 153.

⁷ Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 21, 24. On Ahmed Yasevi and his introduction into the Bektashi cycle see above, pp. 403-5.

⁸ Cf. Seaman's *Orchan*, p. 116.

⁹ *Travels*, ii, 27 ; cf. von Hammer, *Brussa*, p. 56.

¹⁰ *Destr. des Janissaires*, p. 300.

¹¹ Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 8.

¹² *Ibid.* ii, 8.

¹³ *Ibid.* ii, 26. It should be noted that Haji Bairam himself is claimed by the Bektashi at the present day.

Other Bektashi *tekkes* exist, or are known to have existed, at the following places in the Brusa *vilayet*.

SIDI GHAZI, a village south of Eskishehr. The saint buried in the *tekke*, who has given his name to the village, is a celebrated warrior of the Arab period; his grave was discovered already in Seljuk times, and the foundation came into the hands of the Bektashi at least as early as the sixteenth century.¹ The *tekke* still exists, though the foundation is much decayed.² Near, and west of it, is the *tekke* of Suja-ed-din, who is mentioned by Jacob as an important Bektashi saint.³ This *tekke* seems also to be kept up. Those of Melek Baba and Urian Baba in the same district are now dissolved.

BESH KARISH (near Altin Tash and the railway station, Ihsanieh). Here is buried Resul Ali Sultan or Resul Baba, a *khalife* of Haji Bektash.⁴

REJEB (three hours from Ushak). Here is buried the *khalife* Kolu Achik Hajim Sultan.⁵ The *tekke* is now disused and administered by a steward (*muteveli*), but seems to be of some local importance.

BALUKISR. Another *khalife*, Said Jemal Sultan, is buried in this district.⁶ I have no information as to the *tekke*.

The *vilayet* of Brusa seems to have been a stronghold of the Bektashi in the fifties of the last century.⁷

DARDANELLES.⁸ Though no *tekke* exists here to-day,

¹ See Browne, *J. R. Asiat. Soc.*, 1907, p. 568, where a Hurufi MS. is said to have been copied here in 1545-6; and cf. Menavino, *Cose Turchesche* [1548], p. 60.

² For details and bibliography of this *tekke* see below, pp. 705-10.

³ *Bektaschijje*, p. 28.

⁴ Jacob, *Bektaschijje*, p. 27.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.* The site may be looked for at Tekke Keui near Kebsud, near which is a village *Bektashler*.

⁷ C. MacFarlane, *Turkey and its Destiny*, i, 501.

⁸ Strictly speaking, the town of the Dardanelles is not in the Brusa province, but forms the capital of an independent sub-prefecture (*sanjak*).

it was probably a Bektashi centre before 1826, on account of the number of Janissaries quartered there. A ruined and deserted *tekke* exists outside the village of Seraijik, in the valley of the Rhodius. It bears the name of the saint interred in it (*Inje* or *Injir Baba*) and is still visited as a pilgrimage.¹

Le Chevalier in the early years of the present century describes a *tekke*, apparently Bektashi, possibly identical with the above.²

E.—Vilayet of Kastamuni.

KALEJIK (near). Evliya describes in this district the pilgrimage of Koji Baba, one of the disciples of Haji Bektash, who was buried in a convent bearing his name. 'There is no other building but the convent; the tomb is adorned with lamps and candelabras. His [*i.e.* the saint's] banner, drum, habit, and carpet are all preserved, as though he were himself present. The Turcomans have great faith in this saint.'³

CHANGRI (near). At the village of Airak, north of the Kizil Irmak river, in this district, Evliya found a large and hospitable convent, containing a hundred dervishes and the tomb of Mohammed Shah Dede; this saint 'came with Haji Bektash from Khorassan to the court of Bayazid I'.⁴

F.—Vilayet of Sivas.

SIVAS. In the town is a recent *tekke*, called Maksum-ler ('the infants'),⁵ founded by a certain Khalil Pasha,

¹ From Mr. R. Grech, of the Dardanelles.

² *Propontide*, p. 14: 'Derrière la ville s'étend une large plaine au milieu de laquelle on trouve un Teké ou couvent de derviches, entouré de vignes et de jardins délicieux. Ces solitaires donnent au pays qui les avoisine, l'exemple de l'hospitalité la plus affectueuse: ils offrent leurs plus beaux fruits et leurs cellules au voyageur fatigué, et de la meilleur foi du monde lui font admirer un cerceuil de quarante pieds, qui contient les reliques du géant qui les a fondés.'

³ *Travels*, ii, 236.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii, 236.

⁵ Or Maksum Pak (Pers. *pâk* = 'pure').

afterwards governor of Beyrut. About fifty years ago, a dervish is said to have discovered by revelation the graves of two infants (*maksum*), who were identified with Ali Eftar, son of the fifth Imam (Mohammed Bakir), and Sali, son of the seventh (Musa Kiazim); these infants are regarded as martyrs.¹ The infant son of Khalil Pasha is also buried in the *tekke*.

AMASIA. Here is a *tekke* containing the grave of Piri Baba.

DIVRIJI (near). Three hours from Divriji is a recent *tekke* founded by a learned Bektashi sheikh named Gani Baba and called Andahar Tekkesi.²

Three important *tekkes* in this (strongly Shia) *vilayet* are mentioned by Evliya in the seventeenth century, of which the first two certainly exist. These are :

MARSOVAN, with tomb of Piri Dede, a companion of Haji Bektash. In Evliya's time there were 200 dervishes there, and the convent was supported by the revenues of 366 villages.³ There seems lately to have been a kind of 'revival' in which immigrants from Transcaucasia (Kars district) have played an important part.

OSMANJIK, with tomb of Koyun Baba, who came with Haji Bektash from Khorasan. All the inhabitants of the town were in Evliya's time affiliated to the Bektashi.⁴ The foundation seems now to have passed into other hands, and the saint to be known as 'Pambuk Baba'.⁵

BARUGUNDE (near Shabin Kara Hisar). This *tekke* contained the tomb of Behlul of Samarkand and those of the Choban family.⁶ It is probably the 'Chobanli Tekke' marked on R. Kiepert's map due south of Shabin

¹ This is probably the pilgrimage of the Kizibash Kurds at Sivas mentioned by Molyneux-Seel as the 'tomb of Hasan' (see above, p. 150).

² Perhaps from *Anzaghar*, marked south of Divriji in R. Kiepert's map.

³ *Travels*, ii, 215; cf. above, pp. 38-9.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii, 96: cf. Jacob, *Bektaschijje*, p. 28, and Haji Khalfa, tr. Armain, ii, 681.

⁵ See above, pp. 95-6.

⁶ Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 205.

Kara Hisar, on the road to Erzinjian. Evliya also makes brief mention of a Bektashi *tekke* of Mohammed Shah near Echmiadzin.¹

A list, however incomplete, of Anatolian centres in which there is now no Bektashi establishment, may be of service to future inquirers. The following places have been cited to me as such by Bektashi informants: Adana, Aintab, Angora, Beyshehr, Brusa, Caesarea, Dardanelles, Isbarta, Karaman, Konia, Manisa, Marash² Melasso, Mersina, Nazli, Pyrgi, Tarsus, Trebizond. The absence of Bektashi at Angora is accounted for by the local predominance of the Bairami order, and at Konia, Karaman,³ and Manisa by the position held there by the Mevlevi. Adana,⁴ Aidin, Caesarea,⁵ and Pyrgi⁶ are notoriously 'black' Sunni towns.

SHAMAKH. The farthest extension of Bektashism eastwards seems to be marked by the important *tekke* visited by Evliya at Shamakh, near Baku. This contained the tomb of Pir Merizat and was supported by the revenues of 300 villages, the inhabitants of which were mostly affiliated to the order.⁷

The Kurds of the Dersim recognize Haji Bektash, and one Bektashi *tekke* is said to exist in Kurdistan.⁸

¹ *Ibid.* ii, 125.

² A *tekke* is said to have existed there till 1826.

³ Davis (*Asiatic Turkey*, p. 295) speaks of the Valideh *Tekke* here as Bektashi: it is of course Mevlevi.

⁴ Cf. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, iii, 118. But I have heard of a learned Bektashi *baba* resident in this *vilayet* at Jebel-Bereket (Yarput), which perhaps implies the existence of propaganda among the local Turkoman tribes.

⁵ Assad Efendi, *Destr. des Janissaires*, pp. 314, 317; cf. (for Caesarea) Skene, *Anadol*, p. 159.

⁶ Assad Efendi, *loc. cit.*; Amasia had in 1826 the same reputation, but has now a Bektashi *tekke*, as has Teire (for which see Schlecht-Wssehrd, *Denk. Wien. Akad., P.-H. Cl.* viii, 1857, i, 47).

⁷ *Travels*, ii, 160.

⁸ Taylor seems to have found a *tekke* at Arabkir in 1860 (*J.R.G.S.*, 1868, xxxviii, 312).

§ 2. *Mesopotamia*

In Mesopotamia there are Bektashi *tekkes* in the neighbourhood of the Shia holy-places: these are rather rest-houses for Bektashi pilgrims than regular *tekkes*. They are at BAGDAD (with tomb of Gulgul Baba),¹ KAZIMAIN (a suburb of Bagdad sacred for Shias as containing the tombs of the Imams Musa and Jafer Sadik), KERBELA, NEJEF, and SAMARA. There seem to be no Bektashi *tekkes* in Syria (certainly not at Damascus or Jerusalem), where the population seems to be little in sympathy with dervishes in general.

§ 3. *Egypt*

CAIRO. The Bektashi convent on the Mokattam above the citadel is the only establishment of the order in Egypt. A great cave in the precincts of the convent serves as *turbe* or mausoleum; the chief saint buried in it (reputed the founder of the convent) is named Kaigusuz² Sultan. He was a pupil of Abdal Musa³ and brought the Bektashi faith to Egypt. He is said to have been a prince by birth, and bore in the world the name of Sultanzade Ghaibi. His reputation is great among the Bektashi, who regard him as the founder of the fourth branch of the order. It seems unlikely that the grave of Kaigusuz is authentic or that the convent is of great antiquity.⁴ Pococke and Perry, who examined this slope of the Mokattam pretty carefully in the first

¹ Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 242, 244.

² Kaigusuz is said to be a word used by the Bektashi for *pilaf*. Vaujany, *Caire*, pp. 284 f., translates the name as 'Papa Sans-Souci'. Mr. W. S. Edmonds was told at the *tekke* that the word meant *devil-may-care*.

³ See above, *s. v.* *Elmali*, p. 506.

⁴ This view is borne out by the history of the tomb and *tekke* given to Mr. Edmonds by the dervishes in 1917. The original *tekke*, they said, was founded A. H. 806 (A. D. 1403-4) by Kaigusuz Sultan at Kasr-el-Aini, which is on the east bank of the Nile opposite Roda Island and about one and a half miles south of Cairo. In A. H. 844 (A. D. 1440-1) Kaigusuz Sultan died. The Bektashis had been friendly

half of the seventeenth century, notice 'grottoes' but no *tekke*; the latter says expressly that the grottoes were uninhabited.¹ The foundation may thus be connected with the spread of Bektashism in the later years of the eighteenth century and not improbably with the Albanian mercenaries who served at this time in Egypt, possibly with Mohammed Ali himself, who is said by some Bektashi to have been a member of their sect. The same is said of Omer Vrioni, of Berat, who seems to have done some soldiering in Egypt. The following description of the Cairo establishment of the Bektashi seems the best available:

'The *tekiya* projects from the hill, and may be distinguished from afar by a bank of verdant foliage with which it is fronted. Ascending a long flight of steps and passing through a small garden, you enter the *tekiya*, which has lately been rebuilt for the dervishes by the Khedive Ismail² and some of the princesses.³ The hall for the devotions of the members, the rooms of the *shêkh*, and the sumptuous kitchen may be inspected. . . . The small open court of the *tekiya* leads into an ancient quarry . . . penetrating the rock for more than 200 feet. A pathway of matting enclosed by a wooden railing leads to the innermost recess, where lies buried the *Shêkh Abdallah el-Maghâwrî*, *i. e.* of the Grotto or Cave (*Maghâra*). His original name was

with the Jelali dervishes, who then occupied the present *tekke*, and therefore Kaigusuz Sultan and succeeding *dedes* were buried in the present *tekke*. In A. H. 1212 (A. D. 1797-8) the Jelalis left the present *tekke*; in A. H. 1242 (A. D. 1826-7) [the year of Mahmud II's destruction of the Janissaries and Bektashi *tekkes*.—F. W. H.] the Kasr-el-Aini *tekke* was given to the Kadri dervishes who now have it, and in A. H. 1269 (A. D. 1852-3) the Egyptian government for the first time appointed a *dede* to the present *tekke* of Kaigusuz Sultan.

¹ *View of the Levant*, p. 234.

² 1863-79.

³ Cf. Baedeker, *Egypt* (1898), p. 53: 'A handsomely gilt coffin here is said to contain the remains of a female relative of the Khedive'—evidently buried here as a benefactress of the *tekke*.

Kêghûsûz, and he was a native of Adalia. Sent as deputy to Egypt to propagate the doctrines of the fraternity, he settled there and took the name of Abdallah.¹

At the present day the *tekke* of Kaigusuz at Cairo appears to be the only Bektashi establishment in Egypt or indeed in North Africa. The sect may owe its persistence here to the floating Albanian population; the present abbot is a Tosk Albanian.

The sect formerly held also the *tekke* of Kasr-el-Aini in Old Cairo, which is claimed by Assad Efendi as an original foundation of the Nakshbandi.² The *tekke* is first mentioned by Pococke, who, however, does not state to which order it belonged.³ Wilkinson says it was founded by the Bektashi and belonged to them till transferred to the Kadri by Ibrahim Pasha.⁴ This, it will be seen, is substantially the history supplied to Mr. Edmonds by the present dervishes.⁵

§ 4. *Constantinople*

The following list of Bektashi *tekkes* existing at the capital was given me at the *tekke* of Shehidler above Rumeli Hisar.⁶

A.—European side.

1. YEDI KULE (Kazli Cheshme), Sheikh Abdullah.
2. TOP KAPU, Sheikh Abdullah.

¹ Murray's *Egypt* (1900), p. 29. Vaujany (*Caire*, pp. 284 f.) says the cave has been excavated in the rock and measures 75 × 75 metres; the convent was formerly a poor construction of crude brick, but was rebuilt in 1872. A view from the outside is figured by Migeon, *Caire*, p. 82. Mr. Edmonds adds that the tomb is at the very end of the cave, being approached by about twenty yards of causeway along which sick people roll themselves for cure.

² *Destr. des Janissaires*, p. 300.

³ *Descr. of the East*, i, 29.

⁴ *Modern Egypt*, i, 287: cf. Browne in *J. R. Asiat. Soc.* 1907, 573, from which the *tekke* appears to have been Bektashi as late as 1808.

⁵ Above, p. 514, n. 4.

⁶ Similar lists are given by Tschudi in Jacob, *Bektaschijje*, pp. 51 ff., and Depont and Coppolani, *Confréries Musulmanes*, pp. 530-1.

3. KARIADIN (above Eyyub), Sheikh Hafiz Baba.
4. SUDLIJA, Sheikh Husain Baba.
5. KARAGACH (near Kiaghit Khane), Sheikh Munir Baba.
6. RUMELI HISAR (Shehidler).

Nos. 1 and 2 are for celibates. The sheikhs of 6 are of Anatolian descent, and the office is hereditary.

B.—Asiatic side.

7. CHAMLIJA.

8. MERDIVEN KEUI. This important *tekke* is said by the Bektashi to contain the grave of a very ancient warrior-saint, Shakhuli, who 'fought against Constantine' and was here buried. The name of the founder of the *tekke* was given me as Mehemet Ali Baba, and that of the present sheikh as Haji Ahmed Baba. The *tekke* is also said to contain the grave of Azbi Chaush, who conducted Misri Efendi to exile and was converted by him on the way.¹

At the suppression of the Order in 1826, there were fourteen convents in the capital,² of which nine were demolished.³ These were at (1) Yedi Kule, (2) Eyyub, (3) Sudlija, (4) Karagach, (5) Shehidlik,⁴ (6) Chamlija, (7) Merdiven Keui, (8) Eukuz Liman,⁵ and (9) Skutari.⁶

It thus appears that since 1826 the Bektashi have

¹ Brown, *Dervishes*, p. 164; for Misri Efendi, a seventeenth-century poet and heresiarch with a leaning towards Bektashi doctrines, see Cantimir, *Hist. Emp. Oth.* ii, 218, 228 ff.; Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xii, 45; and Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iii, 312.

² Rosen, *Geschichte der Türkei*, i, 19.

³ Assad Efendi, *Destr. des Janissaires*, p. 316.

⁴ The destruction of this *tekke* is mentioned by C. MacFarlane, *Turkey and its Destiny*, i, 504. It is cited as belonging to the Melamiyun by J. P. Brown (*Dervishes*, p. 175).

⁵ Mentioned also by Evliya, *Travels*, I, ii, 81; Hammer, *Constantinopolis*, ii, 322.

⁶ Probably the *tekke* containing the tomb of Karaja Ahmed (on whom see above, pp. 403 ff.), of which the *turbe* survives.

managed to reinstate themselves in seven out of the nine proscribed *tekkes*, and to add one (Top Kapu) to the number of their Constantinople establishments.¹

Of *tekkes* formerly occupied by the Bektashi in the Constantinople district we can cite :

RUMELI HISAR. Durmish Dede, a sailors' saint who died in the reign of Ahmed I, was buried on the point of Rumeli Hisar.² This *tekke* is now in the hands of the Khalveti.

ISTRANJA, in the hills north-east of Constantinople.³

§ 5. *Turkey in Europe.*

In this country, and particularly in the neighbourhood of Adrianople, the Bektashi had many *tekkes*, most of which were destroyed in the persecution of 1826.

*A.—Gallipoli Peninsula.*⁴

There are still two *tekkes* here at

KILIJ BAHR (opposite the town of Dardanelles) and AK BASHI (Sestos). This latter is a simple cell, tenanted by one dervish,⁵ who acts as guardian to the tomb of Ghazi Fazil Beg, one of the companions of Suleiman Pasha in his first invasion of Europe.⁶

B.—District of Adrianople.

This district has been in its day a great stronghold of Bektashism. At Adrianople itself, a disreputable *tekke* on the hill called Khidrlik was suppressed already in

¹ There were three Bektashi *tekkes* about 1850 (Brown, *Dervishes*, pp. 530 f.).

² Evliya, *Travels*, I, ii, 27, 68, 70 : ' the Dervishes Bektashi superintend it [the pilgrimage] with their drums and lamps ' ; cf. Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii, 85.

³ *Ibid.*, I, ii, 88 : ' there is a convent of Bektashi ; they hunt for the Emperor harts, roes, and deer, of which they make hams. '

⁴ This district, now isolated, was probably connected with Adrianople by a chain of *tekkes* down to 1826. The maps mark many *tekkes* between the two points, most of which, I am informed, are now farms.

⁵ As in E. D. Clarke's time (*Travels*, iii, 86).

⁶ Cf. Saad-ed-din, in Scaman's *Orchan*, p. 80.

1641,¹ and in 1826 no less than sixteen convents in the town and district were confiscated. The country round Adrianople, especially to the west of the city, into which district a numerous Turkish nomad population has been imported from Asia at various dates,² preserves the names of many destroyed *tekkes* which have in recent years developed into farms or villages.

East of Adrianople two such *tekkes* have left traditions behind them. These are :

ESKI BABA, on the main road to Constantinople. The saint here buried was identified with Sari Saltik, a famous Bektashi saint. The *turbe* is said to be an ancient church of S. Nicolas ; it is still frequented by Christians as well as Mohammedans.³

BUNAR HISAR, some miles east of Kirk Kilise. The *tekke* seems to have been confiscated in 1826, but the grave of the saint, Binbiroglu Ahmed Baba, was still later a pilgrimage for Turks. The *tekke* is now a farm.⁴

South of Adrianople, Slade,⁵ in 1830, notes the sites of several Bektashi *tekkes* ruined during the attempted suppression of the order by Sultan Mahmud II.

At FEREBIK, on the hill above the village, he found

¹ Jacob, *Beiträge*, p. 16 ; cf. Rycaut, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 69. Covel (*Diaries*, p. 248) says there was formerly a Greek church of S. George at this point.

² Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 330 (Turks from Menemen sent to Philippopolis district) ; cf. Baker, *Turkey in Europe*, p. 382.

³ See below, pp. 578-9 : also above, pp. 431-2.

⁴ See below, p. 579. This is the *tekke* which is said formerly to have contained an inscription in 'Ancient Syrian' letters 'like nails', probably the inscribed pillar set up by Darius at the sources of the Tearus (Jochmus, *J.R.G.S.*, xxiv (1854), p. 44 ; see E. Unger, *Jahrbuch, Arch. Anz.* 1915, pp. 3 ff.). I believe this pillar may have been 'adopted' by the Bektashi, like the sacred stone at Tekke Keui (see *Macedonia* below), as an additional attraction to the *tekke* of Bunar Hisar. Its cuneiform writing was probably recognized as 'Ancient Syrian' by some dervish who had visited the Shia sanctuaries in Mesopotamia where cuneiform monuments are common.

⁵ *Travels*, p. 470.

the ruins of a *tekke* and a tomb-chamber containing the graves of five dervishes. The chief of these, he was informed, was Ibrahim Baba of the Bektashi order. Five miles farther on was the tomb of another Bektashi saint, Nefes Baba, who was said to have come from Gallipoli with the first Turkish conquerors, and to have founded a *tekke* here. Nefes Baba was the son of the King of Fez.¹ Some miles farther on was a third Bektashi *tekke*, containing the tomb of a certain Rustem Baba, which Slade did not visit.²

KESHAN. There is here a small *tekke* in the town itself, tenanted by a *baba* and servitors (Albanians).

DOMUZ DERE (near Keshan). This *tekke* is tenanted by an abbot and three or four dervishes. Its history is particularly interesting in relation to the question of Bektashi usurpations. According to local tradition, borne out, as we shall see, by very solid evidence, the *tekke* was originally a small Greek monastery of S. George. The Bektashi are said to have gained a footing there during or after an epidemic of plague, which depopulated the neighbouring (Christian) village of Chiltik. This is said to have happened 'about sixty years ago', very possibly at the time of the last great outbreak of plague in European Turkey, which took place in 1836-9,³ almost within living memory.

At the present time the feast-day of S. George is still celebrated at Domuz Dere by a *panegyris* of a social character, which is frequented both by Turks and Greeks; the representatives of the two religions do not mix together more than is necessary. The original church

¹ This is too evidently an inference from his name (*nefes* = 'Breath' and metaph. 'Spirit'). For a good account of Turkish *Nefes ogli* [*sic*] see Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.* pp. 478-9, basing on Georgewicz, *Epitome*.

² A probable Bektashi *tekke* on the outskirts of Ainos may be recognized in the building called *Yunuz Baba Tekkesi* (Lambakis in *Δελτίον Χριστ. Ἀρχαιολ. Ἐταιρείας, Η'*, 28). Cf. below, p. 581.

³ Edmund Spencer, *Travels*, ii, 378 ff.

of S. George has been divided by the dervishes into several compartments, including living-rooms and a tomb-chamber for the abbots’ graves ; the compartment including the original ‘ sanctuary ’ still preserves the upper part of the screen (*templon*), and on its north wall is an ancient *eikon* of S. George flanked by lighted lamps. This has been actually seen by my informant.

So recent and so well-documented¹ a case of Bektashi usurpation as this must be regarded as a warning against excess of scepticism in appreciating legends current elsewhere, and resting solely on tradition, of similar occurrences. What happened at Domuz Dere probably happened *mutatis mutandis* at Eski Baba,² and may have happened at many other ‘ ambiguous ’ sanctuaries ; the story of the Christian *eikon* jealously guarded at the *tekke* of Rini,³ if it be a fable, is at least a fable not without historical parallels. At the same time tradition must not be accepted blindly. We know for a fact that many Christian churches have been transformed into mosques by the Turks. Yet the ‘ traditions ’ as to the Christian past of mosques are often demonstrably false ; notoriously so in the case of the mosque of Isa Bey or ‘ Church of S. John ’ at Ephesus.

West of Adrianople, as we have said, Bektashi establishments were thickly planted, but most were destroyed in 1826.

At KUSH KAVAK, at the fork of the main road leading from Adrianople to Kirjali and Gumuljina, a *tekke* is said by the Bektashi still to exist. It may be that of Ohad Baba, marked on the War Office map just north of the village.

DIMETOKA. *Tekkes* of Kizil Deli Sultan in this dis-

¹ After my husband’s death I learned that his plausible informant had been detected supplying false information to a British War Department. Had my husband known this, he might have been more sceptical of his statements on Domuz Dere.—M.M.H.

² Above, p. 519.

³ See below, p. 766, n. 4.

trict are mentioned by Assad Efendi¹ as among those demolished in 1826. The name of the saint is shown on our maps in the district due west of Dimetoka, which adjoins the Kirjali district transferred by the treaty of Bucharest to Bulgaria.

§ 6. *Bulgaria*

KIRJALI, the district adjoining that of Adrianople on the west and lately ceded to Bulgaria, contains the grave and *tekke* of the Bektashi saint Said Ali Sultan. The *tekke* was destroyed by the Bulgars in the last war, the *turbe* (mausoleum) being spared.

HASKOVO, between Philippopolis and the frontier, half a day north of Kirjali, possesses (or possessed) a *tekke* with the grave of Mustafa Baba.² It is, as usual, at some distance from the town.

RAZGRAD (near). There was also till recently an isolated *tekke* containing the grave of Hasan Demir Baba Pehlivan, who lived '400 years ago' and performed a number of miracles. The *tekke* was founded early in the nineteenth century by Hasan Pehlivan Baba, Pasha of Rustchuk.³ A good description of it, the legend

¹ *Destr. des Janissaires*, p. 325 : special instructions regarding these *tekkes* are given in the text of the firman printed by the same author at pp. 325 ff. : 'Vous vous rendrez d'abord à Adrianople ; là, de concert avec Mohammed-Assad-Pacha, gouverneur de Tcharmen, vous expulserez des tékiés de Kizil-Déli-Sultan les bektachis qui s'y trouvent . . . Notre intention est de destiner au casernement des corps de soldats de Mahomet qui pourront par suite être formés dans ces contrées les bâtiments spacieux et commodes de quelques-uns de ces établissements, et de transformer les grandes salles en mosquées.' For Kizil Deli Sultan see also Brown, *Dervishes*, p. 325 ; Jacob, *Bektaschijje*, p. 28.

² The *tekke* seems to be mentioned by Quiclet (*Voyages*, p. 149). An Albanian Bektashi informant assures me that no Bektashi establishment now exists here, but is contradicted by Midhat Bey Frasheri who, though not himself an adherent of the order, comes of a Bektashi family and was resident in Bulgaria at the time of my inquiries.

³ Jireček, *Bulgarien*, p. 411.

of the buried hero, and a block of the *tekke* and its surroundings are given by Kanitz.¹

RUSTCHUK now has a *tekke* built about 1920 by Baba Kamber, formerly abbot of Kichok in Albania.²

A *tekke* of Mustafa Baba, between Rustchuk and Silistria, is mentioned by Jacob.³

Elsewhere in Bulgaria there is said to be a Bektashi community at Selvi in the district of Tirnovo, but my informant⁴ does not know whether they possess a *tekke*. An Albanian dervish at Melchan⁵ told me there was formerly a *tekke* at Tirnovo itself, but it had been destroyed already before the Balkan War.

§ 7. Rumania

Three *tekkes* of the Bektashi are mentioned within the present frontiers of Rumania :

At BABA DAGH was a Bektashi convent containing one of the graves of Sari Saltik.⁶

At KILGRA (Kaliakra) on the Black Sea, Evliya visited a *tekke* of Bektashi containing another reputed grave of the same saint.⁷ I am informed that the site is now completely deserted, though it remains a pilgrimage for Moslems and Christians alike.

BALCHIK (near). Here was formerly a Bektashi *tekke* of great importance, one of the largest in Rumeli. The saint there buried was called Hafiz Khalil Baba, or Akyazili Baba, and was by Christians identified with S. Athanasius.⁸

§ 8. Serbia

In 'new Serbia', *i. e.* Serbian Macedonia, *tekkes* are said to exist, or to have existed, at the following places ;

¹ *Op. cit.* iii, 298 ff. (pp. 535 f. in the French translation ; see above, p. 296) ; *cf.* Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, iii, 174.

² M. M. H. from several Albanians in 1923 ; see below, p. 544.

³ *Beiträge*, p. 17. ⁴ Midhat Bey Frasherli. ⁵ See below, p. 546.

⁶ Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 72 ; *cf.* below, pp. 575 f.

⁷ See above, pp. 429-31.

⁸ See above, pp. 90-2.

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many of them seem to have been destroyed during and after the Balkan war :

MONASTIR. Here there is a small *tekke* in the town, with the grave of Husain Baba, the founder, dated 1872-3 ; this *tekke* was unharmed in 1914. It is *mutehbil*.

In the neighbourhood ¹ there were two *tekkes*.

At KISHOVA was a *tekke* founded by Khidr Babar, said to be old, and tenanted formerly by six or seven dervishes. It was *mutehbil*. On the death of the last *baba* the *tekke* was shut up and the Serbs arranged a church of S. Nicolas in it, saying it had formerly been such.

At KANADLAR still exists a large *tekke* said to have been founded about 200 years ago by Dikmen Baba, whom Kurd Baba succeeded.

USKUB. Here there were, before the war, two Bektashi *tekkes* named after Mustafa Baba and Suleiman Baba, the latter a recent establishment apparently extinct in 1923. There was then no abbot at Mustafa Baba's, only a married dervish.

Other *tekkes* in this district are, or were, at :

KALKANDELEN. Here still exists a large and important *tekke* containing the supposed grave of Sersem Ali. This *tekke* was founded by Riza Pasha (d. 1822), at the instance of Muharrebe Baba, who discovered, by revelation, the tomb of Sersem Ali.² The *tekke* stands within a rectangle of high walls, each pierced by a handsome gateway, just outside the town. The buildings include lodgings for the dervishes, two oratories (*meidan*), the tombs of Sersem Ali, Muharrebe Baba, Riza Pasha, and others, a large open *mesjid* standing on columns, guest-rooms, kitchens, and farm buildings. All these seem to be of the date of the foundation ; they are for the most

¹ Part of this section is by M.M.H. and based on information collected locally in 1923.

² See below, p. 592, and, for Sersem Ali, Jacob, *Bektaschijje*, p. 28.

part picturesque and rather elaborate wooden buildings with deep porticoes. Pleasant fruit and flower-gardens are included in the precinct.

At TEKKE KEUI, near the station of Alexandrovo, between Kumanovo and Uskub, is a small *tekke* with the grave of Karaja Ahmed. The cult has been discussed by Evans; ¹ it now seems likely that this site will be transferred to Christianity.²

There were also *tekkes* at ISHTIP and KUPRULU.

STRUMIJA ³ (Strumnitzza, in 'New Serbia'). In this district there was, before the Balkan war, a Bektashi *tekke* containing the grave of a saint Ismail Baba, and a hot spring attributed to the agency of the saint's foot. This *tekke* is now destroyed.⁴

In the Albanian district of Serbian Macedonia there were three *tekkes*.

At JAKOVA still exists a new *tekke* built by the present abbot, Hafiz Baba.

The IPEK *tekke* no longer survives.

The PRIZREND *tekke*,⁵ built by the learned Haji Adem Baba, who now lives privately in Jakova, has been converted into a Serbian orphanage.

A small *tekke* exists at Dibra.

§ 9. Greece ⁶

A.—Macedonia.

(a) SALONICA. A *tekke* formerly existing on the western outskirts of the town was destroyed during the Balkan war.

¹ In *J.H.S.* xxi, 202 ff.; fully above, pp. 274 ff. ² Below, p. 582.

³ This *tekke* was in Bulgaria till after the European war.

⁴ From an Albanian dervish at Melchan (below, p. 546), who formerly resided at Strumija.

⁵ This *tekke* is mentioned by Brailsford, *Macedonia*, p. 247, and Jaray, *L'Albanie Inconnue*, p. 86. In his *Au jeune Royaume d'Albanie*, pp. 96–109, Jaray describes the *tekkes* of Ipek, Jakova, and Prizrend.

⁶ This section describes the Bektashi position as it was in Greece

(b) **KASTORIA.** The *tekke* is situated at the entrance to the town on the Florina road. Small, insignificant, and in 1915 tenanted only by an abbot, who was gone in 1921,¹ it is said to be ancient and formerly important. It suffered during the persecution of 1826. The chief saint buried here, Kasim Baba,² is supposed to have lived at the time of the Turkish conquest, and enjoys considerable local fame as a posthumous miracle-worker. He is said during his lifetime to have converted many Christians by the somewhat crude method of hurling from the hill on the landward side of the isthmus of Kastoria a huge rock, which crashed into a church full of worshippers.

Of a second *tekke*, occupied within living memory, at Toplitza (near the barracks) only the *turbe* and grave of Sanjakdar Ali Baba remain. The Bektashi also lay claim to the grave of Aidin Baba, in a humble *turbe* on the outskirts of the gipsy quarter.

(c) In the district of Anaselitza, west of the market-town of Lapsista, the Bektashi have a considerable following. The Moslem element in the population is here supposed to have been converted in recent times, 'a hundred and fifty years ago' being the usual estimate.³ This is borne out by the fact that the Moslems in question (called Vallahadhes)⁴ speak Greek, and in some villages have deserted churches⁵ (not converted into mosques), to which they show considerable respect. The Bektashi *tekkes* serving this district are at Vod-until the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) came into operation in 1924 and removed the Moslems to Asia Minor.

¹ M.M.H.

² Kuch in Albania also claims his real grave; *cf.* below, p. 547. He left his hand at Elbassan. M.M.H.

³ [Some certainly converted much earlier, for certain of their cemeteries contain tombstones dated as much as 350 years ago. Possibly there was a big movement at the traditional date.—M.M.H.]

⁴ For the Vallahadhes see the references given above, p. 8, n. 1.

⁵ For these see above, p. 8, n. 1 *ad fin.*

horina, two and a half hours west of Lapsista, and at Odra, high up on the slopes of the Pindus range. Both *tekkes* are connected with the same saint, Emineh Baba, who seems to be historical. He is said to have been executed at Monastir in A.H. 1007 (1598–9) for professing the unorthodox opinions of Manzur-el-Halaj, who is claimed by the Bektashi as an early preacher of their doctrines and a precursor of their order.¹ Emineh appeared to his sister on the night of his execution at her home in Lapsista; she was preparing a meal to which guests were invited. He helped his sister in her preparations, and afterwards sat down to table. Some of the guests, noticing that he took nothing, pressed him to eat, which he refused to do, on the ground that he was fasting. Finally, however, yielding to their importunity, he ate, with the words ‘If you had not made me eat, I should have visited you every evening.’ He then disappeared.²

VODHORINA. The *tekke* here is an ordinary house in the village, the *turbes* of former abbots being as usual some little distance away and not architecturally remarkable. It is said to have suffered in 1826 and is now occupied by an abbot only, who is from the district and claims direct descent from Emineh Baba,³ the *tekke* being *mutebhil*. A room of the house itself contains a plain commemorative cenotaph of Emineh Baba, his habit (*kbirka*), and other relics; this room is used by the sick for incubation. Other cenotaphs of the saint

¹ He lived in the early part of the fourth century of the Hejira and was martyred for his opinions at Bagdad. See Hastings’s *Encycl. of Relig.* s.v. *Hallaj*.

² From the abbot at Vodhorina. Has the story any relation to S. Luke’s account (xxiv, 30 ff.) of Christ’s appearance to the disciples after the Resurrection? The district is, as above stated, recently converted.

³ [Confirmed by his relative, the (*mujerred*) abbot of Odra. Dated tombs of the intervening abbots exist in the village of Vodhorina. —M.M.H.]

are said to exist at Kapishtitza (near Biglishta) and at Monastir.¹

ODRA is, like Vodhorina, a small establishment occupied by an abbot and two or three dervishes, all local but one, who is an Albanian. The present abbot founded the *tekke* some forty years ago : it is *mujerred*, unlike his kinsman's at Vodhorina. The great attraction is a cave or chasm in the mountain, said to have been formed miraculously by Emineh Baba, who smote the mountain with his sword. Local Greek tradition identifies the Odra site with that of a former church of S. Menas, to whom is attributed the miracle of the cave; the habit of Emineh at Vodhorina, which is of no great antiquity, is also believed to be that of S. Menas. The identification may be due merely to the verbal assimilation of the names Emineh and "Αἰ Μηνᾶ.

(d) Near Kozani, in the Sari Gueul district, is a group of three Bektashi *tekkes*. The district in question is inhabited entirely by Anatolian Turks ('Koniari'), who were settled there in the early years of the Turkish conquest and preserve their language and customs unchanged. By religion they are partly Bektashi and partly fanatical Sunni Mohammedans.

JUMA. The most important *tekke* of this group is built on a slight eminence just outside the village of the same name. It has every appearance of prosperity, and is occupied by an abbot and nine or ten dervishes. The saints buried in the adjoining *turbe* are Piri Baba and Erbei Baba. Their date is unknown, but the *turbe* was repaired, according to an inscription, by two dervishes (implying the existence of a foundation) in A.H. 1143 (1730-1), while in the surrounding cemetery several graves are slightly older.² Unlike most *tekkes* in this

¹ He is evidently confused, perhaps wilfully, with Khirka Baba, an (apparently historical) orthodox sheikh of Monastir who 'disappeared', leaving, like Emineh, his habit behind him; see above, p. 358.

² M.M.H. The oldest is A. H. 1113.

district, Juma seems to be a place of considerable religious importance. It is much frequented in May (especially Wednesdays and Saturdays) by Moslem women on account of the reputation of its sacred well for the cure of sterility. I was told by the abbot that Christian women made use of this well on Sundays, and, though this was denied by educated Greeks of Kozani, it may be true of the less advanced women of the adjacent Bulgarian villages. The *turbe* of the saints is used for incubation by lunatics, and contains a club and an axe, regarded as personal relics of the saints, which are used for the cure (by contact with the affected part) of various ailments. There is also a very simple oracle, consisting in an earthenware ball, suspended from the roof of the *turbe* by a string. The inquirer swings the ball away from him; if it strikes him on its return swing, the answer to his question is in the affirmative.

BAGHJE, in a healthy and pleasant position among trees and running water in the hills above the village of Topjilar.¹ The *tekke* itself is an insignificant house, occupied by an abbot from Aintab and his servants: the abbot came by an untimely end in 1921 and no successor had been appointed up to 1923.² The *turbe*, which contains the grave of Ghazi Ali Baba, a saint of vague antiquity, was rebuilt in 1915.

BUJAK, between the villages of Kcusheler and Sofular, is now subordinated to Juma and has no abbot. It boasts the grave of Memi Bcy Sultan and is inhabited by married dervishes. About it are many graves, one as old as A.H. 1051,³ marked by the Bektashi *taj*, their number confirming the statement that Bujak was formerly the largest *tekke* of the three but never recovered from its losses in 1826.⁴ An egg suspended in

¹ This village is Sunni, its neighbour, Ine Obasi, Bektashi.

² M.M.H.

³ M.M.H. This is A.D. 1641-2.

⁴ [Except Ine Obasi, all the villages in this district are now Sunni, but inspection revealed Bektashi headstones in all the cemeteries.

Memi Bey's *turbe* is used for divination about the welfare of the absent, the procedure being parallel to that of the wishing oracle at Juma.¹

At INELI, between the Sari Gueul district and Kaya-lar, there is a *turbe* with the tomb of Ghazi Baba.

The property of the *tekkes* at Juma and Bujak was confiscated in 1826 and acquired by a rich Greek of Kozani, who, however, never prospered after his sacrilegious purchase. The land was bought back 'about forty years ago' and the *tekkes* reopened. Vague traditions as to the Christian origins of these foundations are current in Kozani. Some say that all Christian church lands were seized at the Turkish conquest and that monasteries then became *tekkes*; others are equally certain that Ali Pasha was responsible. The dedications of the supplanted monasteries are similarly disputed. Juma is variously said to occupy the site of a church of S. George or of S. Elias; Baghje of S. Elias or of S. Demetrius; and Bujak perhaps one of S. George. The site of Baghje certainly suggests that of a Greek monastery, but a site suitable for a monastery is equally suitable for a *tekke*, and the abbot informed me that in the considerable agricultural and building operations which have taken place under his direction, no evidence of former buildings has come to light. Christians frequent all three *tekkes* for healing purposes.

(e) ELASSONA. Here there is a small *tekke* beside the Serfije (Serbia) road on the outskirts of the town. In 1915 it was occupied by an (Albanian) abbot only, in 1922 he, too, was gone and the *tekke* shut and deserted.² The Greeks say it was founded after the union of Thessaly with Greece (1882), but the occupants hold that it is a good deal older. The chief saint is Sali Baba, who is buried in a simple *turbe* with the (two) successive abbots of the *tekke*, the late incumbent being the third: Evidently the Bektashi movement had ramified very widely before 1826.—M.M.H.] M.M.H. ² M.M.H.

the *turbe* is dated 1250 (1834-5). Sali Baba is represented as a saint of much earlier date,¹ who enjoyed a local vogue before the *turbe* was built at the instance of the first abbot (Nejib Baba), and at the expense of certain local *bey*s. We have here, to all appearance, a documented instance of the occupation of a popular saint-cult by the Bektashi.² Nejib Baba probably established himself as guardian of the grave, and received instructions in a vision as to the building of the *turbe* from its saintly occupant.³

(f) AIKATERINI. It is at first sight surprising to find a Bektashi *tekke* in what is now a purely Greek coast-district; but Leake's account shows that in his time the local landowners were Moslems, and the *bey* of the village was connected by marriage with Ali Pasha: ⁴ the *tekke* was probably *inter alia* a road-post like Ali's foundations in Thessaly.⁵

B.—Thessaly.

All available evidence points to the period and influence of Ali Pasha as responsible for the propagation of Bektashism in this province, ceded to Greece in 1882; this evidence is the stronger as coming from several independent sources.

RINI. The sole remaining Bektashi *tekke* in Thessaly is at Rini, between Velestino and Pharsala.⁶ In 1914,

¹ 'Five hundred years ago', the formula for the period of the Turkish conquest.

² See below, p. 566.

³ This is the typical development of a purely popular cult into a dervish establishment carried one step further than in the case of the tomb of Risk Baba at Candia (see below, *Crete*). [Circumstances having permitted me to make more extensive researches locally than my husband, I found in Albania, where new *tekkes* are constantly being built, that this is true in some cases, not in others. The *tekke* is frequently built round his actual grave, within a few years of his death, to perpetuate the memory of some dervish, who had won especial esteem in his lifetime, but died away from the *tekke* within which he had lived.—M.M.H.]

⁴ *N. Greece*, iii, 415. ⁵ See below, p. 533. ⁶ See below, p. 582.

I found it tenanted only by an (Albanian) abbot and servitors. The rest of the dervishes, who seem also to have been Albanians, left at the time of the Balkan war. The *tekke* is beautifully situated and appears prosperous. Two *turbes* containing the tombs (1) of the saints Turbali Sultan, Jafer, and Mustafa, all reputed warriors of the period of the Turkish conquest, and (2) of certain venerated sheikhs, stand before the great gate of the *tekke*. These *turbes* are of some architectural interest, and seem at least as early as the seventeenth century; in this they differ from most Bektashi buildings I have seen, which are unpretentious and obviously recent. According to local *savants*,¹ the *tekke* was originally a Latin monastery, dedicated to S. George or S. Demetrius, and was occupied by dervishes from Konia (Mevlevi?) in the first half of the seventeenth century. Ali Pasha transferred it to the Bektashi; it escaped the persecutions of 1826, and down to the occupation of the country by the Greeks, and even after, had a bad reputation as the resort of brigands and other bad characters.² So late as 1888 there were 54 dervishes in residence.

Other Bektashi *tekkes* in the province, now no longer existent, were established, according to the local authorities, by Ali and dissolved in 1826, at the following places:

(1) Near TATAR, at the spot called *Tekke* and marked by a fine grove of cypresses.³ The present proprietor of the site, now a farm (*chiftlik*), Mr. P. Apostolides, kindly informs me that it was till recently in the hands of the Mevlevi order,⁴ and that of the buildings an octagonal *turbe* is preserved, which is supposed to contain the tomb of the founder. His name was given me

¹ See below, p. 766.

² Cf. below, p. 767.

³ Mentioned by Leake, *N. Greece*, i, 445.

⁴ It may have passed from the Bektashi to the Mevlevi in 1826; cf. below, p. 553.

at Rini as Balli Baba. The rest of the buildings were burnt in the war of 1897.¹

(2) Near the village of KUPÉKLI was a *tekke* containing the grave of Shahin Baba.

(3) The *tekke* of HASAN BABA at the entrance to the gorge of Tempe² is represented by the local authorities as another Bektashi convent founded or supported by Ali in order to control the traffic of the important road through the defile. Though the saint is, I believe, claimed by the Nakshbandi, 'Baba' more generally denotes a Bektashi saint, and Hasan Baba seems to be represented as a warrior-saint of the usual Bektashi type. On the other hand, Dodwell's drawing (1805) shows the *tekke* with a mosque and minaret, which latter is an unusual feature in a Bektashi convent. Edward Lear, in the fifties, describes the dervish in charge as 'steeple hatted', which rather points to the Mevlevi as the then occupants. At the fall of the Bektashi (1826), they were in the ascendant by the favour of Sultan Mahmud II.³

All these *tekkes* are said by local Greeks to have been made use of for political purposes by Ali, and their sites on or near important highways to have been selected with that intent. Ali's political connexion with the order is discussed elsewhere.⁴ Bektashis, however, state that the *tekkes* were founded at the time of the Turkish conquest.

(4) At TRIKKALA Leake found a large and prosperous *tekke* built by Ali himself.⁵

¹ The *tekke* was the head-quarters of the Turkish staff on May 9 (Biggam, *With the Turkish Army in Thessaly*, p. 92).

² Dodwell, *Views in Greece*, II, vi (cf. *Tour through Greece*, ii, 107); Urquhart, *Spirit of the East*, ii, 27; Lear, *Albania*, p. 406; Chirol, *Twixt Greek and Turk*, p. 114.

³ Below pp. 620 ff.

⁴ See also below, pp. 586 ff.

⁵ *N. Greece*, iv, 284: 'Trikkala has lately been adorned by the Pasha with a new Tekiéh, or college of Bektashlí dervises, on the site of a former one. He has not only removed several old buildings to give more space and air to this college, but has endowed it with property in

AGIA (near). A Bektashi *tekke* at Aidinli, three miles north-west of Agia (Magnesia) is mentioned by Leake as being built by Ali Pasha in 1809.¹ This seems to be identical with the convent of 'Alicouli' mentioned by Pouqueville.²

At LARISSA the 'Forty Saints', whose tombs were formerly to be seen at the 'Mosque of the Forty' (*Kirkklar Jami*), now destroyed, are claimed by the Bektashi.

C.—Crete.

The Bektashi of Crete are now distributed in the three chief towns of the island, Candia, Rethymo, and Canea. There was formerly a *tekke* at H. Vlasios, a Mohammedan village two hours south of Candia. At Canea I obtained from a Bektashi layman approximate statistics of the strength of the order in the three towns before and after the troubles of 1897, which resulted in a considerable emigration of Moslem Cretans to Asia Minor, Tripolitania, and the Sporades. This movement is reflected in the statistics, which are given for what they are worth :

	(1) <i>Before 1897.</i>	(2) <i>Present day.</i>
Candia	5,000	About 500
Rethymo	3,000	1,000
Canea	200	70

The district south of Candia was that in which the khans, shops, and houses, and has added some fields on the banks of the *Lethæus*. There are now about fifteen of these Mahometan monks in the house with a Sheikh or Chief, who is married to an Ioannite woman, and as well lodged and dressed as many a Pashá. Besides his own apartments, there are very comfortable lodgings for the dervises, and every convenience for the reception of strangers.'

¹ *N. Greece*, iv, 413: 'At Aidinli, Alý Pashá is now building a Tekiéh for his favourite Bektashlis.'

² *Voyage dans la Grèce*, iii, 61: '... le bourg turc d'Alicouli, dont le Téké, qui est le plus riche de la Thessalie, est le chef-lieu de l'ordre des Bektadgis.' The sheikh, Ahmed, was an acquaintance of Pouqueville's.

Moslem element was strongest. It is hardly necessary to say that the Moslem Cretans are of Cretan blood and represent the indigenous element converted from Christianity since the Turkish conquest. The small number of Bektashi at Canea, the capital of the island and an important town, is accounted for by the fact that the Mevlevi are strong there, as also, owing to the floating population of Tripolines ('Halikuti') from Benghazi, the Rifai.

CANDIA. The *tekke* lies on the main road three-quarters of an hour south of the town, near the site of Knossos and the village of Fortezza.¹ It was founded before the fall of Candia (1669), in 1650² by a celebrated saint named Khorasanli Ali Dede, who is buried there. The present venerable sheikh, who has the title of *khalife*,³ is an Albanian from Kolonia and a celibate; his predecessor was married, and at his death it was thought more expedient for the convent that a celibate should succeed him. There are about a dozen dervishes, many of whom seem to be Albanian. The *tekke* has every appearance of prosperity and good management.

Outside the New Gate of Candia is the tomb of Risk Baba, who is distinguished by the segmented *taj* on his headstone as a Bektashi saint. To judge by the mass of rags affixed to a tree in his precinct he is a very popular intercessor. A small hut built beside the grave is that of a self-appointed guardian of the tomb, who is buried beside the saint.

The *tekke* at RETHYMO contains the grave of Hasan Baba. At CANEA there is now no *tekke* owing to Bek-

¹ The *tekke* is described, with a photograph of the *meidan*, by Hall in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* 1913, pp. 147 ff. and pl. 39, and mentioned by Spratt, *Crete*, i, 81.

² Of this I was assured there was documentary evidence by a learned Bektashi layman of Candia. The Turkish head-quarters during the long siege of Candia were at Fortezza.

³ See below, p. 537, n. 4.

tashi migration.¹ A Bektashi warrior-saint Mustafa Ghazi is buried under an open *turbe* on the outskirts of the town; his headstone bears the *taj* of the order. This tomb is much frequented by the Tripolines on May 22.

D.—Epirus.

In this region Bektashism seems to have taken no permanent root south of latitude 40°. In spite of Ali Pasha's patronage,² the Bektashi admit that they have never possessed a *tekke* at Yannina, his capital, where the only trace of them is the tomb of Hasan Sheret Baba, a saint of Ali's time, and that of Ali himself, the headstone of which was formerly distinguished by the regulation Bektashi *taj*.³ On the road between Yannina and Metzovo a *tekke* which formerly existed is now deserted; we may probably regard it as one of Ali's 'strategic' foundations devised to control the important pass into Thessaly.⁴

At KONITZA exists what is said to be a very old *tekke*. Husain Baba is the oldest *baba* buried there, with Turabi Baba beside him. The present abbot is Haidar Baba.⁵

§ 10. *Albania*

The great stronghold of modern Bektashism is Albania, especially south Albania, where nine-tenths of

¹ The sheikh formerly in charge was invited by Cretan Bektashi refugees in Benghazi to come and minister to them, but he died without founding a *tekke* there; this would have been difficult owing to the predominance of the Rifai and Senussi sects in that district.

² See below, pp. 586 ff.

³ This is shown in a drawing of the tomb in Walsh's *Constantinople*, and was mentioned to me as proof of Ali's connexion with the sect by an elderly Epirote, who remembered seeing it. The headstone is now replaced by a wooden post.

⁴ See above, *Thessaly*.

⁵ The son of a dervish sheikh at Konitza (probably therefore a Bektashi) was martyred for Christianity at Vrachori in 1814 ('S. John the Neomartyr of Konitza', for whose life see N. *Λειμων.*, p. 331; cf. above, p. 449, n. 7).

the Moslem population are said by Bektashis to be Bektashi, one-tenth only of the Ghegs of the north adhering to the sect.

As to the history of Bektashism in south Albania (sometimes called North Epirus), my researches have been able to establish the leading facts: (1) that it is of comparatively recent introduction, and (2) that the firm root it has taken is mainly due to the influence of Ali Pasha (1759-1822), who was himself a member of the order.¹ The Tosks regard the *tekke* of Kastoria² as the most ancient in their country, but Kastoria belongs geographically to Macedonia. The date of this *tekke* is vague, and, as elsewhere in Rumeli, the saint there buried is referred to the period of the Turkish conquest, and his personality is frankly superhuman. On the Albanian side of the mountains, on the other hand, the dates of the saints are known and recent,³ and they have no pretensions to be more than the founders of the *tekkes* where their bones lie. In point of antiquity the Argyrokastro foundations claim to be earlier than Ali Pasha, but can produce no evidence. The Koritza group, Konitza, the important *tekke* of Frasheri, and some others are admittedly foundations of Ali's contemporaries, while many others confess to a much later origin.

With very few exceptions the saints buried in Albanian *tekkes* seem to be of small religious importance, the living abbot being much more considered.⁴ To an

¹ This idea was put forward long ago on the evidence of tradition, which is no safe guide, since a figure like Ali's bulks large in popular thought and is apt to absorb much that does not belong to it.

² Above, *Macedonia*.

³ Cf., however, Hasan Dede of Klissura, alleged to be 350-400 years old (below, p. 543).

⁴ Abbots may be appointed by *khalifes* as well as by the Akhi Dede of Haji Bektash. In the Albanian area *khalifes* exist at Argyrokastro, Turan (Tepelen), and Prizrend. A *khalife* seems to be a higher grade of abbot, cf. above, p. 507.—M.M.H.

outsider it appears that the Albanian temperament has evolved a form of Bektashism in which the social organization rather than the religious-superstitious side is uppermost. This is borne out also by externals; the Bektashi *tekkes* throughout the district have no distinguishing marks and no set plan. They are generally built simply and solidly, like good country houses, and situated just outside villages, more rarely in proximity to considerable towns. The tombs of the saints are in very simple *turbes* standing well away from the main buildings, it is said for reasons of health.

Characteristic of the time at which Bektashism won its foothold in Albania—the era of the French Revolution—is the prominence given here, in theory at least, to certain liberal ideas, such as the Brotherhood of Man and the unimportance of the dogmas and formalities of religion as compared with conduct. Both these ideas and the quietist doctrines, which to some extent depend on them, are latent in much dervish thought; but they are radically opposed to the stern ideal of Islam propagated by the sword which animated the Janissaries in their days of conquest, and which shows itself in the conception of the earlier Bektashi saints as superhuman champions of the Faith.

The persecution of Sultan Mahmud (1826) touched the Albanian Bektashi lightly, owing not only to the fact that the movement in Albania had not reached its height, but also doubtless to the wildness and inaccessibility of the country; we may well believe, indeed, that it was a refuge for Bektashi proscribed elsewhere, certainly for those of Albanian birth.

The only orders competing with the Bektashi in southern Albania were the orthodox Sadi (at Liaskovik) and the Khalveti; of this latter an offshoot, known as the Hayati,¹ has or had establishments at

¹ I can find in printed sources no mention of this order or sub-order. Their patron is said to be Hasan of Basra. They can, I think, hardly

Tepelen¹ (burnt), Liaskovik (burnt), Koritza (ruined), Biglishta, Changeri, Progti, and Okhrida. The Khalveti-Hayati are said to have come into Albania later than the Bektashi, but are shown by the date over the portal of their ruined *tekke* at Liaskovik (1211 = 1796-7) to be no recent intruders.

Sultan Abdul Mejid (1839-61) is said not only to have abstained from persecuting the Bektashi, but to have given positive orders that they were not to be molested.² Abdul Hamid seems to have suspected them, and is said to have sent a special emissary to Albania to report on the extent of the heresy and the number of *tekkes*, but no persecution or active measures followed. His suspicions were probably based on the participation of the Bektashi in the national movement of 1880-1, when the cession of part of southern Albania to Greece was under discussion, and the southern Albanians rose under Abdul Bey Frasheri, ostensibly to save the threatened provinces to Turkey, but really aiming at an independent Albanian state.

The losses of the Bektashi order in Epirus during the troubles succeeding the Balkan war were enormous, many *tekkes* having been burnt to the ground, and most of the remainder looted of everything moveable by the Epirote irregulars. The nominal excuse for this was (1) that the order was implicated in the national Albanian (and therefore anti-Greek) movement, and (2) that some *tekkes* were suspected of having harboured not only 'bands' but fugitives from justice (the two categories largely overlap) and to have shared their be identical with Rycout's *Hayetti* (*Ottoman Empire*, p. 61), an heretical sect with Christian leanings, the Khalveti being regarded as orthodox. Fadil Bey Klissura regards the Hayati also as orthodox.

¹ This is presumably the establishment mentioned by Miss Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 242.

² Aravantinos (*Χρονολογία τῆς Ἡπείρου* (1857), ii, 18) notes, evidently with surprise, that in his day many of the inhabitants of Argyrokastro were *openly* Bektashi.

plunder. To this the Bektashi would probably reply that they were natural allies, by blood and language, of the Albanian cause and that hospitality, irrespective of persons, is the rule of the order. It is clear that in such a country the evident prosperity of the *tekkes*, whatever the character of their inmates, would be sufficient to attract the cupidity of guerrilla captains; several dervishes are said to have been murdered because they would not or could not disclose the whereabouts of their supposed wealth.

Further north the chief Bektashi district is that of Malakastra, a Tosk district lying between the River Voyussa (Aous) and that of Berat (Lumi Beratit). Numerous Bektashi *tekkes* existed here before the war, but all were then destroyed, because such as escaped the Greek irregulars immediately after the war were burnt by the Gheg followers of Essad Pasha of Tirana.¹ The history of the conversion of this district to Bektashism is vague: all seem agreed that it is recent, certainly more recent than in Epirus. There seems considerable probability that the beginnings of the propaganda are as old as the time of Ali Pasha, since we know that the sect was established further north (at Kruya, *q.v.*) in his time, and some Bektashi claim that Omer Vrioni of Berat² and a certain Mahmud Bey of Valona, contemporaries of Ali, were in the movement.³ Traces of Bektashism are to be found both at Valona and at Berat, and neither Omer nor Mahmud is, like Ali, a great figure to which popular tradition refers all events indiscriminately. Still further north Bektashism is only sporadic owing to the strong Sunni opinions and consequent opposition of the Ghegs.

¹ Essad is the great-grandson of the murderer of Mimi, below, p. 550.

² The *bey*s of Berat are said to be Bektashi (they denied this in 1923 to M. M. H.).

³ Degrand (*Haute Albanie*, p. 211) cites also a contemporary Ibrahim Bey of Kavaya as a member of the sect.

The following¹ is a list of the Bektashi *tekkes* in Albania before the Balkan war. Villages with *tekkes* are grouped with their market towns.

i. ARGYROKASTRO. Bektashism is said to have gained a footing here 'about 150 years ago'. Ali Pasha's influence was strong here owing to the marriage of his sister to a powerful local bey.² The chief *tekke* is that of Haji Suleiman Baba, delightfully situated on a small isolated eminence near the town. Before the Balkan war twenty dervishes resided here; there are now rather fewer. The history of the *tekke* cannot be traced for more than 90 years; the earliest of the four *turbes* containing the graves of deceased abbots dates only from 1862-3, but according to legend Argyrokastró was visited at a vague early date by the Bektashi saints Hasan Baba³ (really a Nakshbandi) and Mustafa Baba, of whom the latter is buried here. The abbot is a *khalife*.⁴

Asim Baba's *tekke* on the other side of Argyrokastró was founded 'two hundred years' ago and is reckoned one of the oldest in Albania. The founder and his successor are buried on either side of the gateway so that they may pray for all who enter. There are now seven dervishes with the learned Selim Baba as abbot. The Rule of the *tekke* is unusually strict: no spirits are allowed and dervishes are forbidden to quit the *tekke* grounds. In addition, they wear a four-ridged *taj* outside the ordinary twelve-ridged Bektashi hat in souvenir of 1826, when only by adopting some such disguise could Bektashi dervishes escape destruction.

The *tekke* of Zeynel Abidin Baba, between the town and Haji Suleiman's, is now deserted. It is 133 years old.

¹ [From this point onwards most of the information given comes from my own 1923 notebooks, as conditions were then more normal in Albania than when my husband travelled.—M. M. H.]

² Leake, *N. Greece*, i, 40; cf. Hahn, *Alban. Studien*, p. 35.

³ See above, pp. 356-7.

⁴ See above; p. 537, n. 4.

Four hours S.E. of Argyrokastro at Melan near NEPRAVISHTA there is a *tekke* which was founded sixty years ago as an offshoot of Asim Baba's *tekke* at Argyrokastro.

ii. At TEPELEN, the birthplace of Ali, there was never a Bektashi *tekke*,¹ but there were, and are, several in the villages of the district. These are :

VELIKIOT, an old foundation, which has been closed since its destruction by Sultan Mahmud. Husain Baba was the oldest of its saints.

TURAN, two hours from Tepelen. The *tekke* was founded about 1900, having had only two abbots, Ali Baba, who died A.H. 1324 (A.D. 1906-7), and the present incumbent. The *tekke* is rich and has now twelve dervishes : its abbot is a *khalife*.²

MEMALIA, a rich *tekke* about eighty years old, with Husain Baba as chief saint. Destroyed, like Turan, by Greek irregulars, it was rebuilt, only to be overthrown by the earthquake which recently devastated the Tepelen area. There are now only two dervishes.

MARICHAN is about thirty years old, being founded by Baba Musa who died during the Greek occupation of south Albania. It has lately been rebuilt by the dervishes who formerly occupied the *tekke* of Kichok.³

Further along the right bank of the River Voyussa in the Malakastra district are the following *tekkes*.

KOSHDAN, a rich *tekke*, which is about 110 years old, the present abbot being the sixth in succession. Ismail Baba is the saint.

KRAHAS is about fifty years old, four *babas*, of whom Husain Baba is the first, being buried here.

¹ The 'Tekieh or convent of dervises' noted by Leake (*N. Greece*, i, 31) on the slopes of Mount Trebeshin across the river from Tepelen was the summer quarters of the Tepelen Khalveti dervishes, whom Haji Khalil Baba founded 'five hundred years' ago. They are now settled altogether in Tepelen and the mountain establishment is shut up.

² See above, p. 537, n. 4.

³ See below, p. 544.

At KUTA Rifaat Baba has just made his own house into a *tekke*.

DRIZAR was founded by Jelal Baba some twenty years ago.

The KREMENAR *tekke* was founded about fifteen years ago by Hasan Baba, who has not yet rebuilt it and lives for the present at Krahas.

KAPANI was founded about twenty-two years ago by Baba Ismail, who is now dead.

OSMAN ZEZA is eighteen years old : its founder, Baba Elias, is dead.

On PLESHNIK no information was forthcoming.

The GRESHITZA *tekke* is about sixty years old, its founder being Husain Baba.

At ARANITAS there is as yet no *tekke*, but a *baba* has for some years been living there in a house, which will no doubt later become a *tekke*.

At HEKALI there is a *turbe* but no *tekke*. Patsch noted a cemetery containing graves marked by the Bektashi *taj*.¹

LAPOLETS, a small, insignificant *tekke*, was founded by Nuri Baba, who is now buried there. The *tekke* is actually situated at Grenchie, a mile away.

At VALONA Patsch saw the grave of a Bektashi saint, Kosum Baba.² He is sometimes called Kuzu Baba : it is said that leave to build a *tekke* by his grave was requested from the Turkish government but refused, Valona being fanatically Sunni. He is now called Shemsi Baba and is tended by a Sunni *khoja*.

iii. At KLISSURA, east of Tepelen, the *beys* are Bektashis, and men swear by Hasan Dede, a local saint who was brother of a local chief, Jadikula.

Northwards along the Berat road lie several *tekkes*. The first reached is SUKA, a recent establishment which shares its *baba* with Prishta, of which it is a dependency.

¹ *Berat*, p. 117.

² *Ibid.* p. 9 ; cf. Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 274.

Dervish Ibrahim, who is left in charge during the *baba's* absence, was formerly Sunni and a *khoja*.

PRISHTA is the richest *tekke* in Albania, owning Suka and three other *chiftliks*. It was founded about 1860 by Tahir Baba, who is buried there.

At BUBES there is no *tekke*, but only the *turbe* of Talib Baba, who died about 1890.

At KИCHOK the *tekke* which Baba Kamber made about 1890 has not been rebuilt. The dervishes have gone to Marichan, Baba Kamber to Bulgaria, where he has built a *tekke* at Rustchuk.¹

The poor *tekke* of GLAVA was built about forty years ago by Ismail Baba.

The RABIA *tekke* was founded about thirty-six years ago by Baba Suleiman.

The *tekke* at KOMARI was founded twenty years ago by Islam Baba. At present there is no *baba*.

A *tekke* was built fifteen years ago by Husain Baba at Gumani near PANARET.

The THREPEL *tekke* was founded fifty years ago by Behlul Baba.

iv. The high road leads east of Klissura to Premet, passing the following *tekkes*:

DUSHK, near the village of Grobova,² founded twenty-five years ago by Ahmed Baba.

ALI POSTIVAN, with a *baba* and three dervishes, founded twenty years ago. The buried saint is Abdullah Baba.

At KOSHINA there is now no *tekke*, but only a lodging for travellers and an attendant dervish.

Three-quarters of the Moslem population of PREMET is Bektashi. On the slope of the hill above the town there was formerly a *tekke*,³ founded by Bektash Baba

¹ See above, p. 523.

² This site has not been identified with certainty.

³ The *tekke* is described by Miss Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 228.

about thirty-five years ago as an offshoot from Frasheri for the greater convenience of the Premet Bektashis. Both Bektash Baba and his successor, Ismail, lie buried in the town beside the grave of Haji Baba, a very old saint 'of Khorasan', who died '300 years ago' at Premet, but protruded his hand from his grave to signify that he wished to be transferred to Kesaraka,¹ where he accordingly now rests. In 1915 Greek troops were quartered in the *tekke*, so the abbot and dervishes betook themselves to the town annexe, where they have since remained, the *tekke* proper being now used by the Albanians as a barracks.

v. A few hours from Premet on the Koritza road is LIASKOVIK. The population of this (till the war) thriving hill-town is largely Bektashi.² The *tekke* just outside it, on a hill above the Kolonia road, is said to have been about thirty-five years old; it contained the grave of the founder Abiddin Baba, and housed seven or eight dervishes. The new *tekke* has been under construction since 1921, but there is only an abbot as yet in residence.

vi. On the road to Kolonia (otherwise Herseka) there is the *tekke* of Sianolas near BARMASH. It was founded by Baba Suleiman about forty years ago and had the tomb of Hasan Baba and five dervishes before the war. It still has an abbot and one dervish, but has by no means recovered from its destruction by the Greeks.

At ISTARIA near Herseka, in the Baruch *mahalla*, there is a poor *tekke* with only one dervish in residence. It was founded thirty years ago by Husain Baba, who is buried in it. Sick people incubate here.

At KRESHOVA there is a richer *tekke*, founded by Hasan Baba and enlarged by Jemal Baba. There are now three dervishes besides the abbot.

vii. In the Koritza district³ there are four *tekkes*.

¹ See below, p. 547.

² Cf. Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 217.

³ At Koritza itself there is the tomb of Koja Mir Akhor tended by

546 *Geographical Distribution of the Bektashi*

Forty minutes along the road to Kolonia is KIATOROM, said to have been built by Bekir Efendi '150 years ago', to have suffered under Sultan Mahmud, and to have been restored by Kiazim Baba forty years ago, both Bekir and Kiazim being buried in it. The buildings look about forty years old. There are now three dervishes and an abbot, the latter's appointment dating from 1918.

TURAN, with four dervishes in 1923, is close by. Its abbot had then been three years absent. The fourth abbot's grave is dated A.H. 1307 (A.D. 1889-90).

MELCHAN is an hour and a half from Koritza along the Moschopolis road and stands on high ground above the village of the same name. The *tekke* was looted by the Greek insurgents, but the solid and homely buildings were spared. The date of its foundation is given as 'a hundred and eight years ago': one of its two simple octagonal *turbes* is inscribed A.H. 1221. The founder, Husain Baba, is buried in an undated tomb; his successor, Abdullah Baba, lies in a grave dated A.H. 1274. In relation to him an extraordinary story is now told. When the French army was at Koritza, a major dreamt that Abdullah Baba was beating him for having entered the *turbe* without taking off his boots. He was so much impressed that he put up a notice on the *turbe* forbidding any one to enter shod. Whatever the reason, the notice in French and Turkish was there in 1923, with the Frenchman's signature appended—unfortunately, not on Abdullah's *turbe* but the other. An abbot and a descendant and much visited by Bektashis. When Master of the Horse to a certain sultan, he caught a Koran as it slipped from the sultan's hands. In return he was offered a favour and chose to possess the land where his horse should die. He then went on his travels and his horse died at Platza (= *crever* in Albanian) near Koritza. This tale, told me by Ali Kemal Bey Klissura, evidently refers to the founder of the Koja Mir Akhor Jamisi at Constantinople, who is buried in his Albanian birthplace (Hammer-Hellert, *Jardin des Mosquées*, p. 42 (412), in *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii), Koritza.

six dervishes were in residence in 1923. There is no *mesjid*, the antechamber of one of the *turbes* being used as such when required.

The *tekke* of KUCH is situated half an hour beyond Biglishta on the road from Koritza to Florina and Kastoria in Macedonia. A village of the same name is near. The *tekke* is said to be one of the oldest in Albania, having been founded by Kasim Baba,¹ 'five hundred years ago'. His tomb is in a *turbe* a quarter of an hour away, pilgrimages being made to it every Monday and Friday. Elbassan and Kastoria also claim to have his tomb, but, according to Kuch, theirs are only cenotaphs, the genuine grave is at Kuch. In a *turbe* near the *tekke* seven saints lie buried. After Mahmud II's persecution, Ibrahim Baba refounded the *tekke* in A.H. 1295, while Hafiz Baba built the new buildings in A.H. 1324. He was shot dead by the Greeks, his bloodstained *taj* being shown to visitors, as also the bloodstains on the floor, which resist all attempts at washing them away. In 1923 there were an abbot and three dervishes living in the *tekke*.

The important Christian monastery of S. NAUM on Lake Okhrida is visited by Bektashi as a pilgrimage.²

viii. KESARAKA, some hours north-west of Kolonia, is a *mutebbil* convent. Before the war there were five or six dervishes besides the abbot, now the abbot only is left; the *tekke* is not very popular, dervishes preferring the celibate system. The foundation was due to Haji Baba of Khorasan, who died, as related above,³ at Premet. He lies in a handsome *turbe*, which the Greeks looted but did not entirely destroy.

ix. The pleasant *tekke* of FRASHERI is situated amid fantastic scenery some hours south-west of Kesaraka. Before the war it was large and important, being tenanted by about twenty dervishes, and containing the tomb of

¹ See above, p. 526.

² Above, p. 435 f., below, p. 583.

³ P. 545.

the sheikh Nasibi. This saint, who was a contemporary of Ali Pasha, is much revered, and it is said that the Tosks use his name in asseverations instead of God's. His original name was Moharrem Baba, but when he made his pilgrimage to the *tekke* of Haji Bektash, the door of the *tekke* opened to him of its own accord, and the abbot, recognizing a miracle, said, 'It is thy fate (*nasib*)'. Nasibi, with Sheikh Ali and Sheikh Mimi, is said to have foretold to Ali Pasha his brilliant future, warning him also of the fate which would overtake him if he failed to govern justly. The *tekke*, together with the tomb of Nasibi, was burnt to the ground in 1914, but it has since been almost entirely rebuilt.

To the south-east of Frasheri there are three *turbes* about twelve years old, at Polena near GADUCHI, BITISHT, and BRESHDAN respectively. Ismail Baba is the saint of Gaduchi, the others are nameless.

x. North of the Frasheri area is the *tekke* of BACHKA¹ whose present abbot is the sixth in succession, the *tekke* having been founded about sixty years ago by Hamid Baba of Melchan. After its recent destruction it is once more in going order. The *tekke* of DERVISHEI to the south, with an abbot only, is a *chiftlik* of Bachka.

Between Gyeres and Kulmak, on the slopes of Mount TOMOR, there is another *tekke*, reputed the oldest in Albania and dedicated to Abbas Ali, son of Ali. There are said to be seven dervishes in residence. In August a great *panegyris* is held there, both Bektashis and Christians frequenting it.²

The *tekke* of SHIMIRDEN is situated some hours north

¹ Vrepska, north of Bachka, is a Khalveti pilgrimage, not a Bektashi, as indicated in *B.S.A.* xxi, 118.

² Cf. Baldacci, in *Boll. R. Soc. Geogr.* (Roma), 1914, p. 978. The most binding oath for all religions and sects in this district is by Mt. Tomor, according to Ali Kemal Klissura. As at Kalkandelen I found S. Elias equated to the Bektashi saint Ali, I suspect that the Tomor saint is S. Elias to the Christians. For the difficulty of completely ascending the mountain at the August *panegyris* see Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 3.

of Tomoritza. It was founded by Mustafa Baba fifty-five years ago and is considered a good place to visit for purposes of prayer.¹

xi. The next Bektashi region is BERAT. Here there was a handsome *tekke* before the war, under Baba Kamber, but it has not yet been rebuilt. The actual site is at Vilabisht, a little south of Berat.

xii. The *tekke* half an hour east of ELBASSAN was destroyed by the Ghegs and is temporarily housed in what was formerly the granary of the *tekke*, but fruit-trees, flowers, and running water combine to make the site a paradise. The founder was Mustafa Baba, who is buried here. Lately there has been an improvement in the relations of Sunnis and Bektashis in North Albania, even in Elbassan, where there are said to be now about five hundred Bektashi families. The reason is mainly the emphasis laid by the Bektashis on patriotism as a virtue. Kasim Baba² left his hand at Elbassan.

Bektashi *ziarets* at Durazzo and Bazaar Shiakh may be inferred from Degrand's version of the Sari Saltik legend.³ The population of Tirana is said by the same author to be equally divided between the Bektashi and Rifai sects.⁴

xiii. The population of KRUYA seems to be almost exclusively Bektashi. Its extraordinary importance as a place of Bektashi pilgrimage is brought out by Degrand's interesting account of the saints' tombs, traditionally 366 in number, in and about the town.⁵ Bektashism seems to have been introduced here towards the end of the eighteenth century by Ali Pasha's agent, Sheikh Mimi, who founded a *tekke* at Kruya in 1807 and

¹ It is probably the *Shent MRAIN* mentioned by my husband in *B.S.A.* xxi, 121. None of my Albanian informants could identify it in that form.—M. M. H.

² See above, pp. 526, 547.

³ *Haute Albanie*, p. 240.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 221 ff.: cf. Ippen, *Skutari*, pp. 71 ff., and in *Wiss. Mitth. Bosnien*, vii, 60.

at first made common cause with the local chief, Kaplan Pasha Topdan, as against his neighbour the Pasha of Skutari,¹ who was hostile to Ali of Yannina. The missionary sheikh afterwards fell out with Kaplan Pasha, either, as the latter said, because he had been bought by the Pasha of Skutari, or possibly because he suspected Kaplan Pasha himself of similar disloyalty to Ali and the Bektashi party. Kaplan ordered Mimi to quit Kruya; the sheikh retaliated by an unsuccessful attempt to murder the pasha, which cost him his own life. But public feeling in Kruya was so strong for Mimi, that the Topdan family were unable to reside there, and moved to Tirana.² The family quarrel of the Topdans with the Bektashi is, as we have seen, perpetuated by their modern representative, Essad Pasha.

Kruya is one of the many places associated with the adventures of the Bektashi saint Sari Saltik.³ Of the two chief *tekkes* there, one ('Mali Kruyes') is two hours and a half's steep climb up the mountain behind Kruya town. It contains a grave of Sari Saltik.⁴ The masonry at the spring is dated A. H. 1190. The shrine is noted for its cures. The *tekke* is *mutebbil*, like Kesaraka, and is deserted in winter.

At the *tekke* in the plain ('Fusha Kruyes') the chief buried saint is Baba Ali, who is said to date from 150–200 years back and to be older than Sheikh Mimi. An abbot and three dervishes are living there, but the *tekke* was burnt by the Ghegs and is as yet only half rebuilt. In the precinct are two remarkable trees, one with flat, plank-like branches being said to have sprung

¹ So we find Kaplan at the end of the eighteenth century celebrated a victory over his rival by building a *turbe* to the Bektashi saint Hamza Baba (Ippen, *Skutari*, p. 71). ² Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 210.

³ See above, pp. 435 ff. I have heard, but not very definitely, of a hitherto unrecorded tomb of Sari Saltik at Khass, between Skutari and Jakova: see, however, Miss Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 304.

⁴ His saddle and pilaf-dish were turned into stone on the Kruya-Shushi road, where they may still be seen.

from a plank stuck in the ground by Baba Ali of Khorasan, who was a contemporary of Skanderbeg.

At GIORMI beyond Mamures on the Skutari road there is a big *tekke* founded about 130 years ago by Haidar Baba.

From Skutari the Bektashi were banished for political reasons in the time of Ali Pasha¹ and seem never to have regained a footing there.

xiv. At MARTANESH, on the head waters of the river Mati, there were two *tekkes* before the war. That of Balum Sultan, on the mountain, was built in the time of Mahmud Pasha of Skutari and was burnt by the Serbs a few years ago : they added insult to injury by shaving the abbot's beard off. Their attack on the *tekke* in the town was foiled by the townspeople, though they are mainly Sunnis and fanatical at that. This lower *tekke* was built twenty-five years ago by Haji Husain Baba of Kruya. There are now two dervishes besides the abbot in it ; the mountain *tekke* has not been rebuilt.

xv. In the DIBRA region in East Albania there is a *tekke* at Blatza near Humesh which was built thirty years ago by Yusuf Baba : the Ghegs destroyed it.

§ II. Austro-Hungary

A.—Bosnia.

There has been no Bektashi *tekke* in Bosnia since 1903, though the sect lingers on and the communities are visited from time to time by sheikhs from Albania.²

B.—Budapest.

The farthest outpost of Bektashism is the *tekke* of Gul Baba, a relic of the Turkish occupation, which is still one of the minor sights of the Hungarian capital.³

¹ Ippen, *Skutari*, p. 36.

² *Ibid.*, p. 73.

³ See E. Browne, *Travels* (1673), p. 34 ; M. Walker, *Old Tracks*, p. 289 ; J. P. Brown, *Dervishes*, p. 89 ; *Die Österreichische-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild : Ungarn* (III), p. 96 ; Baedeker, *Austria-Hungary* (1905), p. 345 ; Boué, *Turq. d'Europe*, iii, 404.

‘ BEKTASHI PAGES ’

INTRODUCTORY

THE following text is a translation of an Albanian Bektashi pamphlet which has a considerable reputation among members of that sect. The original is written in the Tosk dialect of Albanian by Naim Bey, a native of Frasheri¹ and brother of the historian Sami Bey and of a certain Abdul Bey Frasheri, who organized through the Bektashi *tekkes* a national movement in 1880-1, when the cession of part of southern Albania to Greece was under discussion.² This movement was secretly authorized by Abdul Hamid on the understanding that it should be a mock conspiracy designed to throw dust in the eyes of Europe and save the Albanian provinces to Turkey. Abdul Bey, however, intended it as a blow for Albanian independence. His plans were prematurely betrayed, his few hundred followers defeated, and he himself made prisoner. While Albania still formed part of the Turkish empire, Naim Bey's pamphlet passed through two editions, printed respectively at Bucharest in 1896³ and at Salonica in 1910⁴ in a mixed character based on Roman, but borrowing letters also from the Cyrillic and Greek. It is now everywhere on sale in Albania.⁵

Albanian being known to few persons outside the Balkan peninsula, I availed myself of the kindness of

¹ See above, p. 539, and Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 74.

² See the bluebooks of these dates on ‘Rectification of the Greek Frontier.’

³ Legrand, *Bibliographie Albanaise*, no. 608. [A copy of this edition is now in the British Museum.—M. M. H.]

⁴ Of this I was lucky enough to secure a copy in 1915, through my friend Mr. Micu Hondrosom of Bucharest, and it is from this that the text below is translated.

⁵ M. M. H.

Professor Charitonidis, a native of Tepelen, who to Greeks interested in Albanian studies is well known for his series of Greek-Albanian school books, and thus I secured a literal translation of the Albanian text into Greek; from this I have myself made an English version, preserving the short paragraphs of the original which seem in character with the aphoristic and didactic nature of the work.¹

The pamphlet is entitled *Fletore e Bektashiniet*, which may perhaps be rendered *Bektashi Pages*.² Inside is the second title *Bektashite* ('The Bektashi'). It consists of thirty-two 16mo pages, of which sixteen are occupied with the prose exposition of Bektashism, the rest by rhymed religious poems here omitted.

My complete ignorance of Albanian renders any commentary on the style impossible. The matter is specially interesting for its entire freedom from dogma and mythology and its insistence on ethics. The doctrine of the brotherhood of man is a familiar feature in much dervish thought and is always to the fore in Albanian Bektashism. The national Albanian sentiments expressed, and the inculcation of patriotism as the highest of virtues, are characteristic of the nineteenth century awakening of national consciousness among the Balkan peoples, and have a special interest on account of the author's family connexions.³

Particularly interesting is the fact that the prescribed prayers are not in Arabic, the sacred language of Islam, but in Albanian, the vernacular tongue.⁴ Similarly, the Arabic and Persian religious terms in common use among the Turkish Bektashi have been replaced, wherever possible, by native translations or equivalents not always very satisfactory.

¹ Assonances, which are characteristic of such works and probably calculated as aids to the student's memory, are noted on pp. 6, 15, and 17 of the original.

² Literally 'Leaves of Bektashism.'

³ See above, pp. 539, 552.

⁴ A brief glossary is given, pp. 562-3.

§ I. *Translation*

The Bektashi believe in the Great Lord and in the true saints Mohammed Ali, Kadije, Fatima, and Hasan and Husain.

In the Twelve Imams, who are Ali, Hasan, Husain, Zein-el-Abidin, Mohammed Bakir, Jafer Sadik, Musa Kiazim, Ali Riza, Mohammed Teki, Ali Neki, Hasan Askeri, Mohammed Mehdi.

The father of them all is Ali and their mother Fatima.

They believe also in all the saints, both ancient and modern, because they believe in Good and worship it.

And as they believe in these and love them, so also do they in Moses and Miriam and Jesus and their servants.

For their first [founder] they hold Jafer Sadik and for their patron-saint ¹ Haji Bektash Veli, who is descended of the same family.

All these have said, ' Do good and abstain from evil '.

In this saying the Bektashi believe.

Truth and justice, intelligence and wisdom, and all the virtues are supreme.

The faith of the Bektashi is a broad Way ² lighted by wisdom, brotherhood, friendship, love, humanity, and all the virtues.

On one side of it are the flowers of knowledge, on the other the flowers of truth.

Without knowledge and without truth no man can become a Bektashi.

For the Bektashi the Universe is God.

But in this world man is the representative of God.

The True God, with the angels and Paradise and all that is good, are found in the virtues of man.

In his vices are found the Devil and all evil.

¹ The word used (*plak* = ' old man ') is the translation of the Persian *pir*, which bears the same sense in religion.

² The simple Albanian word for ' way ' (*udha*) is used instead of the usual Arabic *tarik*.

Therefore they love and practise good and abstain from evil.

All things are in man, yea, even the True God, since when He wished to manifest Himself, He made man in His image and likeness.

The Bektashi believe that man does not die but is only changed and made different, and is always in the presence of God, because the Father is hidden to the children.

He who does good finds good, he who does evil finds evil.

He who transgresses against humanity identifies himself with the beasts.

The Way of the Bektashi is open and broad : it is the Way of Wisdom and of goodness to all who have intelligence.

Man is not bound, but free in all respects, and he is answerable for all his acts.

But he has a mind which reasons, knowledge by which to choose, a soul which recognizes, and a heart which discerns, and a conscience which weighs all his deeds. Thus he has all that is necessary and needs no help from without. Since the Lord has granted him in himself all things of which he has need.

As the man, so is the woman, one in kind and not separated.

In very great misfortune a man may be divorced from his wife : in case of great need he may take a second wife.

In order that there may be no occasion when the wife is far from her family, the way of the Bektashi is preferable.¹

The woman does not veil or cover her face save only with the veil of modesty.

¹ Explained as meaning 'superior to the ordinary Islamic marriage law' because avoiding the difficulties caused by a divorce where the wife's family lives a long way off and she cannot easily return to her father's house.

In the Way of the Bektashi the faith is modesty and chastity, wisdom, and all the virtues.

Every ill deed, all vices, follies, and infidelities are forbidden and accursed in this Way.

This is the Way of God and of all the Saints.

The Bektashi have for the book of their faith the Universe, and especially mankind, because the Lord Ali once said, ' Man is the book which speaks,¹ faith consists in speech, but the ignorant have added thereto. Faith is in the heart, it is not in the written book.'

The Bektashi keeps unspotted his heart, his soul, his mind, and his conscience ; and his body also, his clothes, his abode, and his dwelling, his honour, and his good name.

Not only among themselves but also with all men the Bektashi are spiritual brothers.

They love as themselves their neighbours, both Musulman and Christian, and they conduct themselves blamelessly towards all humanity.

But more than all they love their country and their countrymen, because this is the fairest of all virtues.

The Bektashi loves humanity, helps poverty, pities and grieves from his heart : a good spirit is in him.

Because this is the Way : if he is not such, he is without the Way.

The Bektashi, that he may make a good entry into the Way, must be virtuous and perfect in all things.

Whosoever is in this Way is called a Bektashi and has no further need.

But whosoever will draw nearer obtains permission from the Father ² and becomes an Inner [brother].³

¹ Note the assonance (*Nyeriu eshte fletoreya qe flet*).

² The ' permission ' granted by the ' Father ' is a kind of diploma given by the ' Baba ' or head of a convent and testifying to the candidate's proficiency in the ' Way.'

³ Or ' Esoteric ' ; the word is again Albanian, the corresponding Turkish term being, I am told, *dahile olan*.

The Inner [brother] must be very virtuous in all things.

Whosoever of the Inner [brethren] wishes to take the habit and become a Poor [brother], which is called *dervish*, obtains a fresh Permission from the Father.

But in this case he cannot put it off again, for it is not lawful.

The Poor [brother] must be a servant of humanity, wise, and very gentle. He must be humble, and if any man insult or strike him, he must not curse or abuse [his aggressor] but suffer it.

The Poor [brother], if he is married before he takes the habit, may remain in wedlock after his election, abiding in his family and in his house.

But when he takes the vow never to marry, he obtains a new Permission, but he cannot take back his word.

The unmarried Poor [brothers] live in a house which is called *Tekke* or *Dargah*.

They have one Chief who is called Father and Guide.

Every Poor [brother] has a task or service of his own.

The eldest of them is called Leader, and it is he who leads to the Guide those who wish to take Permissions.

When there are many Fathers, they choose one of them and make him Chief: he is called Grandfather.

There are a good number as far [advanced] as this, and the work of the Way is well completed.¹

But sometimes there are many Grandfathers: then they choose from among them and make him Great Grandfather.

For a layman to become an Inner [brother] or for an Inner [brother] to become a Poor [brother], he must receive a Permission from the Father. For a Poor [brother] to become a Father he must receive a Permission from the Grandfather.

The Father, Grandfather, and Great Grandfather,

¹ *i. e.* an aspirant may well be content with so much progress in the Way.

who are called Guides, must all be men perfect in all things pertaining to the Way.

Whosoever obtains a Permission from the Guides enters into the Choir of the Saints, since all the saints are linked together hand in hand, and thus he enters into this company, and into the Chain of these Lords, as in a dance.

For this reason he who enters this Way leaves behind all his vices and retains only his virtues. With an unclean heart, with an evil soul, with a bad conscience, he cannot enter among the Saints who draw near to God.

Here must he know himself, for he who knows himself knows what God is.

He must be [like] a gentle lamb, not [like] a wild beast.

He must be reasonable, just, learned, lovable, and have all the virtues which are necessary to a man.

This is the Way of Virtue, of Friendship, of Wisdom, and of Brotherhood.

It is a great sin that a man should cast into this Way, full of fair and fragrant flowers, thorns and prickles, as do the ignorant.

Because this Way begins from Good and ends in Good.

The Guide who grants a Permission says : ' To-day thou hast taken the hand of God, thou hast been made one with the Saints. Therefore lay hold on Good, and be of their Way, and forget Evil. Take not where thou hast not given, honour great and small, avoid slanders, uncleannesses, perversities, and all evil ; and enter into brotherhood,' &c., &c.

The Bektashi looks on the wife of his neighbour as his sister, on every poor old woman as his mother, on every poor man as his brother, and on all men as his friends.

His conscience is good, his heart full of gratitude, his soul sweet, for this Way is Good alone.

Without these things no Bektashi can exist.

Brotherhood, peace, love, virtue, nearness to God,

friendship, good conscience, and all the virtues are the lights of the Way.

Before all things love is an approach and an interpretation of the Way.

With all this, however, the Bektashi also have a kind of fast and a form of prayer.

For a fast they have the mourning they keep for the Passion of Kerbela, the first ten days of the month which is called Moharrem.

In these days some do not drink water, but this is excessive, since on the evening of the ninth day the warfare ceased, and it was not till the tenth after midday that the Imam Husain fell with his men, and then only they were without water.

For this reason the fast is kept for ten days, but abstention from water is practised only from the evening of the ninth till the afternoon of the tenth.

But let whoso will abstain also from water while he fasts.

This shows the love the Bektashi bear to all the Saints.

They have a fashion of prayer among them which is called *niyas* : this the instructed use very seldom, the others rather more often.

This prayer may be made in the houses which are called *jami*.

But in the houses of prayer they may make the other prayer, which is called *namaz*. For the Bektashi do not reject this prayer, just as they do not reject the fast of the month which is called *Ramazan*, nor any of the religious duties, since all are needful to humanity.

He who serves in a house of prayer makes betrothals and marriages, buries the dead, and performs all his services and duties.

The Bektashi before and after food pray as follows :
' O True Lord, increase and multiply, for Thou dost

nourish and conserve the Universe. All good cometh from Thee, for man and for all beasts Thou preparest the life. May Thy Goodness and Mercy never forsake us. Great Lord! Mohammed Ali! Ye Twelve Imams! All ye Saints! Haji Bektash Veli! May our prayer come before you.'

At feasts and marriages they pray thus: 'Great and True Lord, give and multiply Thy favour to mankind. Send not upon us grief and misery. Grant to us all good things. Show us the way of Righteousness, and leave us not in darkness. Blessed be Thy name now and for evermore, Lord Mohammed Ali! Kadije! Fatima! Hasan and Husain! Haji Bektash Veli! All ye Saints! May our prayers come before you.'

At betrothals they pray thus: 'True Lord, at Thy command and in Thy name! Grant concord and love, give us Thy blessing, and deliver us from evil. Grant us plenty and all good things.

In the name of David and Solomon, in the name of Aaron and Moses, and of Husain, in the name of Haji Bektash Veli, in the name of all our Lords!

In the Way of Mohammed Ali, in the teaching of the Imam Jafer Sadik!'

At a marriage they add these words: 'Unite them as Thou didst unite Adam and Eve, Mohammed and Kadije, Ali and Fatima.

Grant them life and length of days, and good and obedient children. May the Door be open for ever,' &c., &c.

At deaths they pray thus:

'Lord great and true, Thou buriest day in night and night in day. Thou leadest forth the living from the dead, and the dead from the living. All things come from Thee and return unto Thee again. Forgive the sins of mankind for Thy glory's sake! And lead us to the Light, for Thou art the Light of Light.

May our prayer come before Thee eternally,' &c., &c.

The Bektashi mourn only with tears, never with dirges and wailings.

They do not bury the dead in the grave : they mourn [them] in their hearts.

They always speak well of the dead, saying, ‘ May his soul shine and may it be filled with joy ! ’

The Way of the Bektashi holds all men, yea, all men, friends, and looks on them as one soul and one body.

But this is recognized [only ?] by the learned and reasoning Bektashi.

The true Bektashi respect a man of whatsoever religion he may be, they hold him their brother and their beloved, they never look on him as a stranger.

They reject no religion, but respect all. Nor do they reject the books of any religion or the [doctrine of the] future life.

The Bektashi keep for a holy day Bairam, the first day of the month which is called Sheval. Their second feast is on the first ten days of the month called Dilhije, the New Day (which is called Nevruz) ¹ on the tenth of March, and the eleventh of the month called Moharrem.² During the ten days of the Passion they read the Passions of the Imams.

The Guides, who pray and worship Truth and Goodness and reject Falsehood and Evil, and regard all mankind as one family, and love it according to the Way of Mohammed Ali—these must be men of intelligence, of great wisdom, with zeal for adequate learning, for the unlearned and perverse man is wood unhewn,³ the unlettered is as the novice.⁴

Let the Guides be men of truth, let them be without vices such as they have now, let them have integrity,

¹ The Persian New Year's feast.

² See above, p. 559.

³ A widely spread Greek proverb (*ἄνθρωπος ἀγράμματος ξύλον ἀπελέκητον*) : cf. Polites, *Παροιμίες*, i, 279.

⁴ Note the assonance of the Albanian equivalent (*i pa dituri eshte si i mituri*).

let them forsake greed, pride and folly, drink and drunkenness, lying and injustice, and all the evils which are without the Way of Humanity.

Let them strive night and day for the nation to which the Father calls them and vouches for them that they will work with the chiefs and the notables for the salvation of Albania and the Albanians, for the education and civilization of their nation and their country, for their language, and for all progress and improvement.

Let them be peaceable, let them remember the poor, let them shun evil and folly, let them cast into the Way all works that are needful for mankind and for religion, and let them forward all things good.

Together with the chiefs and notables let them encourage love, brotherhood, unity, and friendship among all Albanians : let not the Mussulmans be divided from the Christians, and the Christians from the Mussulmans, but let both work together. Let them strain towards enlightenment, that the Albanian, who was once reputed throughout all the world, be not despised to-day.

All these things for those that have intelligence and who reason and work with zeal and with good sense are not hard tasks, but very light.

When they accomplish these things, then will I call them Fathers and Guides : but to-day I cannot so call them.¹

§ 2. *Glossary of Albanian Religious Terms*²

Ata, baba, father.

Brendes (dabile olan, Tk.), interior, esoteric.

Dede (Tk.) (= gyg), grandfather.

Fakir (Tk.) (= varfe), poor, dervish.

Gyg (= dede), grandfather.

¹ The sentence with which the pamphlet closes contains, perhaps characteristically, an assonance (*pa sot s'u dyem dot*).

² Non-Albanian terms which are in everyday use among Turks are described as Turkish.—M.M.H.

Jami (Tk.), house of prayer.

Murshid (Arab.) (*udhe-rrefenies*), guide.

Niyas (Tk.), request.

Pir (Pers.) (= *plak*), old man, patron saint.

Plak (= *pir*), old man patron saint.

Shpenes, leader.

Udha (= Arab. *tarik*), way

Udhe-rrefenies (= *murshid*), guide.

Varfe (= *fakir*), poor, dervish.

AMBIGUOUS SANCTUARIES AND BEKTASHI PROPAGANDA ¹

INTRODUCTORY

THE stratification of cults at famous sanctuaries of the ancient world, reflected for the most part in their local mythology, has long been interpreted as evidence of the invasion of older by newer gods and religious systems. A religion carried by a conquering race or by a missionary priesthood to alien lands superimposes itself, by force or persuasion, on an indigenous cult; the process is expressed in mythological terms under the figure of a personal combat between the rival gods or of the 'reception' of the new god by the old.² Eventually either one god or the other succumbs and disappears or is relegated to an inferior position; or, again, the two may be more or less completely identified and fused. Of the religions of antiquity it is seldom possible to do more than conjecture by what methods and processes these transitions were actually carried out. The paper which follows is an attempt to examine some phenomena of the superimposition of cult in the case of a modern Mohammedan sect—the Bektashi—acting on the sanctuaries of the mixed populations of Turkey and in particular on Christian saint-cults. So far as we can see, where Bektashism has gained ground at the expense of Christianity, this has been accomplished without violence, either by processes analogous to that known to the ancient world as the 'reception' of the new god by the old, or simply by the identification of

¹ This chapter is an enlarged and corrected version of the article which appeared in *B.S.A.* xx (1913-14), pp. 94-122.

² See above, pp. 58 ff.

the two personalities. The 'ambiguous' sanctuary, claimed and frequented by both religions, seems to represent a distinct stage of development—the period of equipoise, as it were—in the transition both from Christianity to Bektashism and, in the rare cases where political and other circumstances are favourable, from Bektashism to Christianity.

§ I. BEKTASHISM AND ORTHODOX ISLAM

Usurpation of alien sanctuaries seems to have played an important part in the spread of Bektashism from the beginning. In the first place it is now generally recognized that the sect acquired its present name by such a usurpation. The Anatolian saint Haji Bektash has in reality nothing to do with the doctrines of the sect which bears his name. The real founder of the so-called Bektashi was a Persian mystic named Fadlullah, and the original name of the sect Hurufi. Shortly after Fadlullah's death his disciples introduced the Hurufi doctrines to the inmates of the convent of Haji Bektash (near Kirshehr in Asia Minor) as the hidden learning of Haji Bektash himself, under the shelter of whose name the Hurufi henceforth disseminated their doctrines, which are heretical and blasphemous to orthodox Moslems.¹

The methods used by the Hurufi-Bektashi to appropriate the sanctuary of Haji Bektash were evidently used by them elsewhere for the spread of their gospel. We may suppose that the persons administering tribal and other sanctuaries were won over, probably by more or less complete initiation into the secret learning of the Bektashi and the increase of power and prestige thereby afforded. The worshippers were satisfied by some apocryphal legend connecting their saint with Haji Bektash or a saint of his cycle,² and probably by an

¹ Above, p. 160.

² So in ancient Athens the newcomer Asklepios is foisted on the

increased output of miracles ; the sanctuary with its *clientèle* would be thenceforth affiliated to the Bektashi organization. In the case of the more or less anonymous and untended saints' tombs or *dedes*, such as abound all over Turkey, the problem was still simpler. Such saints had only to be induced to reveal their true nature in dreams to Bektashi dervishes, and for the future their graves would be distinguished by Bektashi headdresses.

Crowfoot's researches among the Anatolian Shia tribes (Kizilbash) of Cappadocia have revealed the process of amalgamation in an intermediate stage.¹ At Haidar-es-Sultan, a Shia village near Angora, the eponymous saint Haidar, probably tribal in origin,² is identified quite irrationally under Bektashi auspices with Khoja Ahmed of Yasi, who figures in Bektashi legend as the spiritual master of Haji Bektash, and also with Karaja Ahmed, a saintly prince of Persia, who, though himself probably in origin a tribal saint, has been adopted into the Bektashi cycle.³ The *tekke* of Haidar-es-Sultan has close relations with the Bektashi.

Similar cases of absorption by the Bektashi could probably be found without difficulty elsewhere. A probable case seems to be the great and rich convent with two hundred dervishes found by Lucas at Yatagan⁴ near Denizli⁵ (*vilayet* of Aidin). Tsakyroglous' list of nomad Turkish tribes includes one named *Yataganli*,

indigenous Amynos on the assumption that both were pupils of Chiron. In the case of Turkish tribal sanctuaries the propagation of such myths would be particularly easy : the tribes dimly remembered their immigration, as squatters and raiders, from the East, while the fictitious cycle of Bektashi tradition represented Haji Bektash and his companions as immigrant missionaries from the same quarter.

¹ *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xxx (1900), pp. 305 ff.

² On Haidar-es-Sultan see above, pp. 52-3, 403.

³ See above, p. 404 and n. 6.

⁴ So Arundell, *Asia Minor*, ii, 142.

⁵ *Voyage fait en 1714*, i, 171 : for the text see above, p. 508, n. 2.

which frequents the *vilayet* of Aidin.¹ The saint buried at Yatagan was in all probability the eponym of the tribe (Yatagan-Dede?) later adopted, like Haidar, by the Bektashi. The *tekke* was one of the Bektashi convents ruined in 1826; it is now insignificant, though the tomb of Yatagan Baba survives.

Such absorption of tribal saints, whose cults are often in the hands of more or less illiterate people, is comparatively easy. The Bektashi, according to their enemies at least, were quite as successful in ousting rival religious orders. Haji Bektash himself is generally considered by the orthodox a saint of the Nakshbandi order, and since the suppression of the Bektashi in 1826 an orthodox mosque with a minaret has been built at the central *tekke* and a Nakshbandi *sheikh* quartered on the community for the performance of services in it.² Similarly the Nakshbandi claimed that the Bektashi had unscrupulously usurped others of their saints' tombs, including those of Ramazan Baba at Brusa and of the saint buried in the *tekke* of Kasr-el-Aini at Cairo.³ Such usurpations, if we may believe Assad Efendi, the historian of Sultan Mahmud's campaign against the Bektashi, were numerous: under the pretext that the titles *baba* and *abdal* denoted exclusively Bektashi saints, the Bektashi appropriated the chapels and sepulchral monuments of all the saints so entitled belonging by right to the Nakshbandi, Kadri, and other orders.⁴

¹ *Περὶ Γιουρούκων*, 15: see above, p. 477.

² I have often found a *mesjid* or oratory in a Bektashi *tekke*, but never a mosque with proper establishment. *Mesjids* are built for the appearance of orthodoxy and for the accommodation of orthodox visitors. [At Asim Baba's *tekke* in Argyrokastro, Albania, the Nakshbandi *taj* with its four segments is still worn over the usual Bektashi headdress: see above, p. 541.—M. M. H.].

³ For this saint, see above, pp. 229–30, 516.

⁴ Assad Efendi, *Destr. des Janissaires* (1833), p. 300. The Albanian Bektashi seem to lay claim to such saints as Shems Tabrizi, Nasr-ed-din

§ 2. BEKTASHISM AND CHRISTIANITY IN ASIA MINOR

We have thus found evidence of Bektashi encroachments on tribal sanctuaries and on the holy places of other orders. More interesting is their procedure in the case of Christian churches and saints' tombs; they have not only laid claim to Christian sanctuaries, but have also in return thrown open the doors of their own to Christians.¹ This is the more remarkable since Christians in Turkish lands are much less protected by public opinion than are orthodox Moslem sects like the Nakshbandi.

The numerous points of contact between Bektashism and Christianity have been set forth at length by Jacob.² The only historical evidence of overt propaganda among Christians is to be found in the accounts of the rebellion of Bedr-ed-din of Simav,³ in the early years of the fifteenth century, which can hardly have been unconnected with the Bektashi-Hurufi sect, though this is nowhere explicitly stated. The rebellion was partly a religious, partly a social movement: the programme included the Bektashi-Hurufi doctrines of religious fusion and community of goods. An enthusiastic welcome was extended to Christian proselytes and proclamation was made to the effect that any Turk who denied true religion in the Christians was himself irreligious. A special manifesto on these lines, carried by a dervish deputation to a Cretan monk resident in Chios, was successful in winning him to the cause.⁴ The pro-

Khoja of Akshehr, and Haji Bairam (founder of the *Bairami* order) of Angora (Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 230).

¹ Cf. de Vogüé, *Hist. Orient.*, p. 198. ² *Bektaschijje*, pp. 29 ff.

³ Ducas, p. 112 B; Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* ii, 181 ff.

⁴ The text is given by Ducas. The leader of the rebels sent to the Cretan, saying: *κἀγὼ συνασκητῆς σου εἰμι, καὶ τῷ θεῷ ᾧ λατρεύεις, ἐκεῖνῳ κἀγὼ τὴν προσκύνησιν φέρω.* With this compare the conduct of the Hurufi dervish met in Chios about the same time by George of Hungary, who 'intrabat ecclesiam christianorum, et

Christian tendencies of the rebels were evidently recognized by the Turks in the punishment eventually meted out to their leader, who was crucified.

Liberal theory, however, can have little real hold on the imagination of the masses. For the illiterate, whether Moslem or Christian, doctrine is important mainly as embodying a series of prohibitions: their vital and positive religion is bound up with the cult of the saints and demands concrete objects of worship, especially graves and relics,¹ and above all miracles, to sustain its faith. It is in the cult of the saints that the Bektashi propaganda amongst Christians has left most trace. The lines adopted are identical with, or parallel to, those followed, according to the theory propounded elsewhere,² by the Mevlevi order of dervishes at Konia in the Middle Ages for a similar purpose. On the one hand, Moslem sanctuaries are made 'ambiguous', or accessible to Christians also, by the circulation of legends to the effect (1) that a saint worshipped by Moslems as

signabat se signo crucis, et aspergebat se aqua benedicta, et dicebat manifeste, uestra lex est ita bona sicut nostra est' (*De Moribus Turcorum*, cap. xx).

¹ The enormous potency of graves and buried saints in popular religion is pointed out in regard to the Holy Places of Islam by Burckhardt. Though the visit to the Prophet's tomb at Medina is optional and the pilgrimage to the Kaaba at Mecca obligatory, the tomb of the Prophet inspires the people of Medina with much more respect than the Kaaba does those at Mecca, visitors crowd with more zeal and eagerness to the former shrine than the latter, and more decorum is observed in its precincts. At Mecca itself men will swear lightly by the Kaaba, but not by the grave of Abu Taleb (*Arabia*, i, 235; ii, 195, 197). A Mecca merchant said to Niebuhr (*Voyage en Arabie*, i, 350) that 'à Mochha je me fierois peu à un homme, qui affirme quelque chose en prenant le nom de Dieu à témoin: mais je puis compter sur la foi de celui, qui jure par le nom de *Schaedeli*, dont la mosquée, et le tombeau, sont devant ses yeux'. Clermont-Ganneau, *Pal. Inconnue*, pp. 55-6, found men frequently broke their oath by God, their life, their head or yours, the Temple, or the Sakhra, but almost never their oath by the local saint.

² Above, pp. 371 ff.

a Moslem was secretly converted to Christianity, or (2) that the Moslem saint's mausoleum is shared by a Christian. On the other hand, Christian sanctuaries are made accessible to Moslems by (3) the identification of the Christian saint with a Moslem. These three schemes may be called for brevity 'conversion', 'intrusion', and 'identification': for the latter process use is often made on the Moslem side of a somewhat vague personage—at Konia Plato—as a 'lay-figure' capable of assimilation to various Christian saints.

In Turkey, particularly in parts where the average peasant intelligence and general culture are of a low order and the difference between Christian and Moslem is not acutely felt, it is usual for any sanctuary reputed for its miracles to be frequented by both religions.¹ The 'conversion', 'intrusion', and 'identification' schemes are devised to accentuate this natural point of contact between the two religions and to put it on a logical footing. The idea of metempsychosis, which is often implied by 'identification', though foreign to Orthodox Christian thought, is widely current in the Shia forms of Islam.²

For Asia Minor the 'lay-figure' saint of the Bektashi is possibly the protean Khidr.³ Khidr is revered in a vague way by all Moslems, who often identify him with S. George. He has a special prominence among the Kizilbash of Asia Minor,⁴ whose connexion with the Bektashi is obscure but well authenticated. The Kizilbash Kurds of the Dersim recognize the Armenian saint

¹ In this assimilation language is an important factor. The phenomena here mentioned occur markedly in central Asia Minor, where all races speak Turkish, and in Albania, where all religions speak Albanian.

² The Persian Shah Abbas held firmly that Ali, S. George, and S. James of Compostella were identical (P. della Valle, *Viaggi*, ii, 257 f.).

³ For Khidr see above, pp. 319-36.

⁴ White, *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xxxix (1907), p. 156; cf. Jerphanion in *Byz. Zeit.* xx, 493. The same is true of the Nosairi (R. Dussaud, *Nosairis*, pp. 128-35).

Sergius as identical with Khidr¹ and make pilgrimage to Armenian churches of S. Sergius as to sanctuaries of Khidr.² Farther west, among Greek populations who hold S. Sergius of less importance than do the Armenians, the connexion generally admitted by Moslems between Khidr and S. George and S. Elias has probably served its turn. At the *tekke* of Sheikh Elwan in Pontus Khidr seems certainly to have supplanted S. Theodore,³ who, as a cavalier and a dragon-slayer, approximates to S. George. Though we cannot as yet definitely ascribe to the Bektashi this transference from Christianity to Islam, the locality falls well within the range of their influence.

The more ignorant the populations concerned, the farther such identifications can be pressed. The Kizilbash Kurds, who possess in all probability a strong admixture of Armenian blood, equate Ali to Christ, the Twelve Imams to the Twelve Apostles, and Hasan and Husain to SS. Peter and Paul.⁴ The conversion of illiterate Christians, always aided by material attractions, becomes fatally easy under the influences of this accommodating form of Islam.

Apparent examples of such religious fusion under Bektashi auspices are to be found in the following Anatolian cults.

i.—*Haji Bektash Tekke, near Kirshehr*

This, the central *tekke* of the Bektashi order, is frequented by Christians, who claim that the site was once occupied by a Christian monastery of S. Charalambos.⁵ On entering the mausoleum (*turbe*) where Haji Bektash lies buried Christians

¹ Grenard, *Journ. Asiat.* iii (1904), p. 518.

² Molyneux Seel, *Geog. Journ.* xlv (1914), p. 66. The Armenians are said to confuse SS. Sergius and George (P. della Valle, *Viaggi*, ii, 258).

³ Anderson, *Stud. Pont.* i, 9 ff.; cf. iii, 207 ff. See further above, pp. 47 ff.

⁴ Molyneux Seel, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Levides, *Μοναὶ τῆς Καππαδοκίας*, see above, pp. 83-4.

make the sign of the cross : they are said to identify the tomb with that of S. Charalambos, who, however, has no connexion with Cappadocia. The identification has taken firm hold, but it seems proved that it is not of great antiquity by the account of the archbishop Cyril (1815), who equates Haji Bektash, not to S. Charalambos, but to S. Eustathius,¹ probably on the ground of some stag story.²

The central Bektashi *tekke* is thus a holy place, not only for the heretical Mussulman sect which possesses and administers it, but for orthodox Mussulmans, who hold Haji Bektash for a Nakshbandi saint and venerate him accordingly, and for Christians, who claim that site and tomb were originally Christian. This state of things is almost exactly paralleled at the central shrine of the Yezidi 'devil-worshippers' which contains the grave of their alleged founder, Sheikh Adi. Orthodox Mussulmans abhor the religion of the Yezidi, but venerate the historical Sheikh Adi, whom they regard as an orthodox saint of the sixth century of their era ; the local (Nestorian) Christians hold that the site of the Yezidi sanctuary was originally occupied by a Christian monastery of S. Addai (? or Addaeus of Edessene legend) and subsequently usurped by one Adi, a renegade monk, who is credited with evolving the religion actually practised by the modern Yezidi.³

ii.—*Haidar-es-Sultan Tekke, near Angora* ⁴

Haidar, the Moslem saint buried here, is identified under Bektashi auspices with Khoja Ahmed (Karaja Ahmed ?), a disciple ⁵ of Haji Bektash, who is said to have settled here with his wife, a Christian woman, named Mêne, from Caesarea. Local Moslem tradition holds that the *tekke* occupies the site of a Christian monastery.⁶ The connexion with the Bektashi is obvious from the legend : the village is Kizilbash or Shia, and as such under their religious authority.⁷

¹ See above, p. 84, n.7.

² See above, p. 85.

³ W. B. Heard, in *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xli, 202 f. : cf. Hume Griffiths, *Behind the Veil in Persia*, p. 291.

⁴ See above, pp. 52, 403.

⁵ A local error, see above, p. 404.

⁶ Crowfoot in *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xxx (1900), pp. 305-20.

⁷ On this point see further White in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xl (1908), p. 235. For the Kizilbash see above, pp. 139 ff.

iii.—*Tekke of Sidi Battal, near Eskishehr*¹

This dervish convent, which has been in the hands of the Bektashi at least since the sixteenth century,² claims to possess the tomb of the Arab hero Sidi Battal Ghazi; beside him reposes his wife, who was, according to tradition, a Christian princess.³

iv.—*Shamaspur Tekke, Alaja (Paphlagonia)*

Local Moslems say of this (Bektashi) *tekke* that it was an old Greek monastery.⁴ The saint buried there is Husain Ghazi, the father of Sidi Battal.⁵ The name of the *tekke*, however, seems to connect it also with *Shamas*, who figures in Turkish legend as the governor of a castle near Kirshehr, slain in single combat by Sidi Battal: ⁶ this is a popular rendering and localization of an incident in the Romance of Sidi Battal, in which *Schâmas*, brother of the governor of Amorium, is slain by the hero.⁷ In this same romance the hero converts to Islam a monk named *Schûmas*.⁸ It is tempting to suppose that from these materials a Christian figure, somewhat analogous to the 'monk' or 'bishop' buried in the *tekke* of the Mevlevi at Konia,⁹ has been manufactured and intruded on the Shamaspur *tekke*.

¹ For this *tekke* see below, pp. 705–10.

² Here also there must for chronological reasons have been a usurpation by the Bektashi if the traditional account of the discovery of Sidi Battal's remains by a Seljuk princess is allowed. A legend is told at the *tekke* of a visit of Haji Bektash to the place, and to confirm it, marks of his hands and teeth are shown on the walls of the buildings (Mordtmann, *Φιλολ. Σύλλογος, Παράρτημα τοῦ θ' τόμου*, p. xv). Other Bektashi legends connecting the convent with Haji Bektash or his early followers are given by Jacob (*Beiträge*, p. 13) from Evliya.

³ See below, p. 706.

⁴ Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, i, 402 f.: H. J. Ross, *Letters from the East*, p. 243; Wilson, in Murray's *Asia Minor*, p. 36. The *tekke* is also mentioned as a place of miraculous healing by Prof. White, *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xxxix, 159.

⁵ For the latter see below, p. 709.

⁶ Ainsworth, *Travels*, i, 157.

⁷ Ethé, *Fabrien des Sajjid Batthâl*, i, 27: cf. below, p. 711.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 21; *Shamas* is the Arabic for *deacon*.

⁹ See above, p. 86.

v.—*Tekke of Nusr-ed-din, Zile (Pontus)*

This *tekke* is venerated by Christians, apparently as containing the tomb of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste. It was formerly called Kirklar Tekke ('Convent of the Forty') and is thought by Grégoire to have had a Christian past under that title.¹ The isolated position of the *tekke* in a strongly Shia district almost warrants the assumption that it is connected with the Bektashi.

vi.—*S. Nerses, Rumkale*

This ancient Armenian church was occupied by Mohamédans in the latter part of the seventeenth century 'afin de donner à entendre par là qu'ils reverent les Saints, & que celui auquel cette Eglise est dédiée, estoit de leur party, & Musulman comme eux'.² Rumkale is on the Upper Euphrates, not far from the country of the Kizilbash Kurds, who have, as already said, a religious connexion with the Bektashi.

vii.—*Chapel at Adalia*

Savary de Brèves found at Adalia a cave-chapel still retaining traces of Christian frescoes, in which was shown the tomb of a Christian hermit. The latter, according to the Turks, had on his death-bed confessed himself a Mussulman, and on this account received from Mussulmans the honour due to one of their own saints.³ The Bektashi order has at the present day an establishment at Adalia.

viii.—*'Tomb of S. Polycarp,' Smyrna*

The history of this cult is discussed at length elsewhere.⁴ It has been, as far back as it can be traced, Moslem in form, and appears first in Moslem hands. S. Polycarp was formerly claimed as a saint of their own by the dervishes in charge of the tomb, who are shown by the Bektashi headdress on an adjoining grave to have been at some time members of this order. A supposed mitre of the saint was shown to pilgrims.⁵

¹ *B.C.H.*, 1909, pp. 25 ff. ; cf. above, pp. 49-50.

² M. Febvre, *Théâtre de la Turquie* (1682), p. 46: see also above, p. 53.

³ *Voyages* (Paris, 1628), p. 23 (quoted in full above, p. 74, n. 2). For a similar legendary conversion, but to Christianity, of an ambiguous saint, cf. above, p. 376.

⁴ Above, pp. 406 ff. (reprinted from *B.S.A.* xx, 80 ff.).

⁵ Cf. no. xii below (Eski Baba).

ix.—‘*Tomb of S. Theodore, near Benderegli*
(*Herakleia Pontica*)

A *turbe* (mausoleum) on a hill above Arapli, a few miles west of Benderegli, is visited yearly by Christians as containing the tomb of S. Theodore *Stratelates*.¹

The *turbe* seems to be a humble wooden erection and contains two outwardly Turkish tombs,² attributed by the Greeks to S. Theodore and his disciple Varro,³ and by the Turks to a warrior saint named Ghazi Shahid Mustafa and his son. These are tended by a Turkish woman, who receives offerings from pilgrims of both religions in the shape of money and candles.⁴

The connexion of this ambiguous cult with the Bektashi cannot be pressed, but there is a village bearing the name *Beteshler* (interpreted by von Diest as *Bektashler*, ‘the Bektashis’) in the vicinity.⁵

x.—*Mamasun Tekke (Ziaret Kilise) near Newshehr*

This sanctuary was discovered, apparently in the last century,⁶ by a series of ‘miraculous’ accidents, in a barn belonging to an

¹ P. Makris, *Ηρακλεία του Πόντου*, pp. 115 ff. See above, pp. 88–9.

² Makris describes them as δύο ξύλινα κιβώτια ἅπερ εἶνε φέρετρα, adding ‘πρὸς τὸ μέρος τῆς κεφαλῆς φέρουσι κιδάρεις [turbans] καὶ μέγα κομβολόγιον [rosary].’

³ ‘Varro’ (*Οὐάρρων*) does not figure in the orthodox legend of S. Theodore: Makris speaks of an ancient inscription formerly kept at the site; it possibly contained the name.

⁴ A similar mixed cult of S. Theodore and ‘un santon dit “Gaghni”’ in Pontus was reported by Père Girard to Cumont, but without details (*Stud. Pont.* ii, 143, note 3).

⁵ Von Diest, *Perg. zum Pontus*, i, 81. *Betesh* or *Petesh* seems to be the original form of *Bektash*. In George of Hungary’s *De Moribus Turcorum* (cap. xv: see p. 496), written in the middle of the fifteenth century, the saint is called *Hatschi Pettesch* (translated *adiutorius peregrinationis*). The form *Bektash* seems to depend on a false etymology from *geubek* (‘navel’) and *tash* (‘stone’) as Leake betrays: ‘The Bektashli are so called from a Cappadocian sheikh who wore a stone upon his navel’ (*N. Greece*, iv, 284).

⁶ It is not mentioned in the Archbishop Cyril’s *Περιγραφή* (1815) or indicated in his map (1812) which generally marks even purely Moslem *tekkes* of importance. For a full account of this sanctuary see above, pp. 43–5: for the relevant texts see pp. 759–61.

inhabitant of the (purely Turkish) village of Mamasun. The rock-cut Christian church discovered was attributed to S. Mamas, probably on account of the name of the village, and has been adapted for the ambiguous modern cult. At the east end is a Holy Table, at which itinerant Christian priests are allowed to officiate, and a picture of S. Mamas, while in the south wall is a niche (*mibrab*) giving the orientation of Mecca to Turkish pilgrims. There is no partition between Christian and Moslem worshippers, but the latter, while at their prayers, are allowed to turn the picture from them. The sanctuary is administered by dervishes.

An analysis of these ten cases of ambiguous sanctuaries in Asia Minor gives the following results :

1. Connexion with the Bektashi is established in five cases (i, ii, iii, iv, viii). The remainder of the sanctuaries are situated within the area of Bektashi activities and are not known to be in other hands.

2. Christian saints are claimed as Moslem by the 'conversion' or analogous *motifs* in four, possibly five, cases (v (?), vi, vii, viii, x).

3. Apparently Moslem saints are claimed as Christian by 'identification' in two cases (i, ix). Moslem sanctuaries have a Christian side developed by 'intrusion' in two, possibly three, cases (ii, iii (?), iv).

§ 3. BEKTASHISM AND CHRISTIANITY IN EUROPE

The 'lay-figure' of Bektashi propaganda amongst the Christians of Rumeli is Sari Saltik,¹ whose elaborate legend has been discussed elsewhere.² Sari Saltik, originally, as I believe, a tribal saint,³ is identified in a general

¹ Khidr [Khizr] also has an importance, at present ill-defined, for Albanian Bektashism (Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 208).

² *B.S.A.* xix, 203 ff. : *cf.* above, pp. 429 ff.

³ This idea, put forward tentatively in *B.S.A.* xix, gains weight from the following considerations: (1) Colour-adjectives ('black,' 'white,' 'red,' 'blue') like *Sari* ('yellow') are often prefixed to tribal names, possibly alluding to the distinctive colouring or marking of the

way with S. Nicolas, and seems to have occupied a certain number of churches dedicated to that saint in eastern Turkey in Europe. These can all be brought into relation with the earliest cycle of the Sari Saltik myth, which concerns itself with his apocryphal adventures in Europe, and ends with his death and the miraculous transformation of his body into *seven* bodies, four of which were buried in Turkish territory (Thrace, Bulgaria, Rumania, Crimea?) and three in Christian Europe (Bohemia, Danzig, Sweden).¹ In a variant version, from a manuscript discovered by Degrand at Tirana, *forty* bodies of Sari Saltik are found after his death; one of these is singled out by a miracle as the genuine corpse and buried in a circle composed of the other thirty-nine.² This variant suggests that a pretext was needed for the usurpation of some cult of 'the Forty'.³ In the western section, which appears to have been touched by

herds of sections of a divided tribe. (2) A town in the Crimea named *Baba Saltuk* after a 'diviner' (*i. e.* a tribal holy man?) is mentioned by Ibn Batuta (tr. Sanguinetti, ii, 416, 445), and Baba Dagh, the starting-point of the Sari Saltik of Bektashi tradition, was colonized by Tatars, probably from the Crimea. (3) *Saltaku* appears as a village-name near Eski Baba in Thrace, and *Saltik* in Phrygia near Sandikli. (4) It is obvious that *Saltik*, like *Betesh* (above, p. 575, note 5), means nothing to the ordinary Turk, by the frequent attempts to produce an etymology for it. *Sari Saltik* is variously rendered 'The Blond Apostle' (Ippen, *Skutari*, p. 72); 'the Yellow Corpse' (λεῖψανον), which was the explanation offered me by the Abbot of S. Naum (see below, no. xx); 'Yellow Pate' (Bargrave, in *Bodleian Cod. Rawlinson*, C. 799, f. 50 *verso*); 'Yellow Jacket' was the translation offered me by a *bey* of Okhrida; a still more complicated derivation, from *salmak* ('dismiss'), is given from a native source by Degrand (*Haute Albanie*, p. 240).

¹ This version is set down by the seventeenth-century traveller Evliya Efendi on the authority of the dervishes of Kilgra (*Travels*, ii, 70-72: see above, p. 429).

² Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 242: the MS. is said by Jacob to be the *Vilayetnameh* of Hajim Sultan (*Beiträge*, p. 2, n. 4). See further above, p. 437.

³ On this point see above, p. 437, and n. 5.

Bektashi propaganda a good deal later than the eastern and now contains in Albania the chief stronghold of the sect, Sari Saltik is identified with the Christian saints Naum and Spyridon. The corresponding cycle of the Sari Saltik myth now current in Albania makes that country the exclusive scene of the saint's activity. He appears at Kruya, where he slays a dragon, and in the sequel, to escape persecution, crosses miraculously to Corfu, where he dies.¹ To the date and bearing of this part of the legend we have already referred.²

The following ambiguous sanctuaries may be cited from the European area :

xi.—*Tekke of Sari Saltik, Kilgra (Bulgaria)*

This Bektashi sanctuary (now abandoned), on the promontory of Kilgra (Kaliakra) in Bulgaria, was held by its former dervish occupants to have been the scene of Sari Saltik's fight with the dragon, and one of the seven places where he was buried.³ Local Christians now hold that it contains the tomb of S. Nicolas, with whom it may have been associated in Byzantine times ; for the Turks the saint worshipped there is now known as Haji Baba.⁴

xii.—*Tekke at Eski Baba (Thrace)*

The Bektashi in charge of this sanctuary in the seventeenth century identified the saint buried in it with their own Sari Saltik and the Christian S. Nicolas.⁵ The *tekke* is said to be a former Christian church and is to this day frequented by Christians.⁶ A mitre and other relics, alleged to have belonged

¹ Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 240.

² Above, p. 436.

³ See above, p. 430.

⁴ Jireček, in *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* x (1886), pp. 188 f.: 'Am äussersten Ende gibt es neben dem Leuchtturm vier kleinere, künstlich ausgeglättete und mit gemeisselten Sitzen versehene Höhlenräume, die wie Wohnzimmer untereinander verbunden sind. Eine mit einer niederen Umfassung zugemauerte Ecke darin gilt den Christen als Grab des heil. Nikola, den Türken als das des "Hadji Baba".' See also above, p. 51.

⁵ Above, pp. 54-6.

⁶ M. Christodoulos, *Περιγραφή Σαράντα Ἐκκλησιῶν*, p. 47: *Τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄνομα ἀντικατέστη διὰ τοῦ σήμερον ἐκ τοῦ τάφου πολιοῦ-*

to S. Nicolas, were formerly shown here, but were not accepted as genuine by the Christians.¹

xiii.—*Tekke of Binbiroglu Ahmed Baba, Bunar Hisar (Thrace)*

Macintosh in 1836 found just east of Bunar Hisar ‘ a cemetery distinguished by a tower-shaped building with a dome roof, *said to be a remnant of an ancient Greek church, dedicated to St. Nicholas*, but now the burying-place of a wealthy Turkish proprietor ’.² Boué, who describes the already deserted *tekke* of this day (1837), speaks of the saint as a ‘ général Achmed ’ who was regarded as the conqueror of the country.³ Bektashi saints in Rumeli are often represented as early *ghazis*. The full name of the saint, and that of the order to which the *tekke* belonged (Bektashi), are given by Jochmus, who visited the place in 1847.⁴ The ‘ ambiguous ’ character of the sanctuary is betrayed, in the light of Albanian and other parallels,⁵ by Macintosh’s words.

χου Δερβίση (Βαβᾶ) χαίροντος ὑπόληψιν παρὰ Τούρκους τε καὶ Χριστιανοῖς κειμένου ἐν τῷ παρὰ τῇ κώμῃ εἰς Τεκὲν μεταβληθέντι ἀρχαίῳ Ναῶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Νικολάου ἐν ᾧ καὶ κατῴκει. I was told in 1907 that Christians still frequented the *tekke*; see above, p. 55, n. 6.

¹ S. Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, p. 5: ‘ Diese Waffen, sprechen die Türcken, habe St. Niclaus geführet: Die Griechen aber sprechen, die Türcken habens nur hinein gehänget.’ Cf. also Arsenij Černojevič (A.D. 1683) in Bury, *E. Roman Empire*, p. 345. For a more detailed description see above, pp. 430 ff. and for relevant texts see below, pp. 761–3.

² *Military Tour*, i, 73.

³ *Itinéraires*, i, 132: ‘ On n’y voit plus qu’un pays couvert de broussailles, au milieu duquel il y a une petite mosquée et vis-à-vis un bâtiment carré entouré d’une muraille. La mosquée n’est que le monument qui recèle les restes du général Achmed, le conquérant de ce pays, et ceux de quelques uns de ses parents. Une natte entoure le tombeau afin qu’on puisse y prier. Un cimetière est autour de cet édifice, qui est un lieu de pèlerinage et le bâtiment carré sert à héberger alors les dévots.’ The *tekke* was probably one of those put down in 1826, and is now a *chiftlik* or farm.

⁴ *J.R.G.S.* xxiv (1854), p. 44; for the inscription in ‘ Ancient Syrian ’ letters see above, p. 519, n. 4.

⁵ Especially nos. xviii, xix, below.

xiv.—*Tekke of Akyazili Baba, near Balchik*
(*Rumania*)

Though it is nowhere distinctly stated, this *tekke* was in the hands of the Bektashi, as a Varna resident informed me, in 1914. The saint, who appears to have been purely Moslem in origin,¹ developed a Christian side as S. Athanasius, who, under present conditions, seems in a fair way to usurp all the honours of the place.²

xv.—*S. Eusebia, Selymbria (Thrace)*

What seems, in the light of modern developments in Albania,³ to be a corresponding adoption of a Christian saint by the Bektashi is noted by Cantimir in Thrace, a former stronghold of the order. 'At Selymbria are preserved entire', he says, 'the remains of S. Euphemia: the Turks call her *Cadid*, and visit her out of curiosity.'⁴ The allusion is to the body of S. (ἁγία) Xene (in religion Eusebia) of Mylasa, which is still preserved in the church of the Virgin at Selymbria.⁵ Here, as in Albania, if our supposition is correct, the Bektashi have selected an ancient church containing the tangible relics of a popular saint, whom they have re-named for the purposes of their propaganda.

¹ He was possibly tribal: a village named Akyazili formerly existed in Bulgaria (Jireček, in *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* x (1886), p. 161), and there is a village Akyazi in Bithynia.

² Kanitz, *Bulgarie*, pp. 474 ff.; Jireček, *Bulgarien*, p. 533: cf. *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* x (1886), p. 182; J. Nikolaos, 'Ὁδησός', pp. 248-50. I was told by a local resident that during the last war the crescent on the *turbe* had been displaced in favour of a cross by the Bulgarian priest of the village. The development of this cult is discussed in detail above, p. 90-2: original texts are given below, pp. 763 ff.

³ Below, nos. xx, xxi.

⁴ *Hist. Emp. Oth.* i, 121. Turks or Greeks will of course frequent any miraculous shrine for cure irrespective of religion; the renaming stamps this case as peculiar. Von Hammer (*Hist. Emp. Ott.* iii, 14) translates *Cadid* by *momie*, but I can find no authority for this.

⁵ S. Xene figures in the *Synaxaria* of 24 Jan. Her relics at Selymbria are mentioned already in 1614 by Pietro della Valle (*Viaggi*, i, 17) and in modern times are one of the attractions of a frequented Orthodox pilgrimage, cf. Prodikos, in *Θρακικὴ Ἐπετηρίς*, i, 68; Anon., in *Ξενοφάνης*, iii, 256, 322. A distaff and other belongings of the saint are

xvi.—*Ainos (Thrace), Tekke of Yunuz Baba*

A cruciform domed building, apparently of Christian origin, on the outskirts of Ainos is called by the Turks the *tekke* of Yunuz Baba and by the Christians the church of S. Euplous.¹ Thrace was notoriously a stronghold of Bektashism down to the fall of the Janissaries (1826) and Ainos was a garrisoned fortress. *Baba* is the usual saint's title and Yunuz ('Jonas') a favourite name among the Bektashi, perhaps on account of the famous Bektashi saint Emrem Yunuz.²

S. Euplous, a Sicilian saint, though his memory is venerated by the Orthodox (11 Aug.) is a most unusual patron for a Greek church. We may possibly explain his presence at Ainos by the assumption that he is a derivative of Yunuz Baba. The (verbal) connexion of the name of S. Euplous with the sea is obvious, and Yunuz (Jonas) is equally easily so connected.³

In the western section of Turkey in Europe, which includes Albania, the great stronghold of Bektashism to-day, many ambiguous sanctuaries besides those here set down probably await discovery, since the Moslems of Albania represent to a very large extent Christian populations converted, some only nominally, at various dates.⁴ They are generally considered lax Mohammedans, and share much of the superstition of their Christian compatriots. The Tosks are largely Shia.⁵

also shown; such relics are comparatively rare in Orthodoxy, exceedingly common in popular Islam.

¹ Lambakis, in *Δελτίον Χριστ. Ἀρχαιολ. Ἐταιρείας*, H, 28.

² It may be more than a coincidence that a Pasha named Yunuz conquered the town of Ainos for Mohammed II, but did not die there (Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* iii, 28). Here is quite sufficient foundation for a dervish legend of a *ghazi* saint.

³ Cf. the case of Yunuz Baba at Constantinople, who is also called 'Deniz Abdal', 'the fool (-saint) of the sea', and is believed to have walked on the sea (Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 135).

⁴ For the conversion of Albania see above, p. 439.

⁵ Ibrahim Manzour, *Mémoires*, p. xvii. A false prophet, claiming to be an incarnation of Ali, appeared in Albania in 1607 (*Ambassade de J. de Gontaut-Biron*, Paris, 1889, p. 138).

xx.—*Monastery of S. Naum on Lake Okhrida*

This monastery, containing the tomb of the saint, one of the seven apostles of the Slavs, is known to local Moslems generally as Sari Saltik, with whom the Christian saint is identified ;¹ the Bektashi of the adjoining (Koritza) district make pilgrimage to the tomb. Already in the twenties of the last century Walsh remarks that ' the Turks claim S. Naum as a holy man of their religion ',² and von Hahn in the 'sixties found a prayer-carpet kept at the tomb for the benefit of Moslem pilgrims :³ this carpet, not being a necessary, or even a usual, feature of a Moslem cult, was probably considered, or on its way to be considered, a personal relic of the saint. While I was at S. Naum (1914), the Greek abbot, to whom I am indebted for information on the relations of the Bektashi with the monastery, told me that he had received a visit from the abbot of one of the Bektashi *tekkes* at Koritza, who told him that Sari Saltik, on a visit to the monastery, had, with the Christian abbot, miraculously crossed the lake to Okhrida on a straw-mat (*ψάθα*). Such miraculous journeys, generally made on prayer-rugs, are a regular *motif* of dervish stories.⁴ The introduction of Okhrida may indicate the beginning of an adoption by the Bektashi of the church and tomb of S. Clement in the latter town.

xxi.—*S. Spyridon, Corfu*

S. Spyridon, as we have said, is one of the Christian saints identified by the Bektashi with their own apostle Sari Saltik ;⁵ this explains the introduction of Corfu, where S. Spyridon's body is preserved in the cathedral, into the Kruya cycle of Sari

¹ According to one Bektashi tradition, Sari Saltik settled at the monastery, converted, and eventually succeeded to, the Christian abbot. This is a mild edition of the earlier episode at Danzig (above, p. 429).

² *Constantinople*, ii, 376 ; cf. E. Spencer, *Travels*, ii, 76.

³ *Drin und Wardar*, p. 108.

⁴ The incident occurs in the ' first edition ' of the Sari Saltik legend, where the saint and his companions cross in this way to Europe, and in a version of the Kruya-Corfu cycle told me by the sheikh at the *tekke* of Turbe Ali ; in this latter story the dervish's habit (*ῥάσο* = *khirka*) was the vehicle. For the theme in Christian and other hagiologies see Saintyves, *Saints Successeurs des Dieux*, p. 254, and above, pp. 285-7.

⁵ See above, p. 436, n. 4.

Saltik's adventures.¹ Albanian Bektashi are said to make pilgrimage to the saint in Corfu.²

xxii.—*Athens, Tekke at Entrance to Acropolis*

A *tekke* immediately above the Odeum of Herodes is shewn in several early prints and existed down to the War of Independence: the dervish order to which it belonged is nowhere stated, but it seems probable that *tekkes* in this and similar positions with regard to garrisoned fortresses served as chapels or 'lodges' for the Janissaries during the connexion of the latter body with the Bektashi.

Pittakys in 1835 writes of the *tekke* in question: 'les habitants rapportent que là où avant la révolution grecque était une mosquée (τεκές) existait auparavant une église consacrée aux saints Anargyri'.³ A *tekke* containing two saints' graves, if it had a reputation for miracles of healing, might easily be identified by the Orthodox with a sanctuary of the doctor-saints, Cosmas and Damian, whether or not the site had originally been consecrated to them.

An analysis of these twelve ambiguous sanctuaries in Europe gives the following results:

1. Connexion with the Bektashi is established in nine cases (xi, xii, xiii, xvii, xviii, xix, xx, xxi, xxii).
2. Bektashi sanctuaries are made accessible to Christians by 'identification' in six cases (xiii, xiv, xvi, xvii, xviii, xix).
3. Christian sanctuaries are made accessible to Bek-

¹ See above, pp. 435 ff.

² I am told by an English Corfiote of the older generation, Mr. Weale, that in his childhood many Albanian Moslems visited the cathedral at S. Spyridon's two festivals, and paid their respects to the saint's remains: they often brought with them offerings of candles and even of livestock. This has been abundantly confirmed by my own inquiries at Corfu. Lafont (*Trois Mois en Albanie*, p. 50) heard it said by some that the body was a woman's: this may be a faint echo of the tales in which bodies of Christians and Moslems are interchanged in their graves, for which see further above, pp. 446 ff.

³ *L'Ancienne Athènes*, p. 224. Stuart and Revett seem also to have thought that a church had occupied the site.

tashi by 'identification' in four, possibly five, cases (xi, xii, xv (?), xx, xxi).

It will be noted that the mental attitude of Bektashi and Christians with regard to these ambiguous sanctuaries is somewhat different. The educated Bektashi, to whom the ideas of pantheism and metempsychosis are familiar, find it easy and natural to identify the Christian saints with their own; for simpler souls, if indeed the efficacy of the miracles does not suffice them, fables like the 'disguise' of Sari Saltik in the robes of 'Svity Nikola'¹ may be used to bridge the gap. Christians, having before them numerous examples of churches usurped by the Moslem conqueror, accept rather the assumption that the Bektashi sanctuary occupies a site already consecrated by Christian tradition, though their act of worship is made in the actual tomb-chamber of the Moslem saint and conforms to the custom of the Moslem sanctuary. This leads in some cases to the belief that the buried saint himself was a Christian, and political changes may lead to the definite and official transference of the *tekke* to Christianity.² In the promulgation and acceptance of these fictitious identifications the material interests of the parties concerned have evidently played an important part. The occupiers of the ambiguous sanctuary, be they Christian or Bektashi, find their *clientèle*, and consequently their revenues, increased, while the frequenters receive the less tangible but not less appreciated benefits of miraculous healing and intercession.

The concessions of Bektashism to Christianity and of Christianity to Bektashism seem at first sight exactly balanced. Christian churches adopt fictitious Bektashi traditions and receive Bektashi pilgrims: conversely, Bektashi *tekkes* adopt fictitious Christian legends and receive Christian pilgrims. But the apparent equality

¹ Above, p. 429.

² Cf. nos. xiv, xix, above.

is only superficial. The ultimate aim of the Bektashi was not to amalgamate Christianity with Bektashism on equal terms, but to absorb Christianity in Bektashism. It may well be that the partial adoption by the Bektashi of such churches as S. Naum and S. Spyridon really represent intermediate stages in the process of transition from exclusive Christian ownership to complete Bektashi occupation. In Albania we can understand that the process was arrested by the revival of the Orthodox Church in the eighteenth century. In Thrace we seem to see in Eski Baba, where a Christian church has become completely Bektashi, an example of successful transference at a more favourable date. In Anatolia it is at least possible that the same methods were used earlier still, so early and with such complete success that no trace of the process remains : but we have always to bear in mind the possibility that supposed Christian ' traditions ' are to be accounted for by false legends, circulated or countenanced from interested motives by the dervishes in charge, or on patriotic grounds by the local Christians.

§ 4. POLITICAL BACKGROUND

The propagation of such a religion as Bektashism is considerably aided if it can rely on the support or connivance of the civil power, especially as it is regarded by orthodox Moslems as heretical. In the case of the western (Albanian) group of ambiguous sanctuaries under Bektashi influence clear traces can be detected of a political combination, such as we have suggested in explanation of the analogous religious phenomena at medieval Konia. The spread of Bektashism in Albania is generally thought to be due to the support given to the propagandists by Ali Pasha of Yannina (d. 1822) : ¹

¹ Brailsford, *Macedonia*, pp. 233, 244. ' This I have found generally admitted by south Albanian Bektashi, some of whom also connect

this idea will be found to be well grounded, and there are hints that Ali's relations with the Bektashi were paralleled by those of other Albanian and Rumeliotie potentates. It is still strongly held in Tepelen, the birthplace of Ali, that his connexion with dervishes was an important factor of his success.¹ One tradition says his father was a dervish.² Ali himself believed devoutly in dervishes, and not without reason. It is said that, while still a poor and insignificant boy, he was pointed out by a wandering holy man, to whom he and his mother had, despite their poverty, offered shelter and hospitality, as one that had a great future.³ This same holy man gave him a 'lucky' ring, which he wore even at the end of his life.⁴ His superstitious belief in prophecy was enhanced by his contact with the Greek monk and evangelist Cosmas (afterwards canonized), who foretold to him, already in 1778, that he should prevail over the pasha of Berat, become vizir of Epirus, fight with the Sultan, and go to Constantinople 'with a red beard'⁵—all of which eventually came to pass.

It was apparently in his later life that Ali 'got religion'; naturally it was not the strict observance of Sunni puritans that attracted him, but rather the licence and superstition of the less reputable members of the dervish orders, and their potential political Omer Vrioni of Berat and Mahmud Bey of Avlona, both contemporaries of Ali, with the movement.

¹ Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 239.

² For the family of Ali see Lamprides, *Ἀλῆ Πασσᾶς*, pp. 15 ff., who says his grandfather was an Anatolian dervish of Kutahia.

³ Durham, *loc. cit.* A similar tale is told by Aravantinos, *Ἀλῆ Πασᾶ*, p. 422.

⁴ Ibrahim Manzour, *Mémoires*, p. 271 (the author was a French renegade who spent some years (1816-19) at Ali's court): a similar story was told to Miss Durham at Tepelen.

⁵ Zotos, *Λεξικὸν τῶν Ἀγίων*, s.v. *Κοσμάς*, p. 621; cf. Sathas, *Νεοελλ. Φιλολογία*, p. 491. It should be noted that a very similar prophecy is attributed by the Bektashi to three of their own saints, Sheikh Mimi, Sheikh Ali, and Nasibi.

importance. 'In his younger years', writes Hobhouse in 1809, 'Ali was not a very strict Mahometan; but he has lately become religious, and entertains several Dervishes at his court'.¹ I was told definitely by a Bektashi sheikh that Ali was admitted to their order by the celebrated sheikh Mimi of Bokhara, who was certainly alive in 1807.² This is probably the change to which Hobhouse refers.

Towards the end of his life the Pasha was much addicted to the society of dervishes, and Yannina became notorious as the haunt of the most disreputable of them.³ Ibrahim Manzur enumerates no fewer than seven prominent sheikhs of his own time who received special favours from Ali,⁴ being provided with endowed *tekkes* or other establishment. One of them Ali used regularly as his diplomatic agent; another toured in Albania, collecting contributions for the order, and, doubtless, information for his master also. The sheikh of a *tekke* at Skutari (Constantinople) visited the court of Yannina regularly once a year.⁵ The local (Epirote) Bektashi with whom I have conversed on the subject did not recognize the names of the sheikhs enumerated by Ibrahim Manzur as belonging to their sect: the one possible exception was Sheikh Hasan, who is probably identical with the Bektashi saint Hasan Baba Sheret, buried outside Yannina.⁶ My informants were agreed

¹ *Albania*, i, 124.

² See below, p. 590. Aravatinos (*Ἀλατῆ Πασᾶ*, p. 417) says that Ali boasted that he was a Bektashi, but *cf.* below, p. 589, n. 1. The headstone of the tomb of Ali at Yannina was formerly marked by the twelve-sided headdress (*taj*) of the order, as is shown in a drawing in Allom and Walsh's *Constantinople*. The headstone has been removed within living memory.

³ Leake *N. Greece*, iv, 285: 'There is no place in Greece where in consequence of this encouragement these wandering or mendicant Musulman monks are so numerous as at Ioannina.' Ibrahim Manzur says the same of his own time. ⁴ *Mémoires*, p. 211. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 291.

⁶ Of the others I was able to trace only Sheikh Brusalu, whose tomb is still to be seen in Preveza: he is regarded as an orthodox saint.

that their order had never possessed a *tekke* in Yannina or south of it, on account of the fanatical orthodoxy of local Moslems. Ali himself did not openly admit his connexion with the heretical sect.¹ It is, of course, possible that some of the apparently orthodox dervishes in his pay were either secret adherents of the Bektashi or (to use no harsher word) latitudinarian in their beliefs.²

Ali's connexion with the Bektashi was mainly, perhaps, a matter of policy,³ but his personal religion, such as it was, shows the mixture of atheism tempered by superstition, and tolerance towards other sects, especially Christians, which is characteristic of the lower forms of Bektashism. 'At the time that Christianity was out of favour in France,' says Leake, 'he was in the habit of ridiculing religion and the immortality of the soul with his French prisoners; and he lately remarked to me, speaking of Mahomet, *καὶ ἐγὼ εἶμαι προφήτης στὰ Ἰωάννινα*—and I too am a prophet at Ioannina.'⁴ But with all this he had a deep-rooted belief in charms, magic, and prophecy. As regards his tolerant attitude towards Christians he may have been influenced by the prophecy

¹ Ibrahim Manzour, *Mémoires*, p. xix, but *cf.* Aravantinos, above, p. 588, n. 2: one of Ali's sons, Mukhtar Pasha, openly avowed himself Shia; Selim, another son by a slave wife, is said to have become a dervish sheikh (North, *Essay on Ancient and Modern Greeks*, p. 191).

² The distinctions between the Bektashi and other orders are not rigid. I have heard of two recent cases of the conversion of sheikhs of other orders to Bektashism.

³ Leake, *N. Greece*, iv, 285: 'Although no practical encourager of liberty and equality, he finds the religious doctrines of the Bektashi exactly suited to him.' . . . 'Aly takes from every body and gives only to the dervishes, whom he undoubtedly finds politically useful,' *cf. ibid.* i, 407. Pouqueville (*Hist. Régénér. Grèce*, i, 59) gives a still more cynical account as follows: 'Musulman avec les Turcs, il caressait les plus fanatiques . . . panthéiste avec les *bektadgis*, il professait le matérialisme quand il était dans leur compagnie; et chrétien lorsqu'il s'enivrait avec les Grecs, il buvait à la santé de la bonne Vierge:' *cf.* also i, 273.

⁴ *N. Greece*, iv, 285.

of Cosmas, whose memory he perpetuated by the erection of a monastery to enshrine his remains.¹ His Greek wife was allowed an Orthodox chapel in his palace at Yannina,² and many Christian churches were built by his permission,³ a concession exceptional, if not illegal, in his time: on the other hand, he is said never to have built a mosque.⁴ In his courts Christians were rather favoured than otherwise.⁵ Here, as in his alliance with the Bektashi, which was of the nature of a compact in the interest of both parties, we must not lose sight of the political motive: to conciliate the Christians was to bid for the support of an important minority which might otherwise give trouble.

So much for Ali's connexion with the Bektashi and the activities of the latter in Yannina itself. Leake, who already recognized the Pasha's predilection for the Bektashi, noted in Thessaly, then one of his dependencies, *tekkes* at Trikkala and at Aidinli (near Agia) built at his expense.⁶ Kruya, which was in the *pashalik* of Skutari and is now the great stronghold of Bektashism in northern Albania, was for some years the residence of Sheikh Mimi, who had admitted Ali to the order. Mimi's missionary work at Kruya was conspicuously successful. He founded a *tekke* there in 1807, apparently beside an existing (or reputed) saint's grave, but eventually fell a victim to his intrigues against the civil governor.⁷ It is possibly in connexion with this incident that the Pasha of Skutari banished from his capital all Bektashi dervishes as emissaries of Ali.⁸

We have thus direct evidence of Ali's connexion and

¹ Zotos, *loc. cit.*

² Beauchamp, *Vie d'Ali Pacha*, p. 182.

³ Juchereau, *Empire Ottoman*, iii, 65.

⁴ Miller, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 64, but the statement needs modification; cf. Holland, *Travels*, i, 412; Leake, *N. Greece*, i, 152.

⁵ Beauchamp, *loc. cit.*

⁶ Above, p. 534.

⁷ Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 209: cf. 245. See above, p. 550.

⁸ Ippen, *Skutari*, p. 36.

collaboration with the Bektashi in Thessaly, which formed part of his satrapy, and in the province of Skutari outside it. It thus seems probable that the same combination was responsible for much of the recent conversion of the southern (Tosk) Albanians in the districts north of Yannina (Argyrokastro, Premet, Konitza, Leskovik, Kolonia, Koritza), which are at the present day strongly Bektashi.¹ Patsch, speaking of the district of Berat, remarks significantly that all Tosk and Lap Albanians who first converted under Ali Pasha, though they outwardly conform, are in fact but indifferent Mussulmans, caring little for mosques or prayers.²

The claims of the Bektashi to the Christian saint Naum, buried near Koritza, may possibly be traced to the period and influences of Ali's supremacy. The monastery of S. Naum was rebuilt in 1806,³ and Leake, who visited it in 1809, remarks the special favour shown to it by Ali.⁴ Von Hahn was told in the sixties that the fame of the monastery was relatively recent, and that it was under the official protection of a local Moslem (Bektashi?) family :⁵ the reverence shown by the Turks for S. Naum is mentioned about the time of Ali's death by Walsh.⁶

As to the Sari Saltik-S. Spyridon equation, it occurs first in the Kruya cycle of the Sari Saltik legend, the whole of which is foreign to the earlier version given by Evliya : the adventures of the saint at Kruya may well have been adapted from the original legend for local consumption by Ali's agent there, the missionary Sheikh Mimi. One of Ali's great political ambitions was to add the Ionian islands to his dominions, and especially S. Mavra and Corfu, as being opposite respectively to

¹ This is admitted both by Christians and Bektashi.

² *Berat*, p. 53.

³ H. Gelzer, in *Ath. Mitth.* xxvii, 440.

⁴ *N. Greece*, iv, 149.

⁵ *Drin and Wardar*, p. 108.

⁶ *Constantinople*, ii, 376 (quoted above).

Preveza and Sayada and SS. Quaranta, the ports of his capital Yannina.¹ S. Mavra he nearly succeeded in taking: ² Corfu had been prophetically promised him by a dervish named Sheikh Ali (d. 1817) in whom he implicitly believed.³ The alleged tomb of Sari Saltik would form in Corfu just such a religious bait to his followers as had been provided by the earlier version of the legend at certain points in Christian Europe.⁴

The *tekke* at Kalkandelen⁵ offers a similar example of retrospective legend. It was built, according to information collected on the spot, by a certain Riza Pasha at the instance of a Bektashi dervish named Muharrebe Baba, to whom was revealed at Constantinople (presumably by a vision) the site of the grave of a great Bektashi saint, Sersem Ali, at Kalkandelen. The *tekke* at Kalkandelen now contains amongst others the graves of Sersem Ali and of the two founders, Muharrebe Baba and Riza Pasha. Sersem Ali is supposed to have died in the middle of the sixteenth century,⁶ and has, beyond this reputed grave, no connexion with Albania. Riza Pasha's tomb is dated A. H. 1238 (= A. D. 1822-3). It thus seems fairly clear that the tomb of Sersem Ali is not authentic, and that the dervish's 'vision' was part of the Bektashi propaganda in Albania. To judge by the date of Riza Pasha's death (the same as that of Ali) the *tekke* may well belong to the series dating from the period of Ali's power.

Both at Kruya and at Kalkandelen fabricated evidence of earlier Bektashi occupation seems to have been made the pretext or justification for the founding of Bektashi

¹ Beauchamp, *Vie d'Ali Pacha*, pp. 163, 194: Holland, *Travels*, i, 405, 450, &c.

² Leake, *N. Greece*, iii, 13. In Leake's time the fort, still called *Tekke*, on the mainland opposite S. Mavra was actually a dervish convent.

³ Ibrahim Manzour, *op. cit.*, p. 234. Sheikh Ali is claimed by the Bektashi.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 433.

⁵ Above, no. xviii.

⁶ Jacob, *Bektaschijje*, p. 27.

tekkes, in the former case by a known emissary of Ali Pasha, in the latter probably independently of his influence. Kalkandelen seems at this period to have been subject with Uskub to hereditary pashas of old standing,¹ of whom Riza was probably one.

Other local pashas in Rumeli were manifestly in touch with the Bektashi movement at about the same date. Hasan Pehlivan Baba, pasha of Rustchuk, founded the *tekke* of Demir Baba, a saint supposed to have lived 'four hundred years ago'.² This *tekke* seems certainly to have been Bektashi, as it suffered under Mahmud II,³ the notorious persecutor of the sect; the pasha himself appears to have been loyal to the Sultan, though his title of 'Baba' seems to indicate that he held a high position in the Bektashi hierarchy. Another contemporary governor who may reasonably be suspected of Bektashi leanings is the notorious Pasvanoglu, whose successful rebellion (1799) against Selim III brought him the pashalik of Vidin.⁴ He seems to have been a strong partisan of the Janissaries (who were backed by the Bektashi) and of the *ancien régime*,⁵ and his fief of Kirja or Kirja Ali, whence his ferocious irregulars, the 'Kirjali' were recruited,⁶ has been in its time an important Bektashi centre as containing the tomb of the saint Said Ali.⁷

¹ Grisebach, *Reise durch Rumelien* (1839), ii, 230 ff.

² Jireček, *Bulgarien*, p. 411; cf. Kanitz, *Bulgarie*, p. 535, for a description and legends of the *tekke*. Pehlivan Baba is mentioned in contemporary history (Jorga, *Gesch. d. Osman. Reiches*, v, 190, &c.) and in legend becomes inextricably involved in the fantastic adventures of the saint of the *tekke*: see above, pp. 296 f. ³ Kanitz, *loc. cit.*

⁴ On Pasvanoglu see Ranke, *Servia*, p. 487; Jorga, *op. cit.* v, 119, &c.

⁵ For the politico-religious combinations of this period see below, pp. 618 ff.

⁶ Most contemporary travellers in Rumeli mention the devastations of the 'Kirjali' bands in the district of Adrianople and elsewhere.

⁷ F. W. H. It would not be surprising to hear that the tomb of Said Ali was 'discovered' by a dervish in Pasvanoglu's time.

In the present connexion the relations of Pasvanoglu with the Greek patriot Rhigas of Pherae (1757-98) have a special interest.¹ Rhigas, inspired by the ideas of the French revolution, was one of the prime movers in a comprehensive conspiracy based on a combination of the 'liberal' (or discontented) elements in the Turkish empire. This conspiracy, which was encouraged by Napoleon, aimed not only at the liberation of the Greeks as such, but at the general emancipation of the sultan's subjects, irrespective of creed or race, from the yoke of a tyrant.

Before this ambitious scheme was inaugurated, while Rhigas was in the service of the hospodar Mavroyenis, it so happened that he received orders to arrest and hand over to his master Pasvanoglu, the future tyrant of Vidin. Rhigas carried out the first part of his instructions but befriended his prisoner and released him secretly, providing him with a disguise. After the death of Mavroyenis (1790), Rhigas made use of this incident to persuade Pasvanoglu into his conspiracy. His arguments, as recorded by his friend Perrhaibos, show the widest toleration in matters of religion. He insists on the Brotherhood of all men, irrespective of creed; it is impertinence for either Mussulman or Christian to insist on the superiority of his own creed, since no man is competent to decide such high matters and all men have one Creator and Father.² This is of course Bektashi doctrine and could make no appeal to an orthodox Mussulman.

Rhigas seems further to have had secret relations with the Albanian *beys*, including Ali Pasha, who, like

¹ The chief source for the life of Rhigas seems to be the *Βιογραφία* by his contemporary and friend Perrhaibos. A summary of his life is given by Sathas, *Νεοελλ. Φιλολογία*, pp. 529 ff: see also the recent pamphlet of Lambros, 'Αποκαλύψεις περι τοῦ μαρτυρίου τοῦ 'Ρήγα: cf. also his 'Ανέκδοτα "Εγγραφα περι 'Ρήγα.

² Quoted from Perrhaibos by Sathas, p. 531.

Pasvanoglu, made considerable, though unsuccessful, efforts to rescue him during his captivity (1798). When we hear that Rhigas carried on his intrigues in Rumeli disguised as a dervish,¹ we suspect some combination with the Bektashi group. Either (which is not impossible²) Rhigas was himself affiliated to the sect and bound by a vow to help a brother Bektashi in trouble, which would explain his early intervention on Pasvanoglu's behalf,³ or at least his conspiracy had some such secret relations with the Bektashi organization as seem recently to have existed between the latter and the Young Turkish party.

Turning back to the Asiatic side of the Aegean, we find no clear evidence of similar combinations between dervish orders and local *bey*s, though they may be suspected. In western Asia Minor, as in European Turkey, the concentration of power in the hands of a few leading families at the end of the eighteenth century has long been remarked. The chief of these families were the Karaosmanoglu, the Ellezoglu, and the Chapanoglu. The dominions of the Karaosmanoglu⁴ included a large portion of the present Aidin (Smyrna) *vilayet*, their capital being at Magnesia, which is only second to Konia as a centre of the Mevlevi order of dervishes;⁵ the territory of the Ellezoglu marched with theirs on the south, occupying the present *sanjak* of Mentesh

¹ A. Kalevras, 'Επιστολαί, p. 8: ὁ Ῥήγας . . . περιῆλθεν ὡς δερβίσης ἀπανταχοῦ τῆς Τουρκίας ὑπὸ τὸ πρόσχημα διδασκάλου τῆς ἠθικῆς καὶ μυστικῶς μὲν ἐδίδασκε τοὺς Ντερέμπεϊδας . . . διὰ τὰ συννεοθηῶσι μετὰ τοῦ Ναπολέοντος ἵνα ὑποστηρίξῃ αὐτοὺς εἰς ἐπανάστασιν τοῦ Σουλτὰν Σελήμη καὶ ἀναδείξῃ αὐτοὺς μικροῦς ἡγεμόνας ἀνεξαρτήτους.

² Cf. above, p. 594.

³ The attempts of Ali, a known Bektashi, and Pasvanoglu to rescue Rhigas may be assigned to the same cause. On the other hand, both may have feared detrimental revelations at his examination.

⁴ For their rise, see below, pp. 597 ff.

⁵ Garnett, *Women of Turkey*, ii, 438. Magnesia was also a Bektashi stronghold down to 1826.

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down to Budrum (Halicarnassus);¹ while the Chapanoglu, farther east, with their capital at Yuzgat, governed an extensive territory, inhabited largely by semi-nomad Turkoman tribes, and including the central *tekke* of the Bektashi, in the *vilayets* of Sivas and Angora. The relations of these semi-independent feudatories were harmonious and their rule strict but enlightened, notably in the treatment of Christians, who thrived conspicuously under all three dynasties.² The power of the three governing families was broken by the centralizing policy of Mahmud II, in spite of their proved loyalty,³ to the great detriment of the country.

It is tempting to suppose that at the back of this harmonious, tolerant, and (for Turkey) stable baronial government, developed simultaneously over large districts of Asia Minor, lay a secret religious organization⁴ with liberal principles such as those of the Mevlevi, or such as Bektashism might have become under more intelligent and far-sighted rulers than Ali Pasha of Yannina.

¹ *Spectateur Oriental*, no. 297 (8 Dec. 1827): cf. Forbin, *Travels*, pp. 20-1.

² This is a commonplace in the case of the Karaosmanoglu (see especially Keppel, *Journey across the Balcan*, ii, 323). For the treatment of Christians by the Ellezoglu see Cockerell, *Travels*, p. 162; W. Turner, *Tour in the Levant*, iii, 10; Tschihatscheff's *Reisen*, ed. Kiepert, p. 23; for the similar tendencies of Turkish *beys* of the Mylasa district, see Koutoulis, in *Ξενοφάνης*, iii, 452: Turner, *op. cit.* iii, 67. For the condition of Christians under the Chapanoglu see Perrot, *Souvenirs*, p. 386: the best account of them is in Kinneir's *Journey through Asia Minor* (pp. 85 ff.).

³ It is noteworthy that in 1808, when Mahmud II came to the throne by the deposition of Mustafa IV (a creature of the Janissary-Bektashi combination), he had the support of the Karaosmanoglu and the Chapanoglu (*Times*, Nov. 15, 1808; cf. Juchereau, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* ii, 247).

⁴ Such a combination certainly existed among the Turkomans of the Angora district in the fourteenth century (Karabashek, in *Num. Zeit.* 1877, p. 213; cf. Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 214).

THE RISE OF THE KARAOSMANOGLU †

‘ We Moslem little reck of blood
 But yet the line of Karasman
 Unchanged, unchangeable hath stood
 First of the bold Timariot bands
 That won and well can keep their lands.’

BYRON, *Bride of Abydos* (1813), vii.

§ I

THE Karaosmanoglu dynasty, which during the eighteenth century and part of the nineteenth ruled the province of Sarukhan (Magnesia) in Asia Minor, stands almost alone in Turkish history as an example of a family which not only won and retained a wide local supremacy, but was conspicuous for family solidarity and wise administration throughout its tenure of power. Of the numerous pretenders to independence who disputed the sultans’ sway during the centuries in question, few were able to make their claims hereditary, and none could justly boast, as could the Karaosmanoglu, that their administration had raised their dominions from poverty and disorder to a degree of prosperity unknown probably since the Roman empire.

The history, real and mythical, of this great Turkish family affords an interesting illustration of the growth of folk-tradition and its relation to historical fact, since we have here the rare advantage of being able to compare and contrast fact and fiction, and even to trace the growth of the myth. Less than a hundred and fifty years from the rise of the family, which is not extinct at the present day, its real origin is completely obscured; its actual history is supplanted by a purely legendary set of incidents and associations by which the family gains in prestige no less than in antiquity.

† Reprinted from *B.S.A.* xix, 198 ff.

§ 2

Historically the foundations of the Karaosmanoglu fortunes were laid about the close of the seventeenth century by successful brigandage on a large scale. Heymann, a pastor of the Dutch community at Smyrna, visited Aidin probably in 1707¹ and there found the original Karaosmanoglu established as governor of the province. 'This Pacha', he says, 'is called *Osman Ouglou*, and is the same who some years since made all Natolia tremble, as captain of a corps of Banditti, consisting of four thousand horsemen, with which he over-run the country, raising contributions from persons of fortune, and committing all manner of violences. The Grand Signior, however, at length, pardoned him, possibly more out of fear, than any other motive, and conferred on him this post which is very considerable.'² The same story with minor variations and a slightly more heroic setting is told by Choiseul-Gouffier. 'About sixty years ago' Kara Osman, a private soldier in the service of a local *agha*, formed an army and a party, seized Pergamon, and eventually the whole province. Despite his success he was executed by the Sultan, but his wealth was so used by his sons as to assure the permanence of the dynasty, and his brother bought the *aghalik* of Pergamon.³

The local variation in these two stories need not surprise us. Every brigand on a large scale in this district made it his aim to 'hold up' the two great

¹ For the difficulty of dating exactly incidents mentioned in Heymann's travels owing to the fusion of two later travellers' accounts with his own, see the note in Vivien de S. Martin's bibliography of Asia Minor, no. 91 (in *Asie Mineure*, ii) and Jöcher's *Gelehrtenlexikon*, *Fortsetz. s. v.* He appears from G. Cuper's *Lettres* to have been pastor at Smyrna by 1706 (p. 362) and as late as 1717 (p. 398): he was at Damascus in 1708 (p. 194).

² Egmont and Heymann, *Travels* (London, 1759), i, 132: the passage is quoted in full by Arundell, *Asia Minor*, ii, 220.

³ *Voyage Pittoresque*, ii (1809), p. 37: he travelled in 1776.

caravan-routes leading to Smyrna—the valleys of the Hermus and the Maeander—using as his base (and if necessary his refuge) the mountains between them. It is with the Hermus valley that the Karaosmanoglu were chiefly associated, Magnesia being their capital and Pergamon the second town of their district. The discrepancy as to the fate of the first Karaosmanoglu is possibly due to a confusion on the part of Choiseul-Gouffier, or his informant, between the rebellion of Karaosmanoglu and that of Gedik Mohammed Pasha in 1689.¹

The discrepancy in date is hardly more serious, since neither authority is at all precise.² In any case we can place the rise of the first Karaosmanoglu pretty certainly about 1697. Edmund Chishull, travelling through Magnesia in 1699, mentions prisoners sent into that town by ‘Osmanogli’ as a matter of course,³ implying that he had been established in the district (at Pergamon?)⁴ for some time. Contemporary newsletters from Turkey speak of a serious rebellion in Asia Minor during 1696 and 1697, when the war on the European frontier made it impossible for the Porte to detach troops to Asia Minor. In the latter year the troubles were to some extent appeased by giving the leader of the rebels, who is never mentioned by name, a command at the front.⁵ The war ended with the peace of

¹ For this see Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xii, 274–6; Rycaut, *Hist. of the Turks*, s.a. 1689, iii, 333 ff.; Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, II, ii, 90.

² Egmont’s book, which did not appear till 1757, may be Choiseul-Gouffier’s source.

³ *Travels*, p. 9.

⁴ The inhabitants of Pergamon were notorious for brigandage and the town was fast declining when Rycaut visited the place (*Greek and Armenian Churches*, p. 65). To employ an old brigand as policeman is no strange thing even in modern Turkey.

⁵ *Mercure Historique*, 1697₂₂, p. 264: the troubles in Asia Minor are mentioned in various letters between June 1696 and July 1697. Cf. also Rycaut’s *Hist. of the Turks*, iii, 548 f.; Hammer-Hellert, xii, 397 (rebellion quelled in 1695).

Carlowitz in 1699, the year in which Chishull at Magnesia speaks of 'Osmanogli'.

§ 3

In 1671, probably before the name of Karaosmanoglu had been heard of, Thomas Smith, then chaplain at Constantinople, made the tour of the Seven Churches. In a bath-house at Pergamon he saw a large marble vase decorated with a frieze of horsemen in relief.¹ This vase was eventually (1837) acquired by the French government² and is now in the Louvre.³ A few years before its transference (1828) it was seen, still in the bath-house, by MacFarlane, who was told the following story by the owner of the bath :

'The tradition in my family states, that our ancestor, to whom we are indebted for this vase, found five others with it : each contained a quantity of coins in gold and silver, amounting together to an immense sum. According to our laws, all hidden treasures thus found in the earth, belong of right to the Sultan, and consequently my ancestor, like an honest man and a good Osmanli, remitted into the hands of government an exact account of all that he had so discovered. Instructions came from Stamboul, that he was to deliver up five of the vases, and keep the sixth for himself ; and as in the donation of the sixth vase, no mention had been made of the coins, he took also those of the sixth and added them to the rest. The sultan, who intended he should keep the treasure with the vase, was so pleased at this, that he gave my ancestor a small estate, and the office, to be transmitted moreover to his successors, of collecting the government tithe on the grain growth in a neighbouring district. Now if I were to make away with this vase, it would be destroying a bond by which I hold my little estate and privileges.'⁴

¹ *Septem Ecclesiarum Notitia*, p. 15. The vase seems to have been discovered a year earlier by Rycaut (*cf.* Spon's *Voyage*, i, 261) ; for the date of Rycaut's journey see my footnote in *B.S.A.* xii, 210.

² Texier, *Asie Mineure*, ii, 232.

³ Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire*, i, 78 : *Cat. Som. des Marbres*, 2905.

⁴ C. MacFarlane, *Constantinople in 1828*, i, 311. Turner (*Tour in*

This tale is already suspiciously like folk-lore in some details. The Pergamon vase, for instance, which measures 1·67 m. in diameter, is hardly a likely receptacle for buried treasure, though no treasure story is too extravagant to gain credence in the Levant. The just prince and the virtuous subject are also, unhappily, commoner figures in myth than in real life.

The final edition of the story, told, and half believed, by Texier on the authority of the owner of the bath, has advanced much farther on the same road. It not only supplies the name of the sultan concerned, but explains the origin of the greatness of the Karaosmanoglu by means of the treasure.

‘The prince of Karassi, whose seat was at Pergamon,’ runs Texier’s version, ‘had been killed and dispossessed of Pergamon by Sultan Orkhan [1326–60], but at this period the Ottoman Sultans could not easily annihilate the great feudatories of the growing empire. One of the descendants of Karassi, named Kara Osman, was living in retirement on a fief in the neighbourhood of Pergamon (where his family had still partisans) when he discovered three marble vases of colossal dimensions, filled, the story goes, with gold pieces. Murad I [1360–89] was then on the throne. Kara Osman sent the two largest vases to the Sultan, who gave him in return the fief of Pergamon. This is the origin of the Karaosmanoglou who down to recent times governed the pashaliks of Pergamon and Guzel-hisar. The two vases of the Sultan were without ornament : they were deposited in the mosque of S. Sophia at Constantinople where I have seen them. . . . Their height is a little above 1·80 m. The third vase, being ornamented with human figures and animals which are forbidden to Islam, could not be put to a religious use. Kara Osman gave it to one of his most faithful servants

the Levant, iii, 277) was told that seven vases full of money had been found : the sultan took six and left the seventh to the owner of the bath as an heirloom. For the theme cf. Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folk-lore de Constantinople*, p. 182, where three marble vases of treasure are said to have been found at Constantinople in the early nineteenth century ; the sultan took two, the finder the third ; all are in the mosque built by the finder.

with the bath in which it was placed, and it was for his descendants a title of possession.¹

This final version shows the illogical syncretism of folk-tradition at work : it connects, without prejudice to the owner of the bath, the remarkable local family with the remarkable vase at Pergamon and with the two remarkable, but quite dissimilar, vases at S. Sophia.

In actual fact, however, the Pergamon vase is undoubtedly Hellenistic ; the S. Sophia vases have been declared Byzantine by Lethaby² and are said by Hafiz Husain³ to have been given by Murad III (1574-95). The latter, like many Turkish sultans, resided at Magnesia before he came to the throne ; but the connexion between the Pergamon vase and the S. Sophia vases does not appear before Texier brought his tale to Constantinople.⁴

As to the name of the sultan, all sultans in Anatolian

¹ *Asie Mineure*, ii, 231. A similar story placing the discovery of the vases ' shortly after the fall of Constantinople ' (Turkish for ' a very long while ago ') was told of an ancestor of his own by ' a distinguished Turk ' to von Prokesch-Osten in 1826 (*Denkwürdigkeiten*, iii, 327). A variant as regards the vases (four found, one of which is at Pergamon, one in S. Sophia, one at Brusa) is given by C. B. Elliott (1838, *Travels*, ii, 128).

² *S. Sophia*, p. 84 : the vases should be compared with the jars called *zir* made at Cairo for the purposes of ablution (Migeon, *Art Musulman*, ii, 69) and furnished, like those at S. Sophia, with taps in the lower part. This form, used in Byzantine times, as Lethaby's parallels show, for ablutions and called *κολύμβιον* (Neale, *E. Church*, i, 214), is quite different from that of the Pergamon vase, which in its method of use was probably analogous to the *kraters* on high stands seen on some *stelae* of the ' funeral banquet ' type (e.g. the Thasian *stèle* described by Rodenwaldt in *Jahrbuch*, xxviii, pl. 26.)

³ *Jardin des Mosquées* (eighteenth century), tr. Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii, 1, where the word given is *bassin*. Paspates (*Βυζ. Μελέται*, p. 343), who had already the Texier tradition, translates *πίθου*. The vases at S. Sophia are first noticed, according to Lethaby, in 1595.

⁴ It is mentioned by Paspates (*loc. cit.*) and Fossati (*ap. Lethaby, loc. cit.*) who repaired S. Sophia in 1847.

tradition tend to be named Murad (except in the radius of Konia, where they are Ala-ed-din) on account of the impression made by Murad IV's (1623-40) marches through Asia Minor to his Persian wars.¹ In the district of Sarukhan the name has a double chance, since the two royal mosques at Magnesia were built by Murad III² and bear his name.

Murad *the first* (1360-89) is probably preferred by Texier as the hero of the story on account of his date, which is not far removed from that of the extinction of the house of Karasi (c. 1355). The likeness between the name of Kara Osman and that of the princely house of Karaman has resulted in the false form Karasman (from which to Karasi is an easy step), and has deceived Byron and other writers into crediting the Karaosmanoglu family with extreme antiquity. But the founder of the family, as we have seen, was plain Osmanoglu and still alive in 1699.

When the final version of the story comes to us the Karaosmanoglu were no longer a reigning house, having been deprived of their power by the reforming sultan Mahmud II: had the dynasty lasted a few years longer, the treasure-jars might have figured as the deposit of one of their ancestors in the time of the 'idolaters before Constantine' or even in the still more remote period of the 'Genoese'.³

¹ For him (probably) at Aleppo, cf. Cahun, *Excursions sur les Bords de l'Euphrate*, p. 147. So, too, Ibrahim Pasha has become a mythological hero since his occupation of Cilicia in the thirties: he is now held responsible for 'almost every building or work of any consequence along the road', in the neighbourhood of the Cilician Gates (Ramsay, in *Geog. Journ.* xxii (1903), p. 371, &c.). S. Peter is the inevitable founder of churches (Gregorovius, *Wanderjahre*, v, 136).

² Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* ii, 315; Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, iii, 537.

³ The 'Jineviz' (lit. 'Genoese') in Turkish folk-legend, owing probably to their apparent connexion with the *jinn*, are what the generations before the Trojan war were to the Greeks.

THE GIRDING OF THE SULTAN

INTRODUCTORY

NO ceremonial of the Turkish court makes a stronger appeal to the imagination than the Girding of the Sultan at Eyyub, which takes the place of our coronation. The scene of the ceremony is for Moslems the holiest spot in Constantinople: the Mosque of Eyyub, set amongst ancient cypresses on the shore of the Golden Horn, marks the grave of an Arab warrior-saint, revealed, so legend says, while the army of Mohammed the Conqueror, not yet victorious, still camped about the beleaguered city. To these traditions are added others of a yet older past which link the history of the Ottomans with that of their forerunners, the Seljuks of Rum. From Konia, capital of Rum, comes the venerated Sheikh of the Mevlevi ('dancing') dervishes—the supreme head of his order, and hereditary successor of its founder—who plays the chief part in the investiture of the Sultan; it is he who, before the tomb-chamber of the saint, girds about the new monarch the sword with which Osman, first of the royal line which bears his name, was invested by his liege-lord of Konia. Such are the memories the ceremony of the Girding is meant to keep alive.

§ I. *The Traditional Origin of the Girding Ceremony*

It is the purpose of the present paper to investigate the latter part of the tradition—the connexion of the ceremony of the Girding with the Seljuk sultans of Rum and especially the privilege of the Konia sheikhs.

¹ This chapter appeared in an inferior form in *B.S.A.* xix, 208 ff.

The traditions popularly current in our own day are given as follows by Sir Charles Eliot :

‘When Osman was beginning his conquests, and had taken Broussa and other towns from the Greeks, he sent a polite embassy to Sultan Alau-’d-Din, who was then the most considerable Turkish sovereign in Asia, to explain his proceedings and his desire to remain on good terms with the greatest chieftain of his race. Alau-’d-Din replied that he had no objection to the Osmanlis taking from the Greeks whatever they could get, and, as a proof of his goodwill, sent the celebrated Jelalu-’d-Din [Founder of the Mevlevi Order of dervishes] to give Osman a sword of honour, a ceremony slightly suggesting the investiture of a vassal. But this story presents difficulties. According to the ordinary chronology, Alau-’d-Din reigned from 1219 to 1236; Jelalu-’d-Din was born in 1202 and died in 1273; Osman reigned from 1288 to 1328.’¹

We need not lay too much stress on the anachronisms implied by the association of Jelal-ed-din with Osman, since later Superiors of the Mevlevi order have borne their founder’s name: the difficulty is moreover avoided in the Konia version of the story set down by Cuinet. According to this, Sultan Ala-ed-din the *third* of Konia during his lifetime chose as his successor the Ottoman chieftain Ertoghrul, who predeceased him. At the death of Ala-ed-din (1307) the then Sheikh of the Mevlevi wrote as his representative to Osman, the successor of Ertoghrul, to come and assume the government. Osman, being busy fighting, allowed the Sheikh to represent him at Konia till a more convenient season, and was eventually invested by the Sheikh in the traditional way.²

This picturesque story is unfortunately quite without historical basis. It was evidently devised to represent the acquisition of Karamania by the Ottomans as a peaceful and legitimate succession dating back to the earliest period of Ottoman power, whereas in fact the

¹ *Turkey in Europe*, p. 183. ² Cuinet, *Turquie d’Asie*, i, 828 f.

province in question was added to their dominions by conquest from the Karamanoglu, successors of the Seljuk dynasty, under Bayezid I in 1392.¹ At the same time the part taken by the Sheikh in the story is calculated to enhance the prestige of the Mevlevi order.

Two historical facts have been used in the fabrication of the legend. (1) When Bayezid I, the actual conqueror of Karamania, had been officially recognized as sultan of Rum by the caliph, he is said to have granted the privilege of girding on his sword when he went to war to his son-in-law Sheikh Bokhara, surnamed Emir Sultan.² Emir Sultan is said to be one of the titles of the Sheikh of the Mevlevi.³ (2) In 1435, when the vassal prince of Karamania revolted and Konia was taken by Murad II, the eventual agreement was signed on behalf of the prince, who had fled to Cilicia, by the then Sheikh of the Mevlevi, who bore the name of the founder of the Order, his ancestor, Jelal-ed-din.⁴

But popular imagination carries the tradition still farther. The Sheikh of the Mevlevi, who in history represents the Karamanian prince of Konia, becomes in tradition first the legitimate successor by blood of the Seljuk dynasty⁵ and finally the real caliph! Sir Charles Eliot was once told that 'when the Chelebi [*i.e.* the Sheikh of the Konia Mevlevi] proceeds to Constantinople to gird on the sword, he does not go farther than Scutari himself . . . because, if he were to set foot in Constantinople, he would, *ipso facto*, become Sultan and Caliph.'⁶ The sultans of Konia had of course no

¹ Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 308.

² *Ibid.* i, 321-3: Hammer already connects this episode with the later Girding ceremony.

³ *Ibid.* i, 40.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii, 287 f. and note (491).

⁵ Cuinet, *loc. cit.*; Byzantios, *Κωνσταντινούπολις*, iii, 575, quoted below; a garbled version in [Blunt] *People of Turkey*, ii, 267.

⁶ *Turkey in Europe*, pp. 183 f.; cf. Slade, *Travels in Turkey*, p. 376, quoted below, p. 615: cf. Melek Hanum, *Trente Ans dans les Harems*,

pretensions to the Caliphate, but—and this may be the exiguous foundation of the legend—Ala-ed-din I in 1219 received the title of representative of the Caliph in Rum.¹

The whole of this cycle of legend is fictitious : it was evidently composed to increase the prestige of the Ottoman house in Asia Minor, where Ala-ed-din is still a popular hero of legend, and of the Mevlevi order in Constantinople. It is based first and foremost on the traditional right of the Mevlevi Sheikh to gird the new sultan with the so-called sword of Osman. Now this traditional right is entirely unknown to writers on Turkish history and institutions so recent and so thorough as d'Ohsson and von Hammer. Both these authorities state that the girding ceremony was performed by the Mufti assisted by the Chief of the Emirs or Descendants of the Prophet (*Nakib-el-Ashraf*) and the Esquire of the Sultan (*Silibdar*). Certain high officials, the two *Kazis*, the Vizir, and the Agha of Janissaries, were admitted to the almost secret ceremony.² When and how did the Sheikh of the Mevlevi acquire his privilege?

§ 2. *The History of the Girding Ceremony*

We must first attempt to investigate the history as opposed to the legend of the Girding ceremony. The mosque of Eyyub, where it takes place, commemorates the discovery of the grave of the Arab *ghazi* Eyyub who fell before the walls of Constantinople in the siege of 670. His tomb was miraculously revealed to the sheikh Ak-Shems-ed-din, according to some writers actually during the Turkish siege of 1453 : the best authorities,

p. 181. Stern (*Die Moderne Türkei*, p. 118) says that Abdul Hamid suspected the Chelebi as a possible rival and had him spied upon.

¹ Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, p. 40.

² D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, ii, 258, 277, iii, 125 ; von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 484 and 486 (official account of the accession of Suleiman II in 1687).

however, place the discovery after the siege.¹ The mosque, built by Mohammed the Conqueror, bears the date 1458.² According to the tradition current in d'Ohsson's time, Sultan Mohammed II instituted the ceremony of the Girding and was himself girded by Ak-Shems-ed-din, the discoverer of the tomb, who held no official position but was simply a greatly venerated mystic in the immediate *entourage* of the Conqueror.³ The first contemporary mention I can find of Eyyub in connexion with the accession of a sultan is Gerlach's reference to it at the time of the accession of Murad III (1574), who is said to have visited the mosque *more maiorum*: the Girding is not mentioned.⁴ On general grounds it seems probable that the ceremony was a counterpart of the Girding of Bayezid I, *i.e.* that it commemorated the recognition of Mohammed II's new position by the Caliph. For this there is a still earlier precedent in the girding of Melik Mensur, sultan of Egypt, on his accession in 1342 by the Caliph Ahmed IX.⁵ The extraordinary importance attached by Mohammedans generally to the capture of Constantinople, owing to the traditional *dictum* of the Prophet, is well known.⁶

Girding as a symbolic rite of investiture seems to be of very ancient origin in the East. The *pirs*, or traditional patrons, of Turkish trade-guilds are all said to have been appointed in this way by famous saints,⁷ and till recently apprentices were girded as the outward

¹ See fully below, p. 715.

² *Jardin des Mosquées* in Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii, 57.

³ D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, i, 305. ⁴ *Ap. Crusius, Turco-Graecia*, p. 67.

⁵ D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, i, 305. Similarly, Toghrul Beg, grandson of Seljuk, is said to have been girded with two swords by the Caliph, when he received from the latter the title of Emir of Emirs in recognition of his conquests (Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 13). *Cf.* the Tatar khans of the Crimea, who also were girt with a sword at their investiture (Hammer-Hellert, *op. cit.* xii, 145).

⁶ Hammer-Hellert, *op. cit.* ii, 393 f. : *cf.* the inscription in S. Sophia's given in *Museum Worsleyanum*, ii, 50. ⁷ Evliya, *Travels*, I, ii, 94.

symbol of their admission to the degree of master.¹ Girding plays a similar part in the admission of novices to dervish orders.²

It seems at least certain that the Girding ceremony was by the seventeenth century a regular part of the sultans' investiture, and the official historians down to d'Ohsson and von Hammer, as we have seen, regularly assign its performance to the Mufti, with the assistance of the *Nakib* and the *Silibdar*.³

The ceremony was performed in the open air on a platform supported by marble pillars standing in the middle of the inner court between the mosque and the tomb of the saint.⁴ The mosque and its surroundings were of extraordinary sanctity and till recently inaccessible at any time to 'Franks'. Very few persons, even of the officials, are admitted to the Girding ceremony. As to the sword used in the ceremony, it is regularly spoken of as the Sword of the Prophet.⁵ But among the official relics of the Prophet at Constantinople⁶ a

¹ W. Turner, *Tour in the Levant*, iii, 217; Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, ii, 240.

² Evliya, *op. cit.* I, ii, 104. Brides and young men are girt by their fathers according to Melek Hanum, *Trente Ans dans les Harems d'Orient*, p. 271.

³ For the Mufti as the ordinary protagonist see Sandys (1610), *Travels*, p. 29; Du Loir, *Voyages*, p. 64; d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, iv, 463; Wheler, *Journey into Greece*, p. 200; Veryard (1701), *Choice Remarks*, p. 346; Tournefort, *Voyage*, letter xi; Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, II, ii, 128.

⁴ Sandys, *loc. cit.*; Du Loir, *loc. cit.* The Girding at the present day takes place in the court opposite the main door of the mosque and in front of the tomb-chamber.

⁵ Von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 484; Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xvi, 6; de la Mottraye, cited below, p. 611, n. 2; Dallaway (1794-6), *Constantinople*, p. 118. Evliya (*Travels*, I, i, 120) says that Murad IV was girded in 1623 with two swords, those of the Prophet and of Sultan Selim, adding that 'no monarch was ever girt in this manner'.

⁶ These, which comprise the standard, mantle, teeth, beard, and footprint, are described by d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, i, 261: the footprint

sword is never mentioned. We may venture a guess that the sword at Eyyub was originally attributed to another Mohammed, the Conqueror himself.¹

§ 3. *The Intrusion of the Mevlevi*

In spite of the unanimity of the historians there have been occasions when the Girding ceremony was not performed by the Mufti and his assistants the *Nakib* and the *Silibdar*. The first hint of the intrusion of the Mevlevi is the tradition recorded by Rycaut :

‘ Ottoman, first of the Mahommedan kings . . . out of devotion to their [the Mevlevi’s] Religion once placed their Superiour in his Royal Throne, because having been his Tutour, and he who girted on his Sword (which is the principal Ceremony of Coronation) he granted him and his Successours ample Authority and Rule over all others of the same Profession.’²

The reigning sultan during the whole of Rycaut’s residence in Turkey was Mohammed IV (1648–87). There are indications that the Mevlevi were influential at the court of the preceding sultan, Ibrahim (1640–8),³ who was deposed in favour of his son by a plot, in which the Mufti, the Agha of the Janissaries, and the Vizir (‘Mevlevi Dervish’ Mohammed)⁴ were all implicated. At the investiture of Mohammed IV, a child of six, the Vizir marched in the procession to Eyyub in the habit of the Mevlevi order.⁵ Many highly placed officials were at this period affiliated to the Mevlevi. It is at least possible that some political combination turning

was deposited at Eyyub by Sultan Mahmud I (*Jardin des Mosquées* in Hammer-Hellert, *op. cit.* xviii, 57), the rest are kept in the old Seraglio.

¹ For a similar confusion between the two Mohammeds see above, p. 186.

² *Ottoman Empire*, p. 67 : copied (?) by Le Bruyn, *Voyage*, i, 390.

³ Monconys, *Voyages*, i, 390 : ‘ Nous vismes passer les Deruis avec leur Superieur monté sur vn cheual blanc, qui alloient danser deuant le Grand Seigneur qui les enuoyait querir souuent le soir.’

⁴ Vizir 1648–9 (Evliya, I, ii, 152).

⁵ Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* x, 187.

on 'Dervish Mohammed's' support secured to the order in 1648 the privilege of the Girding of the sultan.

Half a century later, and again after an abnormal accession, appears a third competitor for the privilege of Girding. In 1703 Ahmed III came to the throne owing to a rebellion of the Janissaries, directed chiefly against the Mufti and resulting in his deposition in favour of a creature of the Janissaries. According to the official account the new sultan was girded by the *Silibdar*, the *Nakib*, and the Agha of the Janissaries.¹ Here the exceptional circumstances of Ahmed's succession go far to explain the latter officer's presence at the ceremony. But de la Mottraye's version, derived, as he tells us, from a renegade present by special favour at the ceremony, shows that it was the Agha of Janissaries who played the chief part.² When we remember that the Janissaries were at this date already closely, and even officially, connected with the Bektashi order of dervishes,³ we suspect an attempt on the part of this order

¹ Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xiii, 135. Ahmed's predecessor, Mustafa II (1695), was girded according to Cantimir (ii, 242) by the 'Sheikh of the Jami (Mosque)', probably a mistake for the Sheikh-Islam or Mufti.

² *Travels*, i, 246, cf. p. 247: 'They keep in it [the mosque of Eyyub] an old Sabre, which (they say) was *Mahomet's* . . . the Ceremony of the Coronation consists particularly in girding this Sabre about the Emperor; and the *Turks* say, instead of crowning, girding the Sabre of the Prophet: 'tis the Office and Privilege of the *Adgi Becktasse*, who ought to be (according to some *Turks*) always a Descendant of that *Yup*: for *Job* [read "Eyyub or *Job*"], who by some Glorious Action deserv'd the Sirname of the Father of the Janizaries.' The French text (*Voyages*, La Haye, 1727, i, 334) adds some details: 'Les *Turcs*, au lieu de couronner, disent, *ceindre le Sabre*. Ce Sabre de *Mahomet* est une vieille sorte d'armes *Arabes*. L'*Adgi Bectasse*, qui en fait l'office, est, dit-on, un descendant d'*Eiub* ou *Job*, qui selon les *Annales* ou la Tradition des *Turcs*, étoit un grand Capitaine & un zélé *Musulman*.' 'Adgi Bectasse' is of course Haji Bektash, on whom see above, pp. 488 ff. The passage on the following page of de la Mottraye shows that the Mufti was on this occasion also present.

³ See especially Rycaut, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 65.

to seize the privilege and prestige of girding the sultans,¹ and possibly to take possession of the mosque of Eyyub. The political significance of this step is obvious. It was a cynical indication that the elevation of sultans was in the power of the Janissary-Bektashi combination, which had been to some extent kept in check during the previous half-century by the strong vizirs of the Kuprulu family.

In the decadent eighteenth century what evidence we have points to the conclusion that a compromise was arrived at with regard to the Girding by the parties concerned; the chief part in the ceremony was given to the *Nakib*,² probably as being a politically insignificant figure. But we have still hints of competition for the honour between the Mevlevi and Bektashi. Carsten Niebuhr, in the reign of Mustafa III, says he was informed by a Mevlevi dervish at Constantinople that, while a member of the latter order had the privilege of *girding* the sultan, the sword itself was attached by a member of the Bektashi.³ The story then told by the Mevlevi was that their founder had actually reigned at Konia as successor to Ala-ed-din, whose daughter he had married, but had been dispossessed by Osman.⁴

¹ I was told by a Bektashi dervish of Constantinople that his sect claimed for their founder, Haji Bektash, the original privilege of girding the sultan and regarded the Mevlevi as usurpers of their right. The mystical importance attaching to the girdle in Bektashi doctrine (Jacob, *Beiträge*, pp. 50 f.) could easily be used in support of their claim.

² This is stated of the accessions of Mahmud I in 1730 (Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xiv, 235), Osman III in 1754 (Hammer-Hellert, *op. cit.* xv, 272; d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, iii, 125), and Mustafa III in 1757 (Hammer-Hellert, xvi, 5-6: both Mufti and *Nakib* are here mentioned). It is the *Nakib* alone who seems to be the recognized protagonist at the end of the century (Juchereau, *Révol. de Constantinople*, i, 252; *Emp. Ott.* ii, 238).

³ *Reisebeschreibung*, iii, 116: the symbolism would appear to be that the Mevlevi consecrated the ruler and the Janissaries conferred on him the command of the Ottoman army.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 115: this was told Niebuhr at Konia.

The century closes with the reign of Selim III (1788 to 1807), notable for the sultan's vigorous attempts at reform, especially army reform, which excited the jealous hostility of the Janissaries. In 1807 this hostility found vent and Mustafa IV was placed on the throne by a Janissary rising. The revolution was engineered on their own confession by the Bektashi sect.¹ Mustafa was deposed in the following year by a counter-revolution, which brought to the throne Mahmud II, a reformer like his cousin Selim.

It is about this date that we begin again to hear from unofficial sources of the Girding as the exclusive and old-established privilege of the Mevlevi Sheikhs. Already in the reign of Selim III we find current at Constantinople a form of the modern legend. The sword is girded, according to Comidas, by the deputy of the Chief of the Mevlevi dervishes, called Mollah Hunkiar, who resides in Konia and *as a descendant of Ala-ed-din* has the privilege of investing the Ottoman sultans. 'When the Deputy of the Mollah Hunkiar is not in Constantinople, his office is performed by the *Nakib*.'² The last sentence interprets favourably to the Mevlevi the intrusion of the *Nakib* at recent accessions, and perhaps implies that the sultan then reigning (Selim III) was not girded by the Sheikh of the Mevlevi though the Order had asserted its claims.³

¹ Assad Efendi, *Destr. des Janissaires*, p. 305.

² Comidas, *Decr. di Costant.* p. 43: this is evidently the source of Byzantios, *Κωνσταντινούπολις*, iii (1869), p. 575, who elsewhere (i, 602) says the ceremony was performed by the Mufti.

³ In an exactly similar way we find a Mevlevi legend associating their Order with the Janissaries just before the latter began their official connexion with the Bektashi (1591, d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, iii, 325 f.: 'L'institutione della beretta Uschiuff (la qual' è ben nota frà i Capi de' Janizzari) è stata inventata da Suleiman Bassa Guerriero Conquistatore de Bullair, e fù portata per segno di grand' amore e divotione, che portavano à San Gelladino Greco' [Jelal-ed-din Rumi, the founder of the Mevlevi]. This is the version given by Saad-ed-din (tr. Bratutti,

The Girding of Mahmud II in 1808 was accompanied by an innovation which caused great comment at the time. The Vizir, the same Bairakdar who had put the new sultan on his throne, marched in the procession with a guard of three hundred well-armed Albanians, though the custom was that no arms should be borne.¹ As to the ceremony itself many sources point to its having been performed by the Sheikh of the Mevlevi instead of by the Mufti: the anomaly mentioned above may have been a precautionary measure in view of a possible riot.

Many contemporary authorities state or imply that Mahmud II was girded by the Mevlevi Sheikh. Andréossi, who as ambassador at Constantinople from 1812 i, 40: cf. W. Seaman, *Orchan*, p. 27, cf. p. 77) of a legend connecting Suleiman Pasha, son of Orkhan, with the Mevlevi, given also with slight variations by d'Ohsson (*Tableau*, ii, 313) and von Hammer (*Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 210). For the likeness between the *uskiuff* as worn by the Janissaries and the felt cap of the Mevlevi see d'Ohsson (*loc. cit.*) and C. White (*Constantinople*, iii, 354). The Bektashi, on the other hand, connected the peculiar headdress of the Janissaries with the blessing of the new troops by their own founder, Haji Bektash (Jacob, *Beiträge*, p. 3, &c.); of this legend I find the earliest mention in Leunclavius (*Annales*, p. 313 P. s.a. 1328) just before the Bektashi were officially quartered in the barracks of the Janissaries. Similarly, the Mevlevi legend that Ertoghrul visited Jelal-ed-din at Konia and recommended his son Osman to the saint's prayers (Browne (1802) in Walpole's *Travels*, p. 121; a variant version substituting Suleiman Pasha for Osman in d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, ii, 312) corresponds to the Bektashi legend that Orkhan brought his new levies to be blessed by Haji Bektash. The detail of this legend, which connects the flap on the headdress of the Janissaries with the sleeve of the saint who blessed them, is again paralleled by a Mevlevi tradition referring the same peculiarity in the headdress of court officials to the blessing of Orkhan by their founder (von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung* ii, 409). All these legends alike seem aetiological inventions designed to increase the prestige of the orders concerned and sometimes to pave their way to a new claim.

¹ Jouannin, *Turquie*, p. 379. Armed janissaries had escorted Mahmud I in the same way at his accession in 1730, which also was due to a Janissary rising (Perry, *View of the Levant*, p. 80).

till 1814 had every opportunity of knowing the truth, without referring to the Girding of Mahmud II in particular, represents the Mevlevi Sheikh as the regular protagonist in the ceremony.¹ Von Hammer, knowing the passage in Andréossi, categorically denies his statement,² evidently on the authority of d'Ohsson and earlier writers. But Andréossi is confirmed by Frankland³ (1827-8) on the authority of his landlord, who was in service for fourteen years in the Seraglio, by Marmont⁴ (1834), by Texier (1834),⁵ by Pardoe,⁶ and by Slade (1827-8), who is so circumstantial as to be worth quoting in full. The passage runs as follows :

'The investiture (with the Sword of Othman) is given by the Scheick of the Mevlevi Dervishes, called Mollah Hunkiar, who resides at Cogni, enjoying the office by right of his family, which, as being descended collaterally from the Abbasides . . . claims spiritual preeminence over the Othmans, no one of whom would be considered reigning de jure in the eyes of the nation unless girded by the Mollah Hunkiar. The present Mollah succeeded to the office in 1803, when two years old, by the death of his father, the old Scheick, and, when seven years old, was brought to Constantinople to invest the present Sultan, Mahmud II.'⁷

¹ *Constantinople* (1828), p. 2, quoted in full by Frankland, *Constantinople*, i, 199: 'Le cinquième ou le sixième jour de son avènement au trône, le Sultan . . . se rend dans la mosquée d'Éioub . . . ; c'est là que le *Cheikh* des *Mevlevi*, ou son délégué, lui ceint le sabre d'Osman.' Pertusier makes the Mufti the protagonist, naming as his assistants the *Nakib* and the Sheikh of the Konia Mevlevi (*Promenades dans Constantinople* (1815), ii, 215).

² *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xvi, 5. Juchereau similarly seems to state that Mahmud was girded by the *Nakib*, but is really only inferring it, as Hammer did, from precedent (*Emp. Ott.* ii, 238, cf. *Révol. de Constantinople*, i, 252).

³ *Constantinople*, i, 147: 'it is customary with the Sultans, upon the ceremony of their inauguration to receive the sword of the Caliphs at the hand of the Sheik Dervish.'

⁴ *Turkish Empire*, p. 118.

⁵ *Asie Mineure*, ii, 144.

⁶ *City of the Sultans*, i, 52.

⁷ Slade, *Travels in Turkey* (2nd ed.), pp. 376 f.

It is evident that by 1828 the girding by the Sheikh of the Mevlevi was regarded as an institution and that the explanatory legend was being developed.

Abdul Mejid, the son and successor of Mahmud, at his accession in 1839, was again girded by the Sheikh of the Mevlevi.¹ The Mufti was induced with great difficulty to be present at the ceremony : he pleaded that the wearing of the fez by the sultan on this occasion was repugnant to his religious scruples.²

From this time onwards the Girding of the sultan seems to have been the acknowledged right of the Mevlevi Sheikh.³

Meanwhile the 'Sword of the Prophet', in accordance with the new legend, has become the 'Sword of the Caliphs'⁴ or more generally the 'Sword of

¹ Lesur, *Annuaire Historique*, 1839, App. p. 182 ; the actual ceremony at Eyyub seems as usual to have been kept very private. Wilkinson (*Modern Egypt*, i, 285) refers to the privilege of the Mevlevi in this reign.

² Juchereau, *Emp. Ott.* iv, 228.

³ The Bektashi have a special tradition regarding the Girding which seems worth putting on record. They claim not only to have been the first holders of the privilege (*cf.* above, p. 612, n. 1) but to have possessed it till the destruction of the Janissaries by Sultan Mahmud II, when it devolved upon the Mevlevi Sheikh, *the latter being a Crypto-Bektashi*. We have seen that the Girding was in the hands of the Bektashi in 1703. It is quite possible that they resumed it at the accession of Mustafa IV, which was entirely due to their intrigues.

⁴ Frankland, *Constantinople*, i, 147, quoted above, p. 615, n. 3. A sword purporting to be the sword of Osman's investiture, kept in the Imperial treasury, is known to Hammer (*Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 105), as is a sword of the caliph Osman (*ibid.* ii, 20). Were these identical? Further, a 'sword of the caliph Omar', kept in the Seraglio, is mentioned by Tavernier (*Rel. of the Seraglio*, 1677, p. 75); Mohammed IV, before undertaking the Cretan War (1645), was twice girt by the Mufti with the sword of Omar 'in anticipation of victory' (Evliya, ii, 76); and I was told in 1913 by one of the *imams* of the Eyyub mosque that the sword now used in the Girding ceremony was that of the caliph Omar. It is possibly the same 'sword of the caliphs' which the later (Mevlevi) tradition has preferred to associate first with the caliph Osman and next, by an easy transition, with the Ottoman sultan of

Osman'.¹ The earliest reference to the story now current of the investiture of Osman by the complimentary present of a sword from his suzerain Ala-ed-din comes from Brusa: this version does not acknowledge the part played in the ceremony by the Mevlevi Sheikh.²

The privilege of the Sheikh of the Mevlevi has, however, lapsed and been resumed even since 1839. Abdul Aziz, a strongly orthodox³ sultan, was girded on 4 July, 1861, by the *Nakib, acting as the representative of the Mevlevi Sheikh*,⁴ an arrangement evidently devised to save the face both of the Ülema and of the Mevlevi.

Murad V, who came to the throne after the deposition of Abdul Aziz in the troubled year 1876, was certainly never invested in the traditional manner.⁵ All preparations were made for the ceremony and procession by the end of May, but the investiture was put off

the same name. The *Times* of July 15, 1861, describing the girding of Abdul Aziz, says: 'The Sultan is girt with the sword of Othman, or one of the other leading champions of the Crescent, for it appears that a choice of sabre is allowed him.'

¹ So in Comtesse Agénor de Gasparin's *Constantinople*, p. 194, in the modern versions cited above, and in Marmont's *Turkish Empire* (pp. 59, 118); also in Baedeker's *Konstantinopel* (1914), p. 219. The first mention of the 'sword of Osman' in this connexion seems to be in Veryard, *Choice Remarks* (1701), p. 346. If the Mevlevi Sheikh, as we have suggested, girded Mohammed IV in 1648, the variation is intelligible.

² Sestini, *Lettere Odeporiche*, i, 110.

³ In this connexion it is interesting to note that Abdul Aziz built a royal mosque in Konia, as did the bigoted Sunni Selim I. The mosque of the latter stands immediately in front of the *tekke* of the Mevlevi. Both foundations were evidently intended as a Sunni counterpoise to the suspected influence of these dervishes, to whose enormous local influence Niebuhr (*Reisebeschreibung*, iii, 118) and others testify.

⁴ *Times*, July 15: *Βυζαντίς*, 20 May (O.S.): Γνωστόν ὅτι τὸ προνόμιον τοῦ περιβάλλειν τὸν νέον Σουλτάνον τὴν σπαθὴν τοῦ Ὁσμὰν κέκτηται οἰκογένειά τις ἐξ Ἰκονίου ἱερὰν ἔχουσα καταγωγὴν, ἧς ὁ ἀντιπρόσωπος Νακουὺν Ἐσρέφ, οὐλεμᾶς ὑψηλοῦ βαθμοῦ, διαμένει ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Ἐγιοῦπ.

⁵ *Times*, 13 Sept.

on the pretext that the Khedive wished to be present. A few days later the sultan underwent an operation.¹ He was deposed on 6 August in favour of Abdul Hamid on the ground of insanity.

Abdul Hamid was girded on 7 September, apparently by the Mevlevi Sheikh ;² the same was certainly the case at the Girding of Mohammed V,³ who was universally admitted to be a member of the Mevlevi order. The details of the ceremony on this occasion attracted some attention on account of the political circumstances which led to the change of rulers. Ramsay's narrative shows that there was no doubt in Constantinople before the ceremony as to who would officiate : even a boatman was well informed on the point.⁴ Nevertheless a Greek writer in 1907,⁵ and Ramsay himself in 1909, looked on the participation of the Mevlevi Sheikh as the revival of an ancient custom which had fallen into abeyance.

§ 4. *Political Combination under Mahmud II*

So far, we have arrived at the conclusions (1) that the privilege of the Mevlevi Sheikh is not an ancient institution but a comparatively recent innovation, and (2) that there is a good deal of evidence to show that it

¹ *Νεολόγος*, June 1, June 23, June 26 (O.S.).

² Cutts, *Christians under the Crescent*, p. 334 ; *Times*, 13 Sept. ; *Νεολόγος*, 27 Aug. The procession is fully described but not the ceremony. The *Times* account says : ' there lives at Konieh an old Sheriff or Imam, the descendant of an ancient sovereign race who waive their rights to the throne in favour of the house of Osman.' The *Νεολόγος* gives the following note : *περιζώννυται τὸ ξίφος ὁ τοῦ ἰσλαμισμοῦ ἀρχηγὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ διαδόχου τῶν σελτσουκίδων τοῦ Ἰκονίου (Μολλᾶ Χουνκιάρ) ὃν ὁ γενάρχης τῶν Ὀσμανίδων ὑπῆρξεν ὑποτελῆς ἡγεμῶν.* This is the later popular legend mentioned by Eliot and Cuinet.

³ Ramsay, *Revolution in Turkey*, p. 202.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 154.

⁵ Antonopoulos, *Μικρὰ Ἀσία* p. 217 : so also I. Valavanis, *Μικρασιατικά* (1891), p. 112.

became regular only after the accession of Mahmud II in 1808. What was the cause of the innovation?

Mahmud II, continuing the policy of Selim III, was pre-eminently a reforming sultan. He aimed particularly at the remodelling of the army, which involved the abolition of the Janissaries. The latter were already hateful to him as responsible for the deposition of Selim, to whom he was attached, and for the death of his own vizir, Bairakdar, who had brought him to the throne. The Janissaries were backed by the great dervish organization of the Bektashi. Mahmud first tried to amalgamate them with his new army, offering a pension to those who refused.¹ These conciliatory tactics proved unsuccessful. In 1814–16 small bodies of Janissaries were being secretly made away with.² By the drastic action of 1826 the sultan rid himself of the Janissaries and crippled the Bektashi organization.³ Any reformer had, further, to reckon with the party of the Mufti and Ulema, which on religious grounds has always been solid for reaction.⁴ The Ulema party stood particularly for the political and legal superiority of Mussulmans to Christians, which in the latter part of his reign Mahmud made some attempt to abolish.⁵ The Mevlevi more than any Mohammedan religious body in Turkey have stood for tolerance and enlightenment:⁶ Mahmud

¹ *Times*, Nov. 15, 1808.

² W. Turner, *Tour in the Levant*, iii, 390 ff., cf. p. 385.

³ See particularly Assad Efendi, *Destr. des Janissaires*, pp. 298 ff.

⁴ For the obstructive policy of the Ulema under Mahmud II see particularly Walsh, *Constantinople*, ii, 300 f.; cf. also H. Southgate, *Travels* (1840), ii, 173, and Rolland, quoted below. Keppel (*Journey across the Balcan*, i, 96 ff.) considers the 'unholy alliance' between the Ulema and Janissaries as of much older standing.

⁵ Ubicini (*Turquie*, i, 447) says that Mahmud was not *outwardly* for reform till 1826, but we have seen that his hatred of the Janissaries can be traced much earlier than its overt manifestation. His action on behalf of the Christians begins after 1830 (Ubicini, ii, 111), resulting in the edict of Gulhane published some months after his death.

⁶ Eliot, *Turkey in Europe*, pp. 185 f. As to their relations with

enlisted them as his allies. By some he was said himself to have been a lay member of their Order,¹ which is not impossible.² Certainly his minister Halid Efendi³ was in close touch with them: it was he who rebuilt the convent of the Mevlevi in Galata,⁴ where his own head was for a time buried.⁵ Further, Halid was an unscrupulous enemy of the Janissary-Bektashi combina-

local Christians, Sir Charles Eliot heard on good authority that during the Armenian massacres of 1895-6 the Christians of Konia owed their immunity largely to the influence of the Mevlevi; this is confirmed by a Greek author (Antonopoulos, *Μικρά Ἀσία*, p. 214). The same was said at the time of the Adana massacres (Ramsay, *Revolution in Turkey*, pp. 202, 207, confirmed to me by Dr. Post of Konia). On the early relations of the Mevlevi with local Christians see above, p. 370 ff. Since 1634 the Order has had an official position with regard to them, since the revenues derived from the *rayah* population of Konia were conferred on them by Murad IV (d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, ii, 309).

¹ Pardoe, *City of the Sultans*, i, 55, ii, 62; J. P. Brown, *Dervishes*, p. 346.

² Abdul Hamid is variously said to have belonged to the Bektashi (Eliot, *Turkey in Europe*, p. 182) and the Rifai (White, in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xi (1908), p. 235, Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey*, p. 149) Orders. The latter seems to be the correct version. The Rifai claim that Abdul Hamid was converted by a dream in which, seeing himself attacked by a snake, he called for help on the founder of the Order. The snake vanished and the Sultan at once sent for a Rifai sheikh and was admitted to the Order. To this circumstance may be attributed his selection of the Rifai Ebul Huda as an adviser (Jacob, *Beiträge*, p. 47, n. 2). I am told by a former consul at Mosul that the Young Turks at the beginning of their régime made an attempt to destroy the tomb of Ahmed Rifai near that place. The Bektashi, on the other hand, I am told on good authority, voted solid for the Young Turks, though Abdul Hamid did not persecute them.

³ Halid Efendi, the *nishanji* of Mahmud, was at the height of his power in 1820 (Ubicini, *op. cit.* ii, 102) and lost his head over the ill-success of the Greek War, which he had advised for purposes of his own. The story of his fall is told in Walsh's *Journey*, pp. 70 ff.; he was overtaken by the Sultan's courier while on his way to seek refuge with the Mevlevi at Konia.

⁴ R. Walsh, *Journey*, p. 70; Burgess, *Greece and the Levant*, ii, 223.

⁵ Pardoe, *op. cit.* i, 53; Frankland, *Constantinople*, i, 133.

tion,¹ and advocated the war with Ali Pasha,² whose power seems to have been bound up with the Bektashi of Albania.³

Sultan Abdul Mejid, a reformer like his father, also favoured the Mevlevi.⁴ Of the head of the Mevlevi at Galata in his reign Rolland says: 'il est en effet l'une des bonnes têtes de l'empire . . . Ami de Mahmoud, le chef actuel des Tourneurs fut au nombre de ces instruments ignorés mais efficaces, qui travaillèrent le plus puissamment au triomphe de la Réforme. Personne autant que lui n'aida le défunt empereur à déjouer l'opposition de l'Uléma, à percer par la voie des interprétations théologiques les obstacles du Koran.'⁵ The passage probably refers to the same person who represented the Mevlevi on the religious council which condemned the Bektashi in 1826.⁶

We may thus claim to have made out a case for the political combination of the sultan with the Mevlevi order against (1) the Janissaries and their allies the Bektashi dervishes, and (2) the party of the Ulema.

The Mevlevi order carried off a trophy from each of these antagonists. Whereas hitherto the Superior of the Bektashi had held the official rank of colonel in the

¹ Walsh, *Constantinople*, ii, 92, *Journey*, p. 72; MacFarlane, *Constantinople in 1828*, ii, 131 ff.

² Walsh, *Journey*, p. 70.

³ Ali boasted that he was a Bektashi and for political ends favoured and made use of the Order: see above, pp. 377-8.

⁴ MacFarlane, *Turkey and its Destiny*, ii, 229 ff. Cf. i, 200; also W. F. Lynch, *Expedition to the Jordan*, p. 89.

⁵ C. Rolland, *La Turquie Contemporaine* (1854), p. 223: the information came from Prince Ghika.

⁶ Assad Efendi, *Destr. des Janissaires*, p. 315. The Galata *tekke* of the Mevlevi takes precedence of all their foundations in the capital and is supposed to be a foundation of Mohammed II. It was built in 1491-2 and rebuilt in 1795-6 by Selim III (Mordtmann in *Encycl. of Islam*, sv. *Constantinople*, p. 875). For a striking account of this *tekke* and the power of its head see Osman Bey, *Les Imans et les Derviches*, p. 100.

ninety-ninth *oda* of Janissaries,¹ the Superior of the Mevlevi received from Mahmud II the grade of marshal (*musbir*) in the newly organized army.² Similarly, the privilege of the Mufti at the Girding of the sultan was transferred to the Superior of the Mevlevi.

The secret history of the Girding of Mahmud II will probably never be known ; in all probability the then Mufti, from fear or interest, refused to officiate at the ceremony and the highest dignitary of the Mevlevi order was called in to take his place in consequence. The story of the reluctance of the Mufti to be present, while his successful rival girded Abdul Mejid, seems to show that the situation was still strained in 1839. But the privilege of the Mevlevi has continued to our own day to perpetuate no misty connexion with the Seljuk house of Rum, but the victory gained by Mahmud II with their help over the reactionary ecclesiastical party, just as the military grade of their Superior may be held to commemorate the part taken by their order against the military party of reaction represented by the Janissaries and Bektashi.

¹ D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, ii, 312.

² Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 829 ; Jacob, *Beiträge*, p. 9.

COLUMNS OF ORDEAL¹

NO self-respecting Cairene dragoman omits to point out to his clients among the curiosities of the mosque of Amr at Fostat two columns near the south door, which are endowed, according to popular superstition, with the miraculous power of discriminating between true Moslems and Unbelievers.² Placed at such a short distance apart (some ten inches) that the passage between them can with difficulty be negotiated by a man of average build, the columns none the less allow a true Moslem, however stout, to pass between them, while an Unbeliever, however slim, finds passage impossible. In other words, the space is supernaturally widened if necessary to accommodate the former and contracted to exclude the latter class.

The columns actually used for this purpose at Cairo do not seem long to have been associated with the superstition. Visitors to the mosque in the sixties do not mention it, though they refer to the companion marvel of the column miraculously transported from Mecca.³ The superstition itself, however, is of great antiquity and relatively well documented. The purpose of the rite, a spiritual test, distinguishes it sharply from the many similar 'passing through' rituals universally current and generally considered 'lucky' acts practised with a view to the healing of disease, &c.⁴ Its symbolism, as we shall see, suggests a Christian origin. A study of

¹ This chapter is reprinted from *B.S.A.* xxiv, 68 ff.

² Murray, *Egypt* (1900), pp. 380-1; Sladen, *Orient. Cairo*, p. 183, and *Queer Things about Egypt*, p. 198; Goldziher, *Culte des Saints . . . Musulmans*, in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii (1880), p. 345.

³ See, e. g. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, ii, 384.

⁴ See above, pp. 182 ff.

its developments or ramifications into various parts both of the Christian and Mohammedan worlds may therefore be attempted with more than usual accuracy and is thus of considerable interest and value for the study of kindred phenomena.

A more appropriate place of origin for a superstition so distinctly theological in character and shared by the two great religions of the eastern Mediterranean could not be found than Jerusalem ; and we shall not go far astray if we accept it hypothetically as such. Certainly it is from Jerusalem that the earliest record comes to us of the ordeal of passage, and at Jerusalem that the rite continued to be practised, though on varying holy sites, almost to our own day. In 723 S. Willibald, on pilgrimage to the Holy City, visited on his round the church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives. Here, he says, stood two columns ‘ within the church, against the north wall and the south wall, in memory of the two men who said, “ Men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven ? ” ’¹ And the man who can creep between the wall and the columns will have remission of his sins.’²

It does not seem possible, with the knowledge at our disposal, to refine on Willibald’s account as to the position of the columns. The point of the ordeal was certainly, as at Cairo, that the aperture, here between the columns and the wall, was narrow, and we may perhaps assume from this the fairly usual Byzantine

¹ *Acts*, i, 11.

² Ed. Wright, p. 19. The original text runs: ‘ illa ecclesia est desuper patula et sine tecto ; et ibi stant duae columnae intus in Ecclesia contra parietem Aquilonis, et contra parietem meridionalis plagae. Illae sunt ibi in memoriam et in signum duorum virorum qui dixerunt : Viri Galilaei, quid statis adspicientes in coelum ? Et ille homo, qui ibi potest inter parietem et columnas repere, liber est a peccatis suis ’ (Willibaldus, *Vita seu Hodoeporicon*, p. 376, in Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. Bened.*, Saec. III, pt. ii, pp. 365 ff. ; also in *Camisii Thesaurus*, ed. Basnage, ii, 111–12, quoted by Tobler, *Siloahq.*, pp. 94–5).

arrangement of a column facing an anti-pilaster in the adjoining wall. The symbolism of the 'Men of Galilee' seems certainly no more than an ingenuity: that of the rite itself seems to depend on the texts of S. Matthew, which use the image of a narrow passage to illustrate the difficulty of salvation.¹ At the same time we may bear in mind the special significance in the church of the Ascension, marking the spot where Christ entered into heaven, of two texts frequently displayed in Greek churches. These are (1) 'this is none other than the House of God, *this is the gate of heaven*'² and (2) 'this is the *gate of the Lord: the righteous shall enter into it*'³. And it is not impossible that these were written over, or in close proximity to, the two narrow openings through which it was customary in Willibald's time for pilgrims to pass as a test of grace.⁴

As to the exact meaning of Willibald's *liber est a peccatis suis*, it is perhaps impossible to dogmatize, but some light may be thrown on the subject by the parallel of Mount Sinai. Here the ascent of the holy mountain was restricted to pilgrims who had been duly confessed, and a certificate of confession was required of them at the beginning of the ascent, which was marked by a gateway. The restriction was justified by the text, 'Who shall go up to the holy hill of the Lord and who shall stand in His holy place? He that hath clean hands

¹ *Matt.* vii, 13-14 ('Enter ye in at the strait gate . . . strait is the gate and narrow is the way which leadeth unto life'), and xix, 24 ('It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God'). Cf. *Mark* x, 25; *Luke* xviii, 25.

² *Gen.* xxviii, 17.

³ *Ps.* cxviii, 20: Burckhardt notes the presence of this text over a door in the village of Shmerrin (*Syria*, p. 105).

⁴ Similarly, on the way from Mecca to Arafat there are two pillars of whitewashed stones, called el Alameyn, about 80-100 paces apart; pilgrims must pass between them on their way to, and still more from, Arafat (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i, 113).

and a pure heart.'¹ Felix Fabri informs us² that Jews, who according to medieval ideas were vicariously guilty of Christ's blood and therefore could not have ritually clean hands, were supernaturally prevented from passing the gate.³ It may have been the custom to confess pilgrims before admitting them to the sanctuary of the holy hill of Olivet.⁴

What appears to be a variant of the same rite in the church of the Ascension, due probably to structural alterations involving the removal or modification of the original passages,⁵ is described by Felix Fabri as practised in his time by oriental Christians. This rite consisted in embracing a certain column of the church. If the pilgrim could span it so as to make his fingers touch, it was welcomed as a happy omen,⁶ but *of what*

¹ Ps. xxiv, 3-4. My authority is E. H. Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, p. 105, quoting R. Clayton's *Journey to Mt. Sinai by the Prefetto of Egypt* (1722). According to G. Ebers (*Durch Gosen*, pp. 313 f.) a second paper was also given to them at the convent to be given up at the second gate.

² *Evagat.* ii, 455.

³ Similar cases of supernatural intervention for religious reasons are given by Petachia, *Tour du Monde*, in *Nouv. Jour. As.* viii (1831), pp. 296-300 (tomb of Ezechiel surrounded by a wall without a gate and with only a hole through which Jews crawl: on the Feast of Tabernacles, however, it enlarges so that a man on a camel may pass through), and by Mandeville, ed. Wright, p. 199 (Mohammed's entry into a small low hermit's chapel in the desert of Arabia caused the low entrance to become 'so great, and so large, and so high, as though it had been of a great minster, or the gate of a palace').

⁴ Near the tombs of Hillel and Shammai at Meron there was a stone basin found full of water by pious persons, but empty by the impious, though the basin had no outlet (Petachia, *loc. cit.*, p. 392, quoted by Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, p. 311). The pious could pass under the suspended coffin of Daniel at Susa, but not the impious (Petachia, *oc. cit.*, p. 366).

⁵ In the interval between the two accounts the church had been rebuilt by the Crusaders and destroyed by Saladin (Tobler, *Siloahq.*, p. 97).

⁶ 'Putant autem illi superstitiosi orientales, quod ille, qui id facere potest, sit magis fortunatus, et quod sit signum cujusdam magni boni' (Fabri, *Evagat.*, ii, 134).

Fabri does not know or contemptuously declines to state. We shall see, however, that the ritual has a place in the story of the 'Columns of Ordeal'.

In the crypt containing the tomb of S. Pelagia,¹ which is in the immediate vicinity of the church of the Ascension, the rite described by Willibald seems to have survived in a slightly modified form. It is described by two Greek pilgrims of (approximately) 1185 and 1250,² and again by Felix Fabri³ in 1489. All the accounts are substantially in accord. It was customary for penitents to squeeze through the narrow passage between the tomb and the wall of the crypt, their ability to do this being considered as proof that they were in a state of grace: if their previous confession had been defective, they were unable to pass. Here again the reminiscence of Sinai is strong. It is curious to note that Saint Pelagia is known to Mohammedans as the daughter of Hasan el Masri,⁴ and that the tomb of Hasan el Basri has a similar peculiarity to hers.⁵

The seventeenth century sees a reappearance of the same superstition, again in a slightly modified form, in yet another Christian building, the church of the Holy

¹ Her cell and tomb are traceable back to 600 A.D. (Antoninus of Piacenza) according to Tobler, *Siloahq.*, p. 126.

² *Anon. Allatii*, p. 87, *de locis Hierosol.* (in L. Allatius, *Σύμμικτα* vol. i), c. 1185 (Tobler, *Siloahq.*, p. 130, puts the *Anon. c.* 1400), and Perdiccas (in L. Allatius, *Σύμμικτα*, i, 72) c. 1250.

³ *Evagat.* i, 398: cf. Grethenius in Khitrovo, *Itin. Russes*, p. 180.

⁴ 'Rabahet Bent Hassan el Masri' (Tobler, *Siloahq.*, p. 126). Pelagia's tomb was sometimes confounded with that of S. Mary of Egypt (*el Masri*), her history being similar to the Magdalene's (Tobler, *Siloahq.*, p. 133). It became difficult of access for Christians about 1500, according to Tobler, *Siloahq.*, p. 131, when a mosque was built over it. Mejr-ed-din (p. 132) at this date says it was much visited by pilgrims, but he does not mention the grave.

⁵ Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 181 (Old Basra). His *kubbe* fell twice, whereupon he appeared and said he wished no *kubbe* but a tower, his tomb to be against the wall to prevent circumambulation. See Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 189, for his connexion with S. Pelagia.

Sepulchre. It seems indeed as if Moslem encroachments were continually driving it to new surroundings.

Near the chapel of Christ's Prison, Doubdan,¹ in 1652, notices two small columns between which and the wall pilgrims squeezed their way, confident that a successful passage was an index, not of remission of sins, but of legitimacy. The same superstition is described by Nau in 1674,² who, however, makes the passage between the two columns themselves. To the complete change in the object of the ritual we shall return in the discussion of the Moslem variants. Side by side with it was current, as we see from Le Bruyn's account,³ the idea of proving that the penitent was in a state of grace.

Of the chapel of S. Longinus in the Sepulchre church Kelly says :⁴

' Beneath one of the altars lies a stone having a hole through it, and placed in a short trough, so that it seems impossible for anything but a spectre to pass through the hole. Nevertheless the achievement was a customary penance among the Greeks, and called by them "Purgatory"; until a lady, *enceinte*, in labouring to drag herself through it, came to some mischief; and ever since that accident, the Turks have in mercy guarded the stone by an iron grating.'

This concludes the record of the columns of ordeal in Christian sanctuaries at Jerusalem, unless we include as such the unsatisfactory mention of a similar rite, of which the purpose is not stated, practised in the church of Mount Zion in Crusading times :

Ante Chorum quaedam pretiosi marmoris columna juxta murum posita est, quam simplices homines circummigrare solent.⁵

¹ *Terre Sainte* 1651-2, p. 75. ² M. Nau, *Terre Sainte*, pp. 193 f.

³ *Voyage* (1683), ii, 258 ff.

⁴ Kelly, *Syria*, p. 367, quoting Vere Monro, *Summer Ramble in Syria* [1835], pp. 216-17. A similar story is cited from d'Estourmel, *Journal*, ii, 93 [1832], by Tobler (*Golgotha* [1851], p. 337), in whose time the tradition seems to have been forgotten.

⁵ Theodericus, *De Locis Sanctis* (c. 1172), ed. Tobler, p. 56.

Summing up, we may distinguish two modifications of the oldest form of the rite (passing between column and wall) and a complete bifurcation of its purpose :

(a) At S. Pelagia's, passage is not between column and wall but between tomb and wall.

(b) In the Holy Sepulchre church, passage is between column and wall or between two columns.

(c) In the later ritual of the Ascension church, passage of any sort is abandoned in favour of embracing the single column used for the rite. The original symbolism is lost, but it must be noted that the object of the later rite is not stated.

The first record of the practice by Moslems of the column ordeal is no earlier than the middle of the seventeenth century. The place is Jerusalem and the building the Dome of the Rock. It is of course unsafe to infer that the practice is not earlier, particularly as the whole Haram area, and especially the interior of the Dome of the Rock, was rigorously forbidden to non-Moslems down to our own time. But the silence of both Crusaders and Moslem writers on the subject, and the warning of one of the latter (Mejir-ed-Din)¹ against the superstitious practice of the Christians on the Mount of Olives makes it likely that the column ordeal in the Dome of the Rock is not much more ancient than our first records. It will be further noted that the Dome of the Rock, whence Mohammed took his miraculous flight to heaven, makes the rite appropriate in the same sense as it is appropriate for Christians in the church of the Ascension: and that the traditional identification of the Rock as Bethel,² the scene of Jacob's vision,³ makes it a second time a symbolical entry to heaven. Further, that the text *Matthew*

¹ A. D. 1495, quoted by Tobler, *Siloahq.*, p. 124. Cf. the long and explicit description of the building given by Frater Philippus de Aversa, for which see *Z.D.P.V.* i, 210 ff.

² Lubomirski, *Jérusalem*, p. 272.

³ *Gen.* xxviii, 17.

xix, 24, is familiar to Moslems from its adaptation in the Koran,¹ which says that unbelievers shall not 'enter into paradise, until a camel pass through the eye of a needle'. Finally, we must point out, as at least an extraordinary series of coincidences, that the crypt of the Dome of the Rock passed for the place where Christ forgave the adulterous woman, and was thence known in Frankish times as *confessio*,² exactly as the cave below the church of the Ascension, in which the ex-harlot Pelagia passed her days of penitence, was known as *ἀγία ὁμολόγησις*.

The two accounts of the column ordeal as practised in the middle seventeenth century by Moslems in the Dome of the Rock, refer to an identical pair of columns, distinct from those of the structure itself, and placed near the western entrance. Brother Eugène Roger (1653) says that it was commonly said of them that any one who could pass easily between them was predestined for the Moslem paradise, and that if a Christian made the attempt he would inevitably be crushed by them.³ D'Arvieux (1660), our second authority, says that they were used as an oracle of *legitimacy* and that bastards were unable to make the passage, at least not without great difficulty.⁴ The practice of the ordeal on the Dome of the Rock is not cited by any subsequent writer. The association of the two ideas, (1) fitness for heaven and (2) legitimacy, has already met us at the Holy Sepulchre and will meet us again later. What is the point of contact between the two ideas?

A possible answer may be found in the fact that in Moslem, and to a certain extent also in Jewish, theology

¹ vii, 38 (Sale's ed., p. 108).

² Tobler, *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, i, 544: cf. Theodericus, *De Locis Sanctis*, pp. 43, 123.

³ Chateaubriand, *Itinér.* ii, 376.

⁴ *Mémoires*, ii, 210 f., retailing information gathered from monks employed in repairing the windows of the mosque.

the relation of the soul to the Creator is habitually figured by that of a wife to her husband. As the chief virtue of a man is faithfulness to God, so that of a woman is faithfulness to her husband : infidelity is in either case the cardinal sin.¹ On the fidelity of the wife depends the legitimacy of her offspring, and both would be satisfactorily tested if a pregnant woman passed successfully between the miraculous columns. The passage of pregnant women is indeed several times mentioned, though it is obvious that the rite was shared by others (possibly at first babies) with the object of proving their own legitimacy.²

The ordeal of the columns is found a second time under Moslem auspices in Jerusalem at the mosque El Aksa in the Haram. Here it is mentioned by numerous authors of the seventies,³ and Conder tells us that it was forbidden in 1881, when the space between the columns was blocked by an iron bar to prevent the passage. The purpose of the rite seems to have been exclusively to test the suppliant's fitness for heaven.

¹ For the same collocation of ideas note that in judging the markings of Arab horses a star on the shank is held to presage that the animal's owner will be of doubtful orthodoxy as a Mussulman, and that his wife will be unfaithful (Kelly, *Syria*, p. 446).

² Predestination includes a wide range of ideas among which are (1) virtue, (2) freedom from mortal sin, (3) state of grace, (4) belief (for Moslems), the central idea being fitness for heaven. It is not the same idea for Moslems as legitimacy, although Islam allows special privileges to 'founders' kin', the legitimacy of whose descent from the Prophet might reasonably be supposed to be tested by any given test of grace. Jews and Mohammedans both accept proselytes, it will be remembered.

³ Conder, *Jerusalem*, p. 232 ; Lady Burton, *Inner Life of Syria*, p. 379 ; J. A. Bost, *Souvenirs d'Orient* (1874) Pierotti, *Légendes Racontées*, pp. 33 f. (he says they are *verd-antique* in colour and taper) : Lubomirski, *Jérusalem* (1878), p. 277. De Vogüé, *Syrie*, pp. 202 f., gives an amusing description of the ceremony. Tobler, in his *Topogr. von Jerusalem* (1853), does not mention the superstition : it will be remembered that access to the Haram was still in his time almost impossible.

Outside Jerusalem the rite has been copied (apparently) at Urfa (Edessa) in the Jacobite crypt of S. Ephraem under the Armenian monastery of S. Sergius, though no definite purpose is attributed to it by our single authority,¹ who says, 'Before the grave is a rock-hewn column near the wall, between which and the wall everyone tries to pass'.

What seems a certain case of plagiarism from the rite of S. Pelagia's church is found at Hassa Keui in Cappadocia, the alleged place of burial of S. Makrina, sister of S. Gregory. Pilgrims to the tomb ordinarily circumambulate it, but if they have made a vow to the saint which they have failed to fulfil, they are arrested by a supernatural force at a place where a corner of the sarcophagus approaches to within a few inches of the wall.²

Another derivative from the original rite of the Ascension church, very possibly dating from the Crusades,³ is at Nivelles in Belgium, where, in the church of S. Gertrude, 'dans une chapelle . . . un pilier monolithique de 1^m 30 de hauteur et de 24 c. de diamètre environ, sans utilité spéciale dans la bâtisse, est appuyé sur une base reliée au mur et distancée du sol par deux marches.

¹ H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, ii, 354.

² Carnoy and Nicolaïdes, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 206. For analogies see above, p. 627.

³ Similarly, the legend of S. Hubert spread from Rome to Belgium because many relics had been carried there, see above, p. 464. Secular counterparts of the dispersion of stories of the saints are found in two legends related by Baring Gould (*Curious Myths*, 2nd series, pp. 206 ff., 314 ff.). The first is the legend of Melusine, the fairy ancestress of the Lusignans of Poitou, the second tells how an ancestor of the Belgian Godefroi de Bouillon met Beatrice, a mysterious woman, near a fountain, and eventually married her. That is, two Persian-coloured tales of fairy ancestors were told in Poitou and Belgium of noble houses which became conspicuously famous *in the Crusades*. Troubadours were the main agents in the circulation of such stories, but another important factor was the settlement of Crusaders in their newly conquered lands in the East; see Hasluck, *Letters*, pp. 117-18.

Le peuple prétend que toute personne qui n'est pas en état de grâce ne peut passer entre le mur et le pilier : l'espacement est environ de 30 centimètres.'¹

On the Moslem side the three examples from northern Africa which follow are quite clearly derivatives from the Jerusalem prototypes, all having in common both the form of the rite, passage between columns, and its main object, proof of orthodox religious sentiments.

To the Columns of Ordeal in the mosque of Amr at Fostat (Old Cairo) we have already referred. Though the main purpose of the ordeal here is as above stated, Douglas Sladen, in his *Queer Things about Egypt*,² hints that they are also used as a test of women's chastity. We have already remarked that the practice does not seem here to be ancient, probably deriving directly from the Aksa mosque at Jerusalem. Similar Columns of Ordeal are mentioned as existing in the mosque of Amr at Damietta. The space between them may be traversed only by 'the virtuous', presumably, here as elsewhere, persons in a state of grace or believers.³ At the mosque of Sidi Okba in the holy city of Kairuan in Tunisia are likewise a pair of such columns :⁴ they are of red porphyry and are used as a test of Moslem orthodoxy or as a cure for rheumatism ! Like those of El Aksa, they taper towards the top, so that with a little chicanery a tall man stands a better chance of passing than a shorter patient of like build.

Vaujany speaks of the Columns of Ordeal as a not infrequent feature in Egyptian mosques. Considering the importance of the mosques of Amr and Sidi Okba, it

¹ Sébillot, *Folk-Lore de France*, iv, 157, quoting O. Colson in *Wallonia*, iii, 15. Sébillot's very thorough work gives no parallel in the French area. S. Gertrude's is a Benedictine abbey church founded by S. Gertrude in 645.

² P. 198 : cf. his *Orient. Cairo*, p. 183.

³ Vaujany, *Alexandrie*, p. 205. For another column of predestination, this time at Bethlehem, see Tobler, *Bethlehem*, p. 90.

⁴ Poiré, *Tunisie Française*, Paris, 1892, pp. 187-8.

would not be surprising to find them widely distributed in North Africa.

Two cases of an ordeal involving passage between natural rocks as a test of spiritual acceptability may be here cited. (1) At Haji Bektash, the chief seat of the (Shia) Bektashi sect, pilgrims make the passage of a natural rock tunnel with a view to proving their sincerity of purpose. The aperture is narrow, and it is customary for the pilgrim to remove his arms before making the attempt: with arms, passage is reputed impossible, though, according to my informants, a certain Albanian *bey*, who refused to conform to the rule, passed successfully; he was rewarded for his presumption by an early death.¹ (2) Of a closely similar rite in Morocco I am informed by a friend long resident in Fez, whose words I quote.

‘An eyewitness here, credible, informs me that there is at a mountain sanctuary called Mulaï Abdslam bel Meshish, a well-known place in the mountains south of Tetuan, just outside the shrine, a sort of cave, with a narrow entrance between two rocks. Only one who is “murda” can pass in. If not “murda”, the rocks would crush you. “Murda” is a technical word meaning “acceptable” with special reference to God and your parents. The local tradition in this place seems to know nothing of bastardy: it is morals of which it is the touchstone.’²

The close resemblance of these two instances may be merely fortuitous, or both may alike depend on a prototype unknown to us, possibly in the Shia holy places. Their ultimate relation with the Jerusalem group must be regarded as ‘not proven’ pending further evidence or indication.

Two instances of embracing a column for oracular purposes, as in the second phase of the Ascension church ritual, may or may not be connected with our series.

¹ From Ali Kemal Bey Klissura, and his brother, Fadil Bey.

² From Mr. J. M. Dawkins.

The embracing ritual in itself is early and obviously derives from the enthusiastic salutation of the venerated object by pilgrims. It is mentioned in connexion with the column of Flagellation on Mount Zion by Antoninus of Piacenza.¹

The first of these instances is at Kufa, one of the great holy places of Shia Islam, where there is a piece of a column, reputed brought thither by Ali himself. This is used as an oracle of legitimacy, bastards being unable to make their fingers meet round it.² The second is at Alexandrovo in Serbian Macedonia, where the *tekke* of the Bektashi dervishes contains a miraculous square pillar, which, supposedly brought there by a Bosnian saint, is embraced by pilgrims. If they can make the fingers of their two hands meet round the pillar, their prayer is granted.³

The connexion of the two Shia rites seems obvious, the generalization of the purpose of the ordeal in the derivative at Alexandrovo being characteristic. It would be dangerous without further evidence to connect them with the second ritual of the Ascension church, though it will be remarked that the purpose of the latter has not come down to us.

¹ Ed. Tobler, xxii, p. 24 ; Kelly, *Syria*, p. 366.

² Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 216.

³ Evans in *J.H.S.* xxi, 203 : see further above, p. 277.

XLVIII

THE STYLITE HERMIT OF THE OLYMPIEUM

ALL early drawings of the Olympieum at Athens, from Carrey's downwards,¹ show on part of the architrave a rubble building of peculiar form, which has been removed only in comparatively recent years.² So many writers allude to this building as the dwelling of a Stylite hermit that the statement has passed unquestioned into Gregorovius' standard work on Athens in the Middle Ages.³ A closer examination of our sources, however, makes it abundantly clear that the Stylite hermit of the Olympieum is a product of the imagination alone and had no historical existence. We will examine first the testimony of our authors as to the hermit, and secondly the nature of his supposed cell.

The first allusion to the hermit is no earlier than 1739. Pococke, after his description of the rubble building on the architrave (to which we shall return), continues sceptically: 'some imagine that the palace of Adrian was built on those high pillars, but this wall [*i. e.* the supposed cell] appears to be modern . . . and they pretend to say, that some hermit lived in that airy building.'⁴ Chandler's testimony is similar: 'you are told it has been the habitation of a hermit, doubtless of

¹ Omont, *Athènes au XVII^e Siècle*, pl. xxii.

² Apparently in the seventies: *cf.* Transfeldts in *Ath. Mitth.* i (1870), p. 112, n. 1.

³ Gregorovius, *Stadt Athen*, i, 68: *cf.* Julliard, *Voyages Incobérents*, pp. 301 f., who mentions this as a fact and with details so late as the beginning of this century.

⁴ *Descr. of the East*, II, ii, 166. Before this date most took it for remains of Hadrian's palace (*e. g.* Randolph, *Morea*, p. 22).

a Stylites'.¹ Dodwell, in 1805, says 'it is *supposed to have been* the aerial residence of a Stylites hermit',² Hobhouse, in 1809, that '*Greeks and Turks declare it to have been* the habitation of a Saint'.³ Turner, in 1814, 'was told' quite a different legend, viz. that 'on a piece of the architrave between two of them [*i.e.* the columns] a Greek, in the time of a terrible plague that infested Athens, built a small chamber of brick, to which he ascended with cords, drawing them up after him'.⁴ The discrepancy need not trouble us, since none of these traditions have more truth in them than the frankly supernatural story told by an old Albanian woman to Dodwell, that the so-called Stylite's Cell was full of treasure and guarded by an Arab who made his abode there and by night jumped from column to column.⁵

As the century goes on the Stylite story becomes accepted and grows more detailed and explicit, but the only author whose account can be construed as the record of an eyewitness is Frankland, who is ambiguous: 'a Fakir, or Dervish, had contrived to ensconce himself upon the remains of the Epistylia in one angle of the colonnade.'⁶ Lacour, in 1832, has the story with more detail: 'de nos jours, un Ermite a vécu pendant dix-huit ans sur l'architrave des cinquième et sixième colonnes de la face orientale; c'est au moyen d'une échelle de corde, qu'on lui envoyait les provisions de la semaine; il y resta six années sans en descendre.'⁷ Baird was told by an Athenian friend in the fifties a similar story of a hermit who lived 'many years ago'.⁸

¹ *Travels in Greece*, ii, 87.

² *Tour through Greece*, i, 389: his companion, Pomardi, gives the tale with more detail, qualifying his statements with the phrase 'al dire de' naturali' (*Viaggio nella Grecia*, i, 150).

³ *Albania*, i, 322.

⁴ *Tour in the Levant*, i, 379.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, i, 390.

⁶ *Constantinople*, i, 302.

⁷ *Excursions en Grèce*, p. 185.

⁸ *Modern Greece*, 1856, p. 52: cf. Byzantios, who, in a footnote to

As we have said, no author, with the possible exception of Frankland, claims to have seen the hermit. Lady Craven, in 1786, says vaguely that he was long since dead,¹ as do Laurent² and Trant³; Michaud that he died a few years ago,⁴ d'Estournel that he lived in the last century;⁵ Lacour dates him, as we have seen, 'in our own times'.

To sum up, the tale is first told in the first half of the eighteenth century. Pococke, Chandler, Dodwell, and Hobhouse do not believe it. Subsequent writers at short intervals accept the tradition, but date the hermit at various periods, all before their own visits to Athens, with the solitary exception of Frankland (1827). The latter's visit falls between those of Laurent (1818) and Trant (1830), both of whom knew of the hermit as long since dead. It seems quite evident that Frankland's notice, ambiguous at best, cannot be accepted as an eyewitness's account.

When we turn to examine the supposed Stylite's cell itself, it is obvious that it was ill-adapted for a human dwelling-place. Pococke describes it as 'a wall built with three passages in it, one over another, and openings in it one over another, and openings at the side like windows and doors'.⁶ It is so represented in the drawings, of which the most exact are Stuart and Revett's.⁷ What purpose could such a perforated wall, perched on columns sixty feet high, have served?

The system of water-conduits generally employed in Turkey substitutes for the continuous arcaded aqueducts of Roman times a series of detached towers (*su his Κωνσταντινούπολις*, (ii (1862), p. 94), mentions the οἰκίσκος . . . ἐν ᾧ ἐστυλοβάται Δερβίσης τις, καθὰ λέγουσιν, ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας.

¹ *Journey to Constantinople* (1786), p. 259.

² *Classical Tour*, p. 96.

³ *Journey through Greece* (1830), p. 265.

⁴ *Corresp. d'Orient* (1833-5), i, 161 (1830).

⁵ *Journal* (1844), i, 97.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*

⁷ *Ant. of Athens*, III, ii, pl. 1; III, iii, pl. 1.

terazi or 'water balances'), placed at suitable intervals, which serve the double purpose of checking an over-rapid flow of the water (and so easing the strain on the pipes), and facilitating the inspection and repair of the channels.

'Upon the side nearest to the channel of supply they are furnished with earthen pipes, through which the fluid, ascending by its own impulse, mounts to the summit. Here the ascending pipes terminate, and discharge their contents into a small *moosluk* (water gauge or cistern) lined with *kborassan* and *lukium*.¹ Upon the opposite side are one or more orifices, from two to three inches lower than the supplying tubes. After circulating, and being exposed to the pressure and renovating action of the atmosphere, the water departs through these orifices, and descends through pipes communicating with underground channels, which convey it to the next *Souteraxy* . . . or distribute it to lateral tanks.'²

The height of such water-towers is of course conditioned ultimately by that of the fountain-head serving the aqueduct: some are as high as ninety feet.³ The cistern on top is generally open to the air.

It seems possible that in the rubble building on the architrave of the Olympieum we have the remains of a triple series of cisterns or clearing-chambers from a Turkish aqueduct, the already existing columns of the Olympieum being utilized to avoid the expense of building a water-tower. The ventilation of the lower two cisterns was secured by openings in the side-walls.

An aqueduct was brought into Turkish Athens in 1506-7 as the following note⁴ from the 'Chronicle of Athens' testifies:

Ἐν ἔτει ζιδ' Αὐγούστου κδ' ἄρχισεν τὸ κουντίτο τῆς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἀνηγέρθη ἡ βρύσις τοῦ Ἐξεχώρου καὶ ἀνεκαυίσθη ἡ βρύσις

¹ Kinds of cement (F. W. H.).

² C. White, *Constantinople*, ii, 28.

³ Forchheimer and Strzygowski, *Byz. Wasserbehälter*, p. 24.

⁴ Ed. Lambros in *Ἀθηναίων*, vi (1877), p. 441.

τῆς χώρας διὰ συνδρομῆς τοῦ σκεντέρ σουμπαση τοῦ Ἀλιμπασῶ καὶ διὰ ἐξόδου τοῦ κόσμου ἐσέβη τὸ νερὸν Ἀπριλίου κη' ἡμέρα.

As to levels, if we assume that the water supply referred to entered the city from above the 'Kolonnaki' square (Πλατεία τῆς Φιλικῆς Ἐταιρείας) by the ancient aqueduct which still serves Athens,¹ we find that the drop from 'Kolonnaki' (134·1 m.)² to the Olympieum site (80·8 m.) is great, and water flowing thence could easily ascend the extra sixty feet afforded by the columns of the Olympieum serving as a water-tower. The purpose of bringing a conduit so far away from the town was obviously the supply of water to the citadel, in the outer works of which the Odeum (97·70 m. above sea-level) was then incorporated.

¹ Ziller in *Ath. Mitth.* ii, 120.

² These figures are from Cordellas' *Αἱ Ἀθῆναι ἐξεταζόμεναι ὑπὸ ὑδραυλικῆν ἔποψιν*, p. 18.

WESTERN TRAVELLERS THROUGH
EASTERN EYES

‘A JOURNEY’, says a Tradition of the Prophet, ‘is a Fragment of Hell.’ The western love of travel for travel’s sake is a perpetual enigma to the eastern peasant. Travelling is both expensive and troublesome: sensible people only consent to expense and trouble as a means to an end, material or spiritual. The merchant who travels for ultimate gain, is understood: so is the pilgrim who visits Jerusalem or Mecca for the good of his soul. A man who confesses to travelling without a definite aim, or in search of knowledge, is either a madman or a very clever person masquerading as a madman. Consequently, elaborate explanations are sometimes brought forward to account for the curiosity of the ‘Franks’ concerning eastern countries. One such explanation is to the effect that westerns who die in the East are re-incarnated as young children¹ and are thus enabled to begin their lives over again. Generally, however, a more material view is taken. ‘Franks’ are known to have curious knowledge. ‘The Franks are devils, they know everything,’ was the (wholly admiring) comment of a Turkish peasant, when I produced a map showing the lake beside which his village was built. Further, hazy recollections and oft-repeated stories of Franks who appeared from nowhere and distributed quinine and pills to ailing villagers give colour to the belief that all Franks are doctors,² and,

¹ Turner, *Tour in the Levant*, iii, 512.

² A certain British Consul at Samsun in Asia Minor was constantly worried for remedies for fever by the natives. In despair, and hoping to end the nuisance, he gave them impressions of the consular seal on

disease being the work of *jinnns*, medicine and magic in the East go together.

Thus, people who are doctors and use maps, who even know the name of a village before they have seen it, are magicians or little short of it. An archaeologist is perhaps beyond all others marked out as a dabbler in the occult. His interest in the crops is feeble : he has nothing to sell : his religion (if Franks have any, which is more than doubtful) is some sort of Christianity, so his objective in a Mohammedan country can hardly be a pilgrimage. On the other hand, he will part with good money to be shown such things as ruins and inscriptions. Everybody knows that ruins are likely places for buried treasure and that inscriptions are directions for locating it. Everybody, again, knows that treasures are guarded by spirits and that ordinary people cannot read ancient inscriptions, which are written in ' Frankish ' characters, probably cryptic at that. The inference is obvious. The affected interest of the archæologist in things ancient merely masks a treasure hunter ¹ specially qualified by knowledge of the occult. Marvelous stories are current and implicitly believed, exemplifying the Frank's proverbial knowledge of his subject. Near Pergamon, so I was told by an otherwise shrewd Mytilenean, there was a village shop-keeper who owned an ' antica ' in the shape of a marble owl, which he kept in his shop. One evening a mysterious Frank arrived in the village, sat down at the shop, and made himself very agreeable, spending money right royally—as much as three and sixpence, some said. In consideration of his custom, the shop-keeper allowed him at his own request to spend the night, not in the best room,

paper. The patients drank the talisman soaked in water and found it so effective that the clamour for it became general (Van Lennep, *Travels in Asia Minor*, i, 285.)

¹ Miss Durham found herself suspected of this (*High Albania*, p. 56) : cf. Doughty, *Arabia*, ed. Garnett, i, 114.

which was offered and refused, but in the shop. . . . When his host came to wake him in the morning, the Frank had gone, the marble owl had been *unscrewed*, and its two halves, which were hollow, lay on the counter, and by them a gold coin. This told its own tale. The Frank had evidently got wind of the existence of the marble owl beforehand by the aid of his books, and had made his descent on the village with the express intention of securing the treasure concealed in it. If he left, out of gratitude to his host as was supposed, *one* gold piece on the counter, how many more must not the owl have yielded?

The books of the Franks are credited with containing all sorts of occult information on inscriptions and treasures. This idea is confirmed by the fact that an archæologist often does know of an inscription before he has seen it, but of course from quite prosaic archæological publications. Given the inscription, the treasure is easily found. The methods used by the Franks for carrying it off are various. They may remove the inscribed stone bodily and extract the treasure at their leisure. Some think the procedure is to bewitch the treasure so that the coins of which it is composed turn into flies,¹ and then to conjure the flies to betake themselves into the country of the Franks, where they can be re-transformed into coins. This method, though elaborate, has the advantage of avoiding the expense of carriage.

The boundary line between the adventures even of particular Franks and pure fairy story is slight indeed. The following story, told to Hamilton in 1836 by guides from Everek near Caesarea, shows the machinery of the folk-story unfettered by any consideration of probabilities.

‘A traveller once came from Frangistan, in search of a rare

¹ Turner, *op. cit.*, iii, 513. In North Africa insects fly out to attack those who would rob the tomb of the Christian woman near Algiers (Berbrugger, *Tombeau de la Chrétienne*, pp. 36–8).

plant which grew only on the summit of Argæus, having ten leaves round its stalk and a flower in the centre. The plant was guarded by a watchful serpent, which only slept one hour out of the four-and-twenty. The traveller in vain tried to persuade some of the natives to accompany him, and point out the way; none of them would venture, and at length he made the ascent alone. Failing, however, in his attempt to surprise the dragon, he was himself destroyed. He was afterwards discovered, *transformed into a book*, which was taken to Caesarea, and thence found its way back to Frangistan.'¹

This astounding rigmarole affords a fine example of the atmosphere of magic and mystery which surrounds the wandering Frank: and it is some consolation to the western traveller, who often enough feels himself but a commonplace person in the East, to realize that he also may become in the mouths of the people the hero of such a fantastic, if ill-starred, Odyssey.

As a matter of fact, the hero of the Everek tale was real enough. Near the village is a modest gravestone² with the inscription 'Nathan Gridley, American Missionary from the United States, born in Farmington, Connecticut, 31 years and 35 days old, died 1827, Sept: 28'; then the same in Greek and Armenian.

Deceased was a medical missionary who lived here several years, serving alike all the inhabitants of Caesarea and making himself respected even by the fanatical Turks. Having paid a visit to Everek, he made up his mind to be the first of moderns to ascend the mountain on foot, as was his regular practice, trusting to his immense physical strength. He was at first accompanied by four Greeks, but he tired them out in the first four hours. Despite their warnings, he continued the ascent alone, till he sank, worn out, to the ground. It was only next morning that he was able to crawl painfully back with bleeding feet to Everek. He was put on a horse and taken to his own house at Erdenlik,

¹ Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, ii, 275. ² Tschihatscheff, *Reisen*, p. 38.

where he died in three days from the effects of his exhaustion. *Les Grecs restaient convaincus qu'il était mort étouffé par le manque d'air.*¹

The plant was evidently the magic flower *lampedona* (λαμπεδόνα), which is only to be distinguished at night by its luminosity and has the property of turning all it touches into gold. It grows habitually on the tops of mountains and Franks know of it and make gold with it.²

¹ Texier, *Asie Mineure* (1834), ii, 62. For a brief bibliography of Gridley see *Memoirs of American Missionaries formerly connected with the Society of Enquiry respecting Missions in the Andover Theological Seminary*, pp. 127-34. I have to thank Mr. L. D. Caskey for an extract from this publication, as also for a reference to Leonard Worcester, *A Sermon delivered at the Ordination of the Rev. Elnathan Gridley*, Boston (Crocker and Brewster), 1825.

² A Cretan monk inquired about it from Sieber (*Kreta*, i, 544) in the early part of last century. The existence of this flower is a widely spread superstition common to Greece and other countries of the Nearer East (Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, nos. 318 f., and note on no. 318, which gives a full bibliography on the subject). For its existence in Palestine see Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*, p. 289 (also called 'tortoise herb'); for it in Egypt see Amélineau, *Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne*, i, 149 (the 'morceau de bois qui change les créatures' made the Queen of Sheba's goat-foot human); for it on a mountain of the Soudan see G. J. H., *Blackwood's Magazine*, March, 1918, p. 406; in Arabia see Dorys, *La Femme Turque*, p. 173 (herb of youth and beauty on mountain near Mecca, but long ago); in Persia see Mrs. Bishop, *Journeys in Persia*, i, 321 (the authoress was thought to have come in search of it); in Crete see, besides the references quoted by Polites (*supra*), Dandini, *Voyage du Mont Liban*, pp. 17-18 (where it grows on Mt. Ida and turns the teeth of the animals that browse on it yellow); in Albania, on Mt. Tomor, see Berati in *L'Albanie*, April 1918. It is in some way related to a plant which is of the highest value to alchemy. Lane heard of it in Egypt as growing on a mountain (*Thousand and One Nights*, pp. 341-2, where, however, the connexion is fraudulent). Carsten Niebuhr (*Voyage en Arabie, en Suisse*, ii, 307, cf. 393) heard it grew on a mountain of the Yemen, where it yellowed the teeth of goats which fed on it. Mejir-ed-din (died 927 A. H.) mentions plants on the Sakhra rock at Jerusalem which turn silver to gold and gold to silver (ed. v. Hammer in *Mines de l'Orient*, ii, 94). Farther east, in Persia, Villotte (*Voyages*, p. 483) heard of a plant whose root turns quicksilver into silver.

DIEUDONNÉ DE GOZON AND THE DRAGON OF RHODES ¹

§ I. THE STORY AND ITS DEVELOPMENT

THE story of the Rhodian knight Dieudonné de Gozon and the slaying of the great dragon of Malpasso is, largely owing to Schiller's adoption of the theme in a ballad,² one of the best-known legends of its type.³ It is one of several instances in which an historical personage figures as the hero of this quite mythical adventure.⁴

Dieudonné de Gozon, a member of the Provençal *langue*, was the third Grand Master of the Knights of S. John at Rhodes, ruling from 1346 to 1353. He is represented as a simple knight at the time of his great adventure. As might be expected, no contemporary, or nearly contemporary, authority mentions the dragon fight of de Gozon.⁵ But so early as Mandeville and Schiltberger we find anonymous Rhodian knights figuring as the heroes of current folk-tales of the chivalric type.⁶

¹ An earlier version of this chapter appeared in *B.S.A.* xx, 70 ff.

² *Der Kampf mit dem Drachen* (1799).

³ For dragon-legends in folk-literature see Hartland's *Perseus*, Cosquin's *Contes de Lorraine*, i, 60 ff. and Frazer's note on Pausanias, ix, 26, 7.

⁴ Other historical personages credited with dragon-fights are Sire Gilles de Chin (d. 1127) and one of the Counts of Mansfeld (Hartland, *Perseus*, iii, 46). The Russian saint Alexander Nevski is represented as a horseman and dragon-slayer, but was really an historical Grand Duke of the thirteenth century (Bouillet, *Dictionnaire*, s. v.).

⁵ On this point see Raybaud, *Hist. des Grands Prieurs de S. Gilles*, ii, 300.

⁶ So in Mandeville (ed. Wright, p. 139) a Rhodian knight has adventures with the enchanted daughter of Ypocras in Kos; in Schiltberger

The earliest form of the de Gozon story known to us is the version set down by a noble pilgrim who visited Rhodes on his way to the Holy Land in 1521.¹ He was there told that between the city of Rhodes and the castle of Phileremo was a church of Our Lady called Malapasson, so named because years ago the spot had been rendered impassable to travellers by a monstrous dragon which did great damage to the countryside. A French knight asked the Grand Master's leave to attack it, but the latter forbade him on the ground that the enterprise was too dangerous. Not content with this refusal, the knight went back to France and trained his horse and two dogs to face the dragon by setting them at a dummy monster made by covering a calf with a dragon's skin.² Having trained the animals, he returned to Rhodes and attacked and killed the dragon with their help, cutting off a piece of its tongue as evidence, but telling no one of his exploit. Some days after the encounter a Greek found the dragon's carcase and claimed to have killed it himself. The false claim was refuted by the knight, who produced his trophy as evidence,³ but, so far from receiving honours or reward,

(ed. Hakluyt Society, p. 42) a Rhodian knight attempts the enchanted 'Castle of the Sparrow-Hawk'; and later in Rhodes itself a Rhodian knight takes the castle of Phileremo by one of the regular strategies of folk-lore (Röhricht and Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, p. 371; Torr, *Rhodes*, p. 91). All these are well-known folk stories to which local colour has been given by the characterization of the heroes.

¹ Pfalzgraf Ottheinreich, in Röhricht and Meisner's *Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, pp. 392-4. The learned editors recognize in this the earliest record of the de Gozon legend.

² This rather unconvincing stratagem, much elaborated in the canonized version, may have been suggested by the local legend of Phileremo alluded to above, in which the castle is taken by a similar trick, the hero and his companions disguising themselves in ox-skins (*Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, p. 371; Torr, *Rhodes*, p. 91).

³ The episode of the false claim, discarded in the later canonized version of the story, is a feature common to many folk-tales of this type (see above, p. 430, and note 1).

was imprisoned by the Grand Master on the score of disobedience. He eventually became Grand Master himself, *either the third or fourth*. From this last it is clear that the legend of 1521 was already associated with de Gozon, not with an anonymous knightly hero.

If we consider the number of earlier voyages, all teeming with marvels retailed to pilgrims by the way, which have come down to us, it seems improbable that the story of Dieudonné de Gozon and the dragon was current in Rhodes much before 1521, a hundred and seventy years after its hero's death, when we first hear of it. On the other hand, we find in Kos, like Rhodes a possession of the Knights, a simple legend of a dragon-slaying with an anonymous hero current as early as 1420,¹ and in the preceding century a tradition of the bewitched daughter of Hippocrates appearing in dragon form in the same island.² Any country at all in touch with the East was likely to develop these folk-themes with a local setting. In the de Gozon legend it is the choice of the hero and the details of his stratagem which are of special interest.

To Bosio, the historian of the Order of S. John, who wrote some seventy years later, *i. e.* after the departure of the Knights from Rhodes, is due the general currency

¹ Buondelmonti, *Liber Insularum*, § 45: 'non diu est quod serpens maximus devorans apparuit armenta, et territi omnes fugam arripiebant. Tunc strenuus vir pro salute populi duellum inceptat, dum inter bestias ruere vellet. Quod cum hoc serpens percepisset, equum morsibus illico in terram prostratum occidit; iuvenis autem, acriter pugnans, tandem viperam interfecit.' Folk-legends of fights with dragons in Greek lands, sometimes dated more or less exactly, are given by Biliotti and Cottret, *Rhodes*, p. 154 (Rhodes, '110 years ago'), and Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, nos. 375 (Mykonos,) 381 (Skopelos) 383 (1509, Cephalonia, *cf.* Ansted, *Ionian Islands*, p. 342), 387 (1891, Rapsani). With these it is interesting to compare the crocodile story from Egypt told by Lucas (*Voyage au Levant* (1705), i, 83 ff.).

² Mandeville, ed. Wright, p. 138: for the obscure connexion between this dragon and the devastating monster mentioned above see note in Warner's edition.

of the legend. His account is very detailed, though it seems to be given with some reserve.¹

The dragon lived in a cave, from which a spring flowed, at the roots of S. Stephen's hill, some two miles from the city, at a place called Malpasso. Every one was forbidden to fight with it. De Gozon, however, resolved to defy the prohibition. He retired to the castle of Gozon in Gascony, where his elder brother ruled, and made a dummy dragon of canvas stuffed with tow, resembling the real dragon in every particular, and so devised that it could be moved mechanically, making hideous noises as it did so. Having trained his horse and dogs to attack the dummy monster, he returned to Rhodes and set out to Malpasso by a roundabout route, sending his dogs with the servants to wait for him at the church of S. Stephen. Thence he made his attack on the dragon's cave and after a terrific combat, slew it by a stroke in the under part of its body. In its last agonies it fell on him and he was with difficulty rescued from under it by his servants.

The incident of the Greek and the false claim is omitted in Bosio's version. De Gozon for his disobedience was deprived of his habit by the Grand Master (de Villeneuve), who, however, afterwards relented and reinstated him. In course of time the dragon-slayer became Grand Master. At his death he was buried in the conventual church of S. John, his tomb being signalized by a representation of his heroic achievement and the words DRACONIS EXTINGTOR.

Later historians of the Order, Boissat,² Marulli,³ Vertot,⁴ and Paoli,⁵ draw largely, if not exclusively, on

¹ G. Bosio, *Istoria della S. Religione di S. Giovanni*, pt. ii, pp. 45 ff.

² *Histoire de l'Ordre de Sainct Jean* (1612), pp. 120 ff.

³ *Vite de' Gran Maestri della S. Religione di S. Giovanni* (1636), pp. 300 ff.

⁴ *Histoire des Chevaliers de S. Jean* (1726), ii, 22.

⁵ *Codice Diplomatico del Ordine Gerosolimitano* (1733-7), ii, 464 :

this account. The traveller de Brèves gives a slightly different version, making the gallant deed of de Gozon not the cause of his degradation, but an attempt to rehabilitate himself.¹

The characteristic points of the dragon-legend related of de Gozon are : (1) the difficulty of obtaining permission to fight the dragon, and (2) the training of the dogs with a dummy dragon. These are, so far as I know, peculiar to the de Gozon legend and that of Sire Gilles de Chin, of which the details in question have been shown to be of seventeenth-century origin and therefore probably derived from the de Gozon legend.²

§ 2. TANGIBLE EVIDENCE

Down to quite recent times writers of otherwise unimpeached sanity have laboured to prove that de Gozon's exploit was, at least in essentials, historical. A certain amount of tangible corroborative evidence has been brought forward to this end, but none of it bears examination.

Paoli is the first to associate the legend of de Gozon with that of Phorbas, as does in our own times C. Torr (*Rhodes*, p. 94).

¹ *Voyages* (1628), p. 18 : this is curiously paralleled by a western type of dragon-legend in which the hero is a condemned criminal or a deserter (*cf.* Salverte, *Sciences Occultes*, 3 ed., p. 477).

² C. Liégeois, *Gilles de Chin* (1903), p. 124. Supernatural dogs are introduced in some folk-stories of the dragon-fight (*cf.* Hartland, *Perseus*, i, 29 f.) as assistants of the hero, but their setting and importance are wholly different. There is in Zotos Molottos' *Λεξικὸν τῶν Ἀγίων* a curious account of S. George and the Dragon, which is copied almost exactly from the Dieudonné de Gozon story, the scene of the fight being at Adalia. Zotos Molottos says the MS. of the legend is in a Leipzig library: it cannot be of any antiquity as it mentions *ὑπέρπυρα χρυσά*, a coin used in the East in the later Middle Ages, but not earlier. Dieudonné's exploit is very rarely attributed to S. George, so that its attribution to him in the Adalia legend is perhaps due to the proximity of that town to Rhodes, especially as de Gozon's memory was perpetuated there by the preservation till c. 1830 of the dragon's head. In the Adalia story S. George has an attendant Lupus, who figures in other martyrologies.

(1) The cave in which the dragon lived was shown in Rhodes.¹ Such evidence is fairly easy to find. We may here note the possible contribution to the legend afforded by the existence in the early part of the fifteenth century of a rich Rhodian, apparently not a knight, named (or nicknamed) *Il Dracone*, who had a villa and garden at some distance from the city.² In Greek lands old proprietors' names are very apt to cling to their estates, and a place originally named after *Il Dracone* would afford plausible evidence to later generations for the location of a dragon-fight.

Palerne, in the early years of the seventeenth century, seems to be the first traveller who claims to have seen the cave of the dragon; he adds that 'the story [of de Gozon's exploit] was engraved in the rock.'³ In this detail he is confirmed a hundred years later by Egmont and Heymann,⁴ who give the text of the inscription as follows:

FR. DEODATUS DE GAZONE [sic] *hic anguem immensae molis, orbibus terribilem, miseros Rhodi incolas devorantem, strenue peremit, deinceps Magister creatus est A. C. 1349.*

Subsequent writers do not mention this inscription.

(2) For the alleged representation of the combat and the words *DRACONIS EXTINGTOR* on the tomb of de Gozon at Rhodes our only authority is Bosio,⁵ who in all probability was never in the island, since in his time the seat

¹ Michaud and Poujoulat, *Corresp. d'Orient*, iv, 20; A. Berg, *Die Insel Rhodus*, i, 86; Biliotti and Cottret, *Rhodes*, p. 152; Belabre, *Rhodes of the Knights*, p. 185.

² *Viaggio* (1413) of Nicolò d'Este (*Coll. di Opere della R. Commissione pe' Testi di Lingua*, i, 115: cf. p. 142. 'Il Dracone' was in all probability identical with Dragonetto Clavelli, a Rhodian gentleman who acted as *procuratore* for the Grand Master in 1392 and held lands from the Order (Bosio, ii, 102 (1392), 114 (1402)).

³ *Peregrinations* (1606), p. 347.

⁴ *Travels* (1759), i, 277.

⁵ *Op. cit.* ii, 55.

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of the Order had been removed to Malta. Vertot, who was in the same case, gives the epitaph in French, *CY GIST LE VAINQUEUR DU DRAGON*, adding that this was the only inscription.¹ A fragment of a supposed tomb of de Gozon was discovered by Rottiers, at a church of S. Stephen outside the city.² But the inscription, so far from mentioning the dragon, does not contain the name of de Gozon and the date is a year out.

A genuine sarcophagus of de Gozon was removed from Rhodes to France in 1877, and is now in the Cluny Museum.³ It is very plain and bears the mutilated legend :

Cy gist Fr. Dieudonné d]e Gozon maistre de l'Ospital . . . [qui trespassa] l'an MCCCLIII a viij jors de Dese[m]bre . . .

(3) Rottiers claimed to have discovered in a private house in the Street of the Knights at Rhodes a fresco representing the combat with the dragon. To judge from the drawing made by his artist the fresco, like most of the buildings in the street, is much later than the date of de Gozon.⁴

An earlier fresco illustrated⁵ by the same author was seen by him in a vault of the ruined church of Notre Dame de Philerme, built, to judge by the arms on the corbels, by the Grand Master d'Aubusson, the hero of the first siege of Rhodes (1480). A knight, not de Gozon (as is shown by his arms), kneels before S. Michael, who spears a monster. Adjoining the group is a rock with a spring of water gushing out, surmounted by a serpent and two doves.⁶ Rottiers rightly abstains from

¹ *Op. cit.* ii, 54 : the same epitaph is given by Paoli, *loc. cit.*

² *Monumens de Rhodes* (1828), p. 340 and pl. lii.

³ *Catalogue du Musée des Thermes* (1883), p. 40, no. 422 : the sarcophagus is illustrated in *L'Illustration*, 1878 (lxxi), no. 1826 (Feb. 23). The drawing of de Gozon's tomb in de Villeneuve-Bargemont's *Monumens des Grands-Maitres* (i, pl. xxvi) is of course quite fanciful.

⁴ *Monumens de Rhodes*, pp. 239 f., pl. xxvii.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 372, pl. lxii.

⁶ The whole seems to form a pendant to another fresco in the same

associating this fresco with the de Gozon legend. It may nevertheless have been considered locally as confirmatory evidence.

(4) We have further to reckon with a reputed 'dragon-stone' preserved in Bosio's time by the de Gozon family as a relic of their famous ancestor. This is described as a crystal of the size and shape of an olive and of varied colour: it was supposed to have come from the forehead of the Rhodian dragon. The idea of such stones, derived from Pliny and Solinus, was widespread in the Middle Ages¹ and persisted late.² The de Gozon stone, like most of its class, was an antidote (on the homeopathic principle) against poison. Water in which it was placed bubbled violently while absorbing the virtue of the stone, and was afterwards given to patients to drink. A Rhodian knight of the de Gozon family affirmed that he had himself seen the remedy administered and a serpent 1½ palms long vomited up by the patient.³ In the wars of religion the stone was stolen and given to Henry IV.⁴

series representing an attack by a saint on a dragon in a cave surmounted by an owl.

¹ A fourteenth-century *Lapidaire*, bearing the name of de Mandeville tells us (p. 113) that the 'pierre de serpent' or *Dreconcides* 'est engendrée de plusieurs serpents qui joignent leurs têtes ensemble et soufflent; elle est noire et porte à son chef une partie de blancheur pâle au milieu de laquelle est une image de serpent; elle vaut contre venin, et garde celui qui la porte de morsure de serpent et de bêtes vénimeuses, en telle manière, qu'on peut les prendre en sa main toute nue, sans se blesser.' The dragon-stone must be taken from the brain of the monster while it still lived (Conrad von Megenberg, *Buch der Natur*, p. 444, § 29). Palmer found the snake-stone legend current at Mount Sinai (*Desert of the Exodus*, p. 99). For the legend in the West see Maury, *Croy. du Moyen Âge*, p. 230, n. 2.

² The question of the authenticity of 'dragon-stones' or *escarboucles* is seriously discussed by J. B. Panthot, *Traité des dragons*.

³ Bosio, *op. cit.* ii, 55.

⁴ Kergorlay, *Chypre et Rhodes*, p. 275 (quoting de Naberat, *Hist. des Chevaliers de S. Jean*, Paris, 1629, p. 70).

(5) A head supposed to be that of the dragon slain by de Gozon was seen by the seventeenth-century traveller Thévenot hung up in one of the gateways of Rhodes.¹ There is no mention of this head in Bosio or any earlier writer than Thévenot. Subsequent writers speak of such a head (or heads) in a similar position ; it seems to have disappeared in 1839.²

This supposed evidence for de Gozon's combat has long been recognized as an instance of the familiar use of 'giants' (*i. e.* crocodiles) and 'dragons' (crocodiles' or whales') heads as charms against the evil eye.³ The selection of city gateways for the suspension of such charms is again familiar. Gates, like all entrances, are considered critical points, city gates especially so from the strategic point of view.⁴ It will be noted that, like

¹ *Travels*, p. 117 : *cf.* Veryard, *Choice Remarks* (1701), p. 331 : Dumont, *Nouv. Voyage*, p. 230.

² Biliotti and Cottret, *Rhodes*, pp. 150 ff. *Cf.* Rottiers, p. 235 ; Michaud and Poujoulat, *Corresp. d'Orient*, iv, 20 ; Berg, *Rhodus*, i, 90. In 1696 Villotte saw one of the dragon's ribs in a gate at Rhodes (*Voyages*, p. 344).

³ A well-known instance is that of the crocodile of Seville (Elworthy, *Evil Eye*, p. 214). Others are cited from Marseilles, Lyons, Cimiez, and Ragusa by Salverte (*Sciences Occultes*, p. 482), from Verona by Berg (*op. cit.*, p. 90), and from Siena by Baedeker (*Central It.*, p. 23). *Cf.* above, p. 231.

⁴ For the protection of gates by talismans see Quiclet, *Voyages*, p. 111 ('Giant's bones' at gate of Belgrade) ; Hobhouse, *Albania*, ii, 948 (Whale's bones at Seraglio gate, Constantinople) ; Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 230 (Whale's bones and old arms at gate of Angora) ; Texier, *Asie Mineure*, pl. xcvi (stone balls at gate of Konia) ; Evliya, *op. cit.* ii, 201 (Mace and bow at gate of Kemakh) ; Belon, *Observations de plusieurs Singularitez*, III, ch. xlii ('Sword of Roland' at gate of Brusa : *cf.* Thévenot, *Voyages*, i, 282) ; L. Stephani, *Reise des nördlichen Griechenlandes*, p. 16 (Giant's boot at gate of Chalkis : *cf.* Hugonnet, *La Grèce Nouv.*, p. 279) ; Biliotti and Cottret, *Rhodes*, p. 151 (bones of Digenes (really whale's) at S. Catherine's gate, Rhodes : *cf.* Chavias in *Λαογραφία*, i, 278) ; Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, p. 337 ; Covell, *Diaries*, pp. 217 f. (various charms on gates of Constantinople). The gate of the Knights' Castle at Budrum was protected by the charm-text *Nisi Dominus*, &c. (see above, p. 203). Ali Pasha protected the main gate

all the other tangible evidence of de Gozon's exploit, the dragon's head at Rhodes is first mentioned long after the death of the hero.

We may here incidentally remark that the Turkish dragon-legend current in our own time at Rhodes, the hero of which is a dervish who kills the dragon by inducing it to devour forty asses loaded with quicklime,¹ owes nothing to that of de Gozon in detail, and probably arose simply from the 'dragon's' head suspended in the city gate.

§ 3. DRAGON PROCESSIONS

We come now to discuss the outstanding peculiarity of the de Gozon legend, the incident of the dummy dragon. Bosio's elaborate description is worth quoting in full. 'The dragon', he says, 'was made of canvas stuffed with tow, of the same size, form, and figure and

of his island-citadel at Yannina by building in the head of an 'Arab' still to be seen there, carved in stone and painted black, and the gate of the fort at Preveza, taken by the Greeks in the Balkan war, has been similarly protected by a number of painted crosses. For the analogous protection of gates by saints' tombs see Frazer's *Pausanias*, iii, 468. There are excellent Turkish examples at Nicaea, and at Candia in the 'New Gate'. The existence of such saints is doubtless often inferred from that of their supposed bones, arms, or other relics originally suspended as talismans. See further above, pp. 229 ff.

¹ Biliotti and Cottret, *Rhodes*, p. 153, from whom Torr, *Rhodes*, p. 94; for the stratagem we may compare that of the eponymous hero of Cracow, who gave the local dragon food mixed with sulphur, pitch, and wax till it eventually died (Münster's *Cosmographie*, ed. Belleforest, i, 1781), and the *History of Bel and the Dragon* (vv. 23 ff.) in the Apocrypha. A somewhat similar stratagem occurs in the *Shahnameh* of Firdawsi, where Isfendiar begins operations on a dragon by inducing it to swallow a cart loaded with daggers and other weapons; a probable variant of this tale occurs at Herat: see Maury, *Croy. du Moyen Âge*, p. 231, n. 5 (quoting J. Abbott, *Journey from Herat to Khiva*, 1843, i, 239). Daniel killed a serpent by making it swallow pitch (Millin, *Midi de la France*, iii, 528). Sébillot (*Folk-Lore de France*, i, 469) records a tale in which a dragon swallows powder dressed up in a calf's skin by a knight.

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of the same colours as the beast itself. It was of the size of an ordinary horse. It had the head of a serpent, with ears the size and shape of a mule's, covered with a very hard and scaly skin, with a great and frightful mouth armed with very sharp teeth. Its eyes, deeply sunk in the head, glittered like fire and glared with horrible ferocity. It had four legs something like a crocodile's, with paws armed with very hard and sharp talons. From its back rose two wings, not so very large, which were the colour of a dolphin above and scarlet with some spots of yellow below. The body and legs were of the same colour as the wings, the belly red and yellow like the under side of the wings. It had a tail something like a lizard's. It ran with a speed greater than that of the swiftest horse, flapping its wings and making a tremendous noise.' All these minute details come from a man—Bosio or another—who had seen such a mechanical dragon as he describes.

All over France, and apparently also in the Netherlands and Spain,¹ are found traces of medieval festivals generally in connexion with Rogation processions,² in which dragons were an important feature. A figure of a dragon, originally symbolizing the Spirit of Evil, was carried or led in procession for three days and then sometimes 'killed' or rendered innocuous in a sort of rough religious play.³ In these cases the dragon is apt to resume his old folk-lore connexion with water and is often regarded as a haunter of springs, or a river beast,

¹ W. G. Clarke (*Gazpacho*, p. 95) saw the processional 'tarasca' at Toledo, where there is a body of S. Martha as at Tarascon (see below), according to Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, s.v. *Marthe*. For 'tarasques' in Spanish Christmas and Fête-Dieu processions see also Maury, *Magie*, p. 160, n. 3.

² For their significance see Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 57.

³ For the widespread vogue of these festivals see Salvarte, *Sciences Occultes*, pp. 475 ff.; and, for legends of dragon-slaying saints in western Europe, Douhet, *Dict. des Légendes*, s.v. *Tarasque*, and Cahier, *Caractéristiques des Saints*, s.v. *Dragon*.

or even identified with notable floods of the local river.¹

In certain instances the dragon came to be popularly regarded as representing an actual monster subdued by the local saint. At Tarascon, where the procession of the 'tarasque', or dragon supposed to have given its name to the town, still survives, the mechanical monster formerly used for the procession was of immense size and was manipulated by a dozen men from inside, one of whom opened and shut its jaws; it was baited by persons dressed as knights, and on the third day was made to give three jumps to signify its submission to S. Martha, who here figures as the heroine of the local dragon-legend.² Similar dragon-processions or legends existed in many towns of Provence; a mechanical dragon was used at Aix.³ A 'property' dragon of this sort is surely at the back of Bosio's elaborate description.⁴

¹ For the world-wide connexion of dragons with springs and water see Frazer's *Pausanias*, v, 44.

² The modern 'tarasque' is shown in *B.S.A.* xx (1913-14), pl. ix. Maury says (*Croy. du Moyen Âge*, p. 232, n. 1, quoting Bouche, *Hist. du Provence*, i, 326) that the 'tarasque' is first mentioned in the twelfth century. Sincerus, travelling soon after 1600, saw at S. Martha's, Tarascon, 'monstri effigies chartacea hominem deglutiens' and quotes the epigram

'Suspice multipedem squamosum deinde draconem
Auratum cernas dentigerumq: caput
Martha . . .
Perdomuit, loro continuitq: brevi.'

See Sincerus, *Itin. Gall.*, p. 128.

³ See especially J. B. F. Porte, in *Mém. Acad. Aix*, iv (1840), pp. 261-308.

⁴ Compare the description of the Tarascon 'tarasque' given by A. Dumas (*Midi de la France*, 1834, ch. 34): 'C'est un animal d'un aspect tout à fait rebarbatif, et dont l'intention visible est de rappeler l'antique dragon qu'il représente. Il a environ vingt pieds de long, une grosse tête ronde, une gueule immense, qui s'ouvre et se ferme à volonté; des yeux remplis de poudre apprêtée en artifice, un cou qui rentre et s'allonge, un corps gigantesque, destiné à renfermer les personnes qui le font mouvoir; enfin, une queue longue et roide comme

§ 4. DE GOZON AND THE FRENCH SIDE OF THE
LEGEND

De Gozon, as we have said, was of the *langue* of Provence. The ancestral castle of the family¹ in the valley of the Tarn (near Costes, Department of Aveyron) still bears their name. A cave in the neighbourhood, called *les Dragonnières*, whence a spring issues, is shown as the scene of the training of the dogs.² It may be that the legend of de Gozon's exploit grew up in his native land and was carried thence to Rhodes. This would explain not only the 'dummy' dragon, by the analogy of the French processional dragons, but the otherwise unnecessary French interlude in the story, which depends ostensibly on the Grand Master's strict prohibition of dragon-hunting—an unusual, if not unique, feature of the story.

We may possibly detect an etymological basis in the *une solive, vissée à l'échine d'une manière assez triomphante pour casser bras et jambes à ceux qu'elle atteint. Le second jour de la fête de la Pentecôte, à six heures du matin, trente chevaliers de la Tarasque, vêtus de tuniques et de manteaux, et institués par le roi René, viennent chercher l'animal sous son hangar; douze portefaix lui entrent dans le ventre. Une jeune fille vêtue en sainte Marthe lui attache un ruban bleu autour du cou; et le monstre se met en marche aux grands applaudissements de la multitude. Si quelque curieux passe trop près de sa tête, la Tarasque allonge le cou et le happe par le fond de sa culotte, qui lui reste ordinairement dans la gueule. Si quelque imprudent s'aventure derrière elle, la Tarasque prend sa belle, et d'un coup de queue, elle le renverse. Enfin, si elle se sent trop pressée de tous côtés, la Tarasque allume ses artifices, ses yeux jettent des flammes; elle bondit, fait un tour sur elle-même, et tout ce qui se trouve à sa portée, dans une circonférence de soixante-quinze pieds, est impitoyablement brûlé ou culbuté.*' Dumas adds that in 1793 the Arlesians were at war with the Tarasconnais, beat them, and burned their Tarasque, which was 'un monstre de la plus grande magnificence, d'un mécanisme aussi compliqué qu'ingénieux'. The present Tarasque is an imitation of the other.

¹ Dumas (*loc. cit.*) places it on the Little Rhone, in Camargue.

² De Gissac in *Congrès Arch.* xxx (1863-4), pp. 65-70; cf. d'Estourmel, *Journal*, i, 169.

name of Gozon, which might conveniently be connected with the Italian *gozzo* (*crop, maw*)¹ as expressive of the characteristic of many dragons,² or with *gos, gous, gots* (and *gozzone*), Provençal for *dog*, which would explain the introduction of the dogs. But such philological speculations offer more scope for ingenuity than proof, and the point cannot be pressed. The introduction of the dogs is perhaps sufficiently accounted for by the stories retailed to pilgrims in the fifteenth century concerning the trained dogs kept by the Knights of Rhodes at the Castle of S. Peter (Budrum).³

The dragon-slaying of Sire Gilles de Chin, to which we have before alluded, was based on a legendary exploit of the historical hero in the Holy Land during the Crusades. This exploit—the killing of a lion—which possibly derived ultimately from the lion which so often serves as footstool to recumbent sepulchral figures, gradually developed, aided by an allegorical picture,⁴ till it

¹ It occurs in modern provincial French (Lorraine) as *gosse* ('stomach of fatted beasts') with the verb *gossier* ('to fatten for market').

² The processional dragon of Poitiers was named 'Grand' Gueule' (La Mauvinière, *Poitiers*, p. 75 : Salverte, *Sciences Occultes*, p. 477), that of Rheims 'le Bailla' (Salverte, p. 475). Similarly, the name of Rabelais' giant Gargantua (originally a folk-lore figure), as also that of his father 'Grangousier' correspond exactly in sense to Gozzone (*cf. testa, testone, &c.*). S. Romanus subdued the dragon of Rouen, which was known as Gargouille : for it see Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, i, 38, iii, 45 ; Maury, *Croy. du Moyen Âge*, p. 232 ; Sincerus, *Itin. Gall.*, p. 214. A stream in the department of Aveyron, which flows through a narrow gorge, is called Gouzon. Gozon may have personified its river as a dragon, as Grenoble does the river Drac (Salverte, *op. cit.*, p. 463).

³ So Torr (*Rhodes*, p. 93, and *Class. Rev.* i, 79) who suggests that these legends are due to the Greek lions' heads built into the castle, probably as talismans, by the Knights. The dogs are mentioned fairly regularly by fifteenth-century pilgrims, *e.g.* William Wey (1462, *Itineraries*, p. 94), Joos van Ghistele (1483, '*T Voyage*', p. 334) and later located at Rhodes (*Veryard, op. cit.*, p. 331). Fabri (*Evagat.* iii, 261-2) says the dogs could distinguish Christians from Moslems by their smell.

⁴ On the influence of allegorical pictures on legend see above, p. 49, n. 2.

eventually became a dragon-legend located in the native country (near Mons) of the hero. In a similar way de Gozon's exploit may have developed at home aided by the family's possession of the dragon-stone, the obvious suitability of the country for dragon-warfare, and, it may be, also by a local dragon-procession regarded as commemorative of an actual dragon-fight, till it was finally located at Rhodes, owing to (1) the connexion of the de Gozon family with the Rhodian Order of S. John, and (2) the suitably romantic background obtained by the change of scene. It is even possible that one beginning of the legend was the introduction of the festival of Rogations into Rhodes, maybe by de Gozon himself. As is well known, Rogations had been instituted in France at Vienne by S. Mamert (d. A. D. 474) and from France spread all over western Europe.¹ A passage in the *Ἀσίζαι τῆς Κύπρου* shows that the festival spread also to Frankish Cyprus,² so that its introduction into Rhodes is by no means impossible; it will also be remembered in this connexion that Buondelmonti refers to a dragon slain in the neighbouring Kos.³

¹ For French instances of the festival see Maury, *Croy. du Moyen Âge*, p. 219, n. 3, pp. 228 ff.; for Roman see Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 165, who states that the Great Litany at Rome was celebrated as early as Leo III (A. D. 795-816).

² Ed. Sathas, *Μεσ. Βιβλ.* vi, 125, the words used are *τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς Παρακλήσεως, τοῦτέστιν ὄντα εὐγάλουν τὸν Δράκον*: I owe the reference to Professor R. M. Dawkins.

³ Quoted above, p. 648, n. 1. Polites gives (*Παραδόσεις*, no. 383) an interesting dragon story from Cephalonia from a forged document bearing the date 1509. The hero went to the *proveditore*, borrowed a suit of armour, and, thus protected, entered the dragon's mouth when the latter opened it to eat the hero; the hero then cut the dragon's throat with a razor from inside. In his notes on no. 383 Polites gives several variants of the tale as current in Cephalonia; the details about the huge size of the dragon, the burning of its body outside the church of S. Nicolas, the official doxology, as well as the actions of the dragon, are reminiscent of a Rogation procession, so that, like the de Gozon story at Rhodes, the tale may have originated

Whether the story arose from a Rogation procession or not, the case for the French, as opposed to the Rhodian, origin of the legend is considerably strengthened by the date at which the story appears in Rhodes. Bosio's information as to the 'dragon-stone' in the de Gozon family comes, as he tells us, from a Rhodian knight connected with the family, Giovanni Antonio Foxano. The wonderful story illustrating the peculiar

in such a procession. Another possible survival of Rogations may be the fight of S. George with a dragon. First, while Rogations, as instituted by S. Mamert, was a movable feast because fixed for the three days before Ascension, whose date depends on Easter, the Great Litany at Rome was fixed for the 23rd April, the date of S. George's festival as of the ancient Robigalia. Secondly, the fight conforms to the Rogation type, including, as it does, a cave and lake of the dragon and a church of the saint. Thirdly, the story is located most authoritatively at Beirut, Ludolf von Suchem, who returned from his travels in A. D. 1341, being the first to mention Beirut as the scene of combat. I know of no mention of the dragon story earlier than the Golden Legend, so that the dates fit the Crusading period, *cf.* above, p. 321, n. 1. Fourthly, in Rogation ceremonies the dragon is generally first exorcised by the bishop and then led away by his stole (*cf.* Maury, *Croy. du Moyen Âge*, p. 234, n. 2). Similarly, S. George overcomes the dragon and gives it to the virgin princess to lead into town before he kills it. I am therefore inclined to think the Beirut legend of S. George may be a Crusading survival and even vaguely reminiscent of a Rogation procession; supposing memories of such a Frankish institution to have survived, the popular mind would naturally, in the course of time, attribute them to the most prominent local figure, *i. e.* S. George. Except on the assumption that the tale is such a survival it is hard to explain why Beirut, and not Lydda, should have been chosen as the battle-field; this is especially noteworthy as it is known that the tradition of Perseus, a possible ancestor of S. George's, lingered until the fourth century A. D. at Joppa, so near to Lydda. The 'filling up' of the dragon found in the *Shabnameh*, the Rhodian dervish-legend, in Poland, &c. (see above, p. 655, n. 1) seems to be oriental. That is, in the oriental type the dragon is overcome and killed by stratagem, but in the S. George story and at Rogations the dragon is overcome by the power of virginity (the princess in the one case, bishops or saints in the other). On the other hand, in the Sari Saltik legend a 'combat' between the hero and the dragon is the chief feature (see above, p. 60), but I think this is a derivative from a Christian original.

efficacy of the 'dragon-stone' came to Foxano directly from his kinsman Pierre Melac de Gozon, Grand Prior of S. Gilles in Provence, who professed to have been an eyewitness of the incident described. This Pierre Melac de Gozon entered the Order of S. John in 1516, and in 1522 took part in the last defence of Rhodes.¹ If Dieudonné de Gozon himself did not originate the story in Rhodes, as suggested above, was his kinsman Pierre responsible for the importation thither of the mythical story current there in 1521 of his ancestor's exploit, or at least for the association of his name with a dragon-legend already current in the island? If so, he may also, during his residence in Rhodes, have re-edified his ancestor's tomb and still further commemorated the latter's exploit by the painting seen by Rottiers, and by the inscription at the Cave of the Dragon.

¹ Raybaud, *Hist. des Grands Prieurs de S. Gilles*, ii, 112; he became Grand Prior in 1558.

SHEIKH EL BEDAWI OF TANTA ¹

THE great saint of Tanta in the Delta is Said Ahmed el Bedawi, who was born in A. H. 596 (A. D. 1200) at Fez ² and died in A. H. 675 at Tanta.³

He has a great reputation for liberating persons in the power of the infidel. Thus, a Turkish pasha long captive in Spain and chained by heavy chains to two great stones, had in vain invoked several saints to deliver him. At last he remembered Said Ahmed and called on him. Immediately the saint stretched his hand out of his tomb ⁴ and in that same instant the Pasha found himself back in Egypt, chains, stones, and all. As the miracle occurred on the festival of the saint,⁵ it was witnessed by a multitude of people, but, if further proof be required, it may be sought in the pasha's stones and chains, which are still shown near his tomb.⁶

In Thévenot's time the saint was supposed to deliver every year three slaves from Malta at his festival; on the morning of the festival three Moors used to be

¹ [This article has been put together from scattered notes in my husband's note-books and his letters.—M. M. H.]

² Vaujany, *Alexandrie*, pp. 174 ff. Goldziher (in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii, 303) gives Tunis as an alternative birthplace.

³ Vaujany, *loc. cit.* The tomb was reputed to be on a church and temple site (Vaujany, *Caire*, p. 329). See also Thévenot, *Voyages*, ii, 802. Another well-known tomb of the sheikh was at Tripoli of Syria (Kelly, *Syria*, p. 106), where the pool adjoining the tomb contained sacred fish, for which see above, pp. 245 ff. See also d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 390.

⁴ For this barbarous miracle of life in the grave see above, pp. 252-5.

⁵ In July according to Thévenot, *loc. cit.*; at the summer solstice according to Goldziher, *loc. cit.*, who adds that El Bedawi had the gift of being so terrifying as to kill, and that the festival was a great pilgrimage for barren women (pp. 304-5).

⁶ Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, i, 255.

shown who declared that they had come during the night, by the saint's miraculous intervention, from that island.¹ Till recent years his prestige was kept up by the occasional discovery on the dome of his mosque of a man in chains with long hair and nails, who professed to have been liberated miraculously by the saint.² These men were largely drawn from certain *velis*, who fancied that they had sinned against the *kutb*,³ that is, the most saintly of all the *velis*, and believed that they must do penance until their sin was remitted. They loaded themselves with chains,⁴ looked on themselves as captives in the power of the infidels, and retired entirely from the world. The remission of their sin being revealed to them by some omen, such as a cry or an ominous cloud, they returned to Tanta and announced their deliverance from captivity, attributing it to the intervention of the saint and appearing on the dome of his tomb.⁵

¹ Thévenot, *loc. cit.* The same author (p. 803) relates an amusing story of how the saint brought to reason a truculent pasha.

² Vaujany, *Alexandrie*, pp. 174 ff.

³ According to Lane (*Mod. Egyptians*, i, 290 ff.) the existence of *velis* is proved by a verse of the Koran: they are the 'favourites of God'. The *kutb* is often seen, but not recognized; he has various 'stations', one being Tanta. He can transport himself from Mecca to Cairo and *vice versa* in an instant.

⁴ Lane (*op. cit.* i, 296) records the case of a *veli* who placed an iron collar on his neck and chained himself to the wall of his room. George of Hungary (*ap. Hottinger, Hist. Orient.*, p. 496) says certain dervishes loaded themselves with chains to indicate the fierceness of the ecstatic frenzy which seized them at times. Cf. also *Acts* xx, 22, for the same idea ('bound in the spirit').

⁵ Vaujany, *Alexandrie*, p. 175, n. For their retiring from the world cf. Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, i, 293. Lady Duff Gordon (*Letters from Egypt*, pp. 45 and 304) gives an account of an ascete called Sheikh Selim, who sat motionless for twenty years, without washing, praying, or celebrating Ramazan, 'God's prisoner'; until a certain holy camel he had lost should be found. Dr. Liddon saw his tomb, where the ascete's cats and dogs shared with his relatives in the offerings of the faithful: Dr. Liddon's *dahabiyeh* was wind-bound until the party

With no more of the story than the above it is difficult to explain why the saint is supposed to liberate captives from *infidel lands*. A passage in Goldziher's article on Moslem saints provides the key. It appears that at the time of the Crusades Said Ahmed liberated a Moslem captive from a Christian dungeon, where he was kept in a box, the jailer sitting on the box perpetually. Box and all flew with the liberated prisoner.¹

Already in Gregory of Tours there are numerous stories of the liberation of captives by saints. Thus, S. Victor of Milan was famous for this miracle: a curious case is that of the political prisoner who prayed on the vigil of the saint and got away next day unhindered on his horse.² A priest fled to S. Martin's to escape the king's wrath and was there kept in chains, which fell off, however, every time he invoked S. Martin.³ Four prisoners broke prison and escaped to S. Martin's church, where their chains and stocks were broken at their prayer.⁴ S. Nicetius of Lyons in one night appeared in seven different cities and freed prisoners from their jails.⁵ These miracles seem all to be mainly dependent on the right of sanctuary. If a prisoner successfully broke jail and got, for example, on to S. Martin's ground,⁶ he could not be touched and was *ipso facto* proved innocent by the saint.

In these early accounts there is no hint of levitation, it will be noted. Later on, however, this becomes a great feature, and eventually becomes characteristic of S. Leonard of Limoges.⁷ A Breton gentleman im-

handsomely tipped the saint's relatives, when the desired miracle at once took place (King, *Dr. Liddon's Tour*, p. 75).

¹ Goldziher, in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii, 303 f.

² Greg. Turon., *De Glor. Martyr.* i, 45.

³ *Idem*, *De Mir. S. Mart.* i, 23.

⁴ *Idem*, *De Mir. S. Mart.* ii, 35.

⁵ *Idem*, *Vit. Patr.* VIII, ch. x.

⁶ *Idem*, *De Mir. S. Mart.* iii, 41, 47; iv, 16, 26, 39, 41

⁷ Nov. 6: *temp.* Clovis.

prisoned and in chains at Nantes appealed to S. Leonard, who, in the presence of all the prisoners, appeared ¹ and led him out of prison, bidding him take his chain to S. Leonard's tomb.² A *bourgeois* of Noblac was imprisoned by a *seigneur* and not only chained but put in a dark, underground dungeon, the entry of which was covered by a great box on which soldiers kept guard night and day. But in the night S. Leonard knocked the soldiers over and transported the prisoner to the door of the church, where he was found in the morning.³ The *seigneur* of Baqueville in Normandy was taken by the Turks in Hungary. After fifteen years' captivity he invoked S. Leonard and was transported to his own castle, where no one knew him, as he was covered with rags and his hair and beard had grown long. He was just in time to prevent his wife's second marriage.⁴ A peasant of Poitou was chained by robbers to a tree and appealed to S. Leonard and S. Martial. A voice told him to shake off his chains, which he did, carrying one to S. Leonard's and the other to S. Martial's tomb.⁵ Boemond, prince of Antioch, was liberated by S. Leonard and in 1005 brought to the saint's tomb the silver tokens of his bondage.⁶

¹ Here the Christian differs from the Moslem miracle of El Bedawi, for the latter saint does not manifestly appear.

² Collin, *Hist. Sacr. des Saints*, p. 557. This saint is also connected with the strange custom of 'binding' churches for which see above, p. 264, n. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 556.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 558-9.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 557.

⁶ *Ibid.*; p. 561. S. Leonard seems to owe his prominence as the prisoner's friend to his name. Van Gennep (*Religions, Mœurs, et Légendes*, pp. 7-8) is explicit on the point. 'Ce saint', he says, 'originnaire de France, a été transporté en Allemagne par les Cisterciens. Anciennement on le nommait *Liénard* (nom qui subsiste en Allemagne sous les formes *Lienhart, Lebnhart, &c.*) et on lui attribuait le pouvoir de lier et de délier. L'analogie entre le nom du saint et sa fonction spéciale est évidente, au point que celle-ci a bien des chances de prévenir de celui-là. Actuellement encore, saint Liénard ou Léonard est, en France comme en Allemagne, le protecteur des animaux

The same tale of liberation is told by Paulus Merula (1558 to 1607) of two citizens of Orleans condemned to death by the Turks and placed the day before execution in strong chests. In the night they commended themselves to the relics of Holy Cross at Orleans and were transported *per aerem* in their chests and found next morning in the church of Holy Cross at Orleans.¹ Again, the black statue of Notre Dame de Liesse was made, with angelic help, by three knights whom the Sultan of Egypt held in captivity. By its aid they converted the sultan's daughter and were miraculously taken home together with the image; the church is dated 1134.²

In a small and interesting point in these developments of the liberation-of-prisoners theme there is, I think, a connexion with the East on the lines of the Tanta miracle. In Gregory of Tours' time, it will be remembered, any saint³ might perform the miracle. It is noticeable, however, that at this date there is no indication of the added miracle which is found at Tanta, viz. that the liberated man is released and carried off by the saint. In the cases,

domestiques, des femmes en mal d'enfant, des prisonniers, etc. Et son surnom allemand, est *Entbinder*, le *délieur*. Ainsi, le jeu de mots français a été traduit par les Allemands, pour qui le mot de *Liénard* ne signifiait rien.³

¹ *Cosmographia*, ap. Sincerus, *Itin. Gall.*, p. 29.

² Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, ii, 266 ff. In these stories of two and three knights we may discern the influence of eikonography perhaps. Soldiers guarding the empty tomb, for instance, are often shown in armour that is contemporary with the sculpture: such a subject certainly provides a box and knights.

³ As illustrative of the struggle between the 'Olympian' and the Pelasgian' strata of religion in the West, the story in Greg. Turon., *De Mir. S. Mart.* IV, xxxv, is interesting. A prisoner was liberated from his chains while being led in front of *S. Peter's* church and bound again more tightly by his escort. When he passed, however, in front of *S. Martin's*, these strengthened bonds fell off and they had to release him altogether.

however, which date from the crusading period, this occurs. Levitation being a very oriental idea, this detail may be thought some corroboration of the general influence on the West of the Crusades¹ at this time.

The pre-crusading period may have based these tales of liberation on S. Peter's :² the miracle is so far restricted to the undoing of chains and doors. S. Peter's chains are not only a relic of S. Peter, the binder and looser, but they have already been instrumental in his liberation. Liberation may be material or spiritual,³ the two conceptions fusing⁴ through the idea of possession being slavery to Satan. Various illnesses are also thought the result of sin and are typified by binding :⁵ Gregory of Tours actually uses the words *caecitatis catena constrictus*.⁶ Further, a penance appointed for serious sins was to go in chains several years.⁷ Thus,

¹ For this see Hasluck, *Letters*, pp. 117-8.

² The chains in S. Peter's prison at Jerusalem did miracles and were taken to Rome (Tobler, *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, i, 411); Lucius (*Anfänge des Heiligenk.*, p. 192) says they were given to Rome by the Empress Eudoxia; S. Peter *ad Vincula* was built by Sixtus III, who died in 440 A. D. (Lucius, *loc. cit.*).

³ For instance, S. Maria dell' Inferno at Rome was at first interpreted as 'Libera nos a poenis infernis', but was later regarded as S. Maria *Liberatrice* and connected with S. Silvester's destruction of a dragon in a neighbouring cave (Tucker and Malleison, *Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome*, p. 280; Hare, *Walks in Rome*, i, 164).

⁴ Thus, Sincerus saw a captive liberated at Ascension at Rouen (*Itin. Gall.*, p. 214). 'Sequanus Lingonici abbas territorii vivens saepe homines a vinculo diabolici nexus absolvit' (Greg. Turon., *De Glor. Conf.* lxxxviii).

⁵ Cf. the paralytic woman to whom S. Julian appeared in sleep: 'visum est ei quasi multitudo catenarum ab ejus membris solo decidere' (Greg. Turon., *De Pass. S. Jul.* II, ix).

⁶ *De Mir. S. Mart.* iv, 20.

⁷ Cf. Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, i, 88, who says the prayer during the ablutions preliminary to the prayer proper runs: 'O God, free my neck from the fire; and keep me from the chains, and the collars, and the fetters.'

a fratricide was loaded with chains and sent on a seven years' penitential pilgrimage. Coming by revelation to the tomb of S. John in *Tornodorensi pago*, he incubated in the church and prayed and was loosed from all his chains.¹ Absolution (again *solvo*) being given, the chains were probably deposited in the church as an *ex-voto*.² Again, madmen were chained for the protection of society and presumably unchained when they were considered well. Several holy places in the East to this day keep chains³ to tie up madmen undergoing treatment, just as churches frequently used for incubation keep bedding.

Under the influence of successful miracles these chains tend to become regarded as the immediate instrument of cure⁴ and, probably owing to the influence of S. Peter's prototype, are associated with saints,

¹ Greg. Turon., *De Glor. Conf.* lxxxvii: see especially *Acta SS.*, Jan. vol. ii, 866.

² The church of S. Leonard contains a number of manacles, chains, &c., of grateful prisoners delivered by the saint (Collin, *Hist. Sacr. des Saints*, p. 555). In view of the Tanta procedure there may be less of *fraus pia* in the S. Leonard miracles than is sometimes supposed.

³ Thévenot, *Voyages*, iii, 156, says that at Telghiuran, between Urfa and Mardin, there is a small chapel with chains, which are put round the madman's neck. The chains loose themselves from the patients who are destined to recover, but have to be untied from hopeless cases. Similarly, in the church of S. George at Beyrut there is a huge iron ring attached to a chain, which Arabs and Christians alike don when ill or mad: it effects an immediate cure (Thévenot, *Voyages*, ii, 639). Cf. d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 191. Other cases are cited by Burton, *Inner Life of Syria*, p. 389; Guérin, *Palestine*, p. 312; Kelly, *Syria*, p. 103; Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, p. 319; Vaujany, *Caire*, pp. 293 f.; Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, ii, 32; White, in *Mosl. World*, ix, 181.

⁴ Hence the beating of lunatics with these chains (Burton, *Inner Life of Syria*, p. 389; Guérin, *Descr. de la Pales.*, p. 312: both references are to a chapel of S. George just outside Jerusalem); cf. the beating at the Maronite chapel of S. Anthony mentioned by Pococke, *Voyages*, iii, 312.

particularly with S. George¹ in the East. There may be something in the *Acta* to account for this prominence of S. George, or it may be only that, like S. Michael, he is associated with dragon-killing² and so casting out devils.³

¹ Cf. Burton and Guérin, *loc. cit.*, and Tobler, *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, i, 501 ff.

² Cf. Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 85.

³ Cf. S. Maria dell' Inferno, mentioned above, p. 668, n. 3.

TERRA LEMNIA ¹

IN ancient medical practice several sorts of natural earths, found at various places in the Levant and described in detail by Pliny and other writers, had recognized curative properties, being employed for the most part as astringents and desiccatives in the treatment of wounds and internal hemorrhages. Pliny's list includes the earths of Chios, Kimolos, Eretria, Lemnos, Melos, Samos, and Sinope. The use of many of these persisted into quite modern times,² but none was so generally esteemed either by ancients or moderns as the

¹ Reprinted, with additions, from *B.S.A.* xvi, 220 ff.

² The earth of Chios is mentioned in modern times by Jerome Justinian, a Chiote Genoese (*Descrip. de Chio*, p. 68) as found near Pyrgi: 'En un autre terrouer du dit Pirgy se trouvoit autre fois la terre dite Chia laquelle a le mesme vertu que celle qu'on nomme Lemnia. Le Grand Turc s'en sert maintenant en son seau [*sic*].' Thevet (*Cosmog. de Levant*, p. 56) considered it as valuable medicinally as the Lemnian, which opinion was confirmed by Covel a hundred years later. The latter adds that the Chian earth was dug like the Lemnian at a special season (May, whence it was called *πηλομαιότικο*), but was not used medicinally but only for washing (MS. Add. 22914, f. 57 v). It has now become almost unknown, owing to the low price of olive-oil soaps, but it is traditionally said to have been a government monopoly under the Genoese. 'Kimolian' earth is said by Dale (*Pharmacologia*, 1693, p. 47) to have been found in England. In Samos, Pococke (*Descr. of the East*, II, ii, p. 29) notices a white earth which was eaten by children in his day. Melian earth is mentioned by Sir Thomas Sherley in his account of the island (my article in *B.S.A.* xiii, 347: cf. Pococke, *loc. cit.*). Sinopic earth (see Robinson in *A. J. Phil.* xxvii, 141, § 4) is probably the Armenian bole mentioned by Dale and his contemporaries as coming 'from Turkey', and by others (Poulet, &c.) as a frequent ingredient in sophisticated Lemnian earth. It is presumably the *Terra Saracenicæ* used by the Arabs against plague, and the *Kil Ermeni* which was foisted on me as Lemnian in the Egyptian bazaar at Constantinople.

Lemnian, which was set apart in the first place by its alleged miraculous power against poisons (especially the bites of venomous reptiles) and later against plague, and in the second by the religious accompaniments and the various artificial restrictions of its production.

Of the Lemnian earth Pliny, who happens to be our earliest authority, says it was highly reputed among the ancients,¹ but we have no means of ascertaining how far back the use of it extends. It is interesting to note that the hill Moschylos on which it was found was associated in legend with the fall of Hephaestus, and that one version of the Philoktetes myth attributes the cure of the hero's wound, caused ultimately, it will be remembered, by the poison of the Lernean hydra, to this medicine.²

With Dioskorides we begin to be better informed: he tells us the earth was found in a tunnel-like aperture in Lemnos, prepared with an admixture of goat's blood, and thereafter made up into tablets and stamped with the figure of a goat, whence came its popular name 'goat's seal'. It had a singular virtue against poisons if drunk with wine, and acted as an emetic when poison had already been swallowed. It was also sovereign against the bites of venomous reptiles and for dysentery.³ It will be seen that the chief use of it is here considered as antidotal.

It is from Galen⁴ that we first hear of the ceremonies in connexion with the digging of the earth, and his information rests on his own investigations in Lemnos itself, whither he went especially for this purpose. On a certain day, he says, the priestess (of Artemis apparently from the sequel) came out of the city (Hephaestias), sprinkled a certain quantity of barley on the place where the earth was dug, and performed other cere-

¹ *N.H.* xxxv, 6.

² Philostratos, *Heroikos*, 306.

³ v, 113: cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 431, for the antidotal earth of Dair Mughan.

⁴ *De Simpl. Medic. Fac.* ix, 206.

monial observances, after which she took a cartload of the earth and returned to the city. Here the earth was cleansed and sealed with the figure of Artemis.¹ These usages were said in the island to be very ancient. The earth was locally used for ulcers (for which it was employed with success by Galen himself), for wounds, as an emetic, and for poisonous bites; for internal use it was drunk in wine; for external, applied with vinegar. There were three grades, of each of which the first might be handled only by the priestess; the rest, like so many of the other earths cited by Pliny, being used industrially.

After Galen there is a complete silence among our authorities as to what happened at Lemnos.² The earth continues to be cited after the ancients and the use of reputed Lemnian Seal³ or *Terra sigillata* persisted through the Middle Ages. Bartholomaeus Anglicus (13th c.) says of it:

‘A serten veyne of the erthe is called Terra Sigillata, and is singularerly colde and drie. And Dioscorides calleth it Terra saracenicā and argentea, and is somedeale whyte, well smellynge and clere. The cheyf vertue therof byndeth and stauncheth. And powder therof tempred with the whyte of an egge stauncheth bledynge at the nose. And helpeth ayenst swellinge of the fete and ayenste the gowte, if it be layed in a playstre therto, as it is sayde in Lapidario.’⁴

It will be noted, however, that there is no evidence of first-hand knowledge in the above account, still less mention of Lemnos. In fact the earliest first-hand mention of the Lemnian earth in a modern writer

¹ The goat’s-blood story of Dioskorides was ridiculed; it was probably an inference from the seal he saw.

² The last of the ancients to mention the earth seems to be P. Aegineta, vii (*s.v. Ge, terra*).

³ *Lempnia frigidus* in a medieval glossary quoted by Tozer, *Islands of the Aegean*, p. 260, where *frigidus* stands for *σφραγίδος*. Bartholomaeus Anglicus (see following quotation) seems to have misunderstood this gloss in saying that the earth is ‘singularerly colde and drie.’

⁴ *Lib. XV, ccxxix, cap. lxxxxviii* (ed. London, 1535).

known to me is in the *Voyage* of Joos van Ghistele, who visited Lemnos in 1485. He gives the following account of the earth :

‘ It is found that *Terra Sigillata* is the best in the world. It is used in certain medicines and is produced in Lemnos in a pool which dries up every summer and is full of water in winter. When this pool begins to dry up, a thick scum, variegated in colour, forms on its surface. This is skimmed off and laid on clean planks as required, according to the method in use locally. When dry, it is made up into round pellets or flat cakes, sealed, together with several other things, with the seal of the Lord of the aforesaid island [Lemnos], and despatched to various countries.’¹

The next modern author to mention the earth is Agricola,² who, writing in 1530, says that he had seen tablets of Lemnian earth brought from Constantinople; they were of a yellowish colour and stamped with Turkish letters. The Turks held it to be the only remedy for plague, using it as the Arabs used Armenian bole. At Venice it was ill known but sold dear.

¹ Joos van Ghistele, *T Voyage*, Ghent, 1572, pp. 348 f. : ‘ Men vinter *Terra sigilata* de beste die terwerelt is, die men useert in eenighe medicinen, ende ghenereert daer in eenē poel die alle somertidē wt droocht eñ in dē winter is hi vol waters. Als deser poel begint in te droogē so comter op eenen coē van moren van veel diueersche coleurē, dē welckē mē bgadert bouē af eñ leittē op schoon plancken te droogē na dē heesch so sijt wetē te doen dier in werckē : eñ diē gedroocht zijn makēder af ronde balotē of platte, ende wert met meer anderē substanciē gheseghelt met dē teeckē vandē heere die tvoorseide eylant te bewaren heeft ende so gevoert in diuersche landen. [Professor W. E. Collinson informs me that the form *coe* appears to stand for the Dutch and Flemish *caem* (Mod. Dutch *kaam*), a scum on the surface of beer or wine caused by a fungus : it is cognate with the English dialect *coom*, *kane*. For *heesch* see Vervijs and Verdam’s *Middel-nederlandsch Woordenboch*. For the translation as a whole I am indebted to Professor R. Pribsch.—M. M. H.]

² Agricola, *Bermannus*, pp. 115 f. In 1579 Breuning was given some *Terra sigillata* and saw ‘ the real and the sophisticated given to two dogges whereof one dyed miserably ’ (*Orient. Reyss*, p. 40).

About the middle of the century we have circumstantial accounts of the digging of the earth written by two scientific men, Belon and Albacario, who, like Galen, went themselves to Lemnos to investigate it. The first of these began his researches systematically by gathering information at Constantinople as to the various seals which guaranteed the quality of the earth, and these seals are engraved in his book for the benefit of the medical world. Belon's account of the ceremonial digging (at which, however, he was not present) is full and interesting as reproducing almost exactly, *mutatis mutandis*, the ancient ritual. The digging still took place only once a year, viz. at the festival of the Transfiguration (6 August), and was preceded by a religious service at the church of the Saviour (which would naturally keep this day as its dedication festival), not far from the hill on which the earth was dug. The Turkish governor (Subashi) of the island and the Turkish and Greek notables took part in the ceremony. A proclamation was made ¹ and a sheep was sacrificed as *kurban*, which was afterwards eaten by the Turks present, as the Greeks fasted at this time of year.² The digging began at or before sunrise and continued for six hours, after which the hole was closed and left till the next year. It was a penal offence to dig it out of season. The earth dug was cleansed and stamped with a seal bearing in Arabic letters the words *tin i makhtum* (sealed earth). Soranzo adds that it was baked.³ Certain officers were allowed

¹ This detail, with the text of the proclamation 'Le grand Dieu hault et tout puissant declare aujourd'huy l'effect et vertu de ceste terre à ses tres-fideles serviteurs', is preserved by Thevet (*Cosmog. Univ.* ii, 805), a bad authority, but his account seems derived from a good source beyond Belon. The characteristic dialogue with the Greek, '*Frangithes nagorasis apo tin gimou?*' (Φράγκε, θές να αγοράσης από την γην μου), &c., rings true.

² Till the 15 Aug. (Assumption).

³ 'Formansi delle tre differenti sorti di terra, tre diverse sorti di girelle, . . . dando agli uni ed agli altri una cottura per maggior durata' (in Alberi, *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti*, III, ii, 220).

to take a share of it, and the bystanders a small quantity each, but the bulk of the earth, including the whole of the first quality,¹ was placed after sealing in a packet (also sealed) and sent to Constantinople by special messenger for the use of the sultan.² A certain amount, presumably of inferior quality, was sold on the spot by the Subashi to merchants.³

Our second authority, Stefano Albacario, was a Spanish physician⁴ commissioned to go to Lemnos to investigate the earth by the Austrian ambassador Busbecq, who sent his account to Mattioli.⁵ Albacario's account in the main corroborates Belon's. Interesting new details illustrating the religious aspect of the digging are (1) that the earth was supposed to have virtue only on the day chosen for the official digging, (2) that a special washer had the handling of the earth up to the time of its exportation, and (3) that this washer appropriated a small bag of the earth, which, however, was not sealed.

Both Belon and Busbecq probably owed their in-

¹ Palerne.

² The Grand Signior habitually drank out of a cup made of the earth (Palerne) and it was grated over all his meals as a precaution against poison (Crusius, p. 508). Galland (*Journal*, ii, 110) says the Grand Signior habitually ate from a dish baked of a certain green earth from India which was an antidote against poison.

³ The merchants are spoken of as Jews by Thevet (*Cosmog. Univ.* ii, 805), and very likely were at this date. A hundred years later von Rheinfelden speaks of *Greeks* paying 18,000 dollars to the sultan for the monopoly of it. From Belon's account (pp. 43 ff.) it appears that the Subashi paid a fixed sum and made what he could from the sale of the earth: it was evidently regarded, like mines all over the empire and certain other natural products, *e. g.* the mastic of Chios, as a perquisite of the sultan, who farmed it as he thought fit.

⁴ Probably a Spanish Jew with a Christian name; the surname sounds like Arabic; Franco, *Hist. des Isr. de l'Emp. Ott.*, p. 284, cites as a Jewish Spanish name Albuhaïré derived from the Spanish mountains Alpujarras.

⁵ Mattioli, *Comment. in Dioscor.* v, 73. Albacario made one attempt to go to Lemnos while Busbecq was still at Constantinople, but was prevented. He must therefore have gone after 1562.

terest in and knowledge of the earth less to its repute in European pharmacy at their date than to the custom then current at the court of Constantinople of offering tablets of the earth as official presents to foreign ambassadors and other persons of quality. Thus we find recorded presents of *terre sigillée* to French ambassadors at various dates from 1546 onwards; ¹ Busbecq, the patron of Albacario, was an ambassador and had, moreover, seen the earth successfully used against plague. ² Slightly later von Ungnad, an Austrian ambassador, was given 40 tablets of Lemnian earth and a cup made of it ³ by Zygomalas, who also sent some to Crusius.

A long series of western travellers, as the bibliography below shows, subsequently interested themselves in the famous earth, none adding greatly to our knowledge but Covell, who appears to record a more superstitious belief in it than his forerunners. Whereas Albacario distinctly says that the religious service was not supposed to influence the power of the earth, Covell reports that 'several papas, as well as others, would have persuaded me that at the time of our Saviour's transfiguration, this place was sanctified to have His sacred earth, and that it is never to be found soft and unctuous, but always perfect rock unlesse only that day . . . and at that time when the priest hath said his liturgy'. ⁴ Covell further gives minute particulars of the washing of the earth; ⁵ this was done at the fountain of the neighbouring

¹ Charrière, *Négociations dans le Levant*, i, 618; ii, 776; iii, 548; de la Vigne; *cf.* Belon, ch. xxii.

² Busbecq, *Life and Letters*, i, 164.

³ Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, p. 403 (1577).

⁴ Ed. Bent, p. 283.

⁵ See also the rather obscure account of Soranzo, which lays great stress on a water-channel diverted on the day of the digging, the earth being found apparently in the natural receptacle into which the water normally flowed: 'si devia l'acqua dal canale, acciò non scorra più nella fossa, dalla quale alzatosi il coperchio, se ne leva con molta diligenza tutta l'acqua rimasa con vasi ed in fine con spugne, poi se ne cava quel fango e molticcio (so B.M. *Reg.* 14 A, xiii, *f.* 10) che ha

village ('Αγία 'Υπάρη), which, merely to increase the miracle apparently, was supposed to have an underground connexion with the place of the digging. At this period it was accounted 'an infallible cure of all agues, taken at the beginning of the fit with water' and employed also for fluxes, to hasten childbirth, and as an antidote; no vessel made of it would hold poison but immediately splintered into a thousand fragments. The latter superstition has survived till our own day and is recorded also by several writers before and after Covell.¹

As to the history of the Lemnian earth in the medieval period it has been generally assumed that the export was continuous: de Launay even goes so far as to say that the constant bickering for the possession of the island was due to the value of the earth as an article of commerce; ² as a matter of fact the strategic value of the island is a quite sufficient explanation, and there is no evidence to show that the knowledge of the earth in medieval Europe was more than theoretical. This is borne out by Agricola's statement that it was known to few and sold dear in the Venice of his day (which, be it remarked, had had constant relations with Constantinople for several centuries) and by the ignorance of Thevet, who at the time of his voyage (1549) thought the earth came from Athos.³ Its excessive rarity about this time is attested by the same author,⁴ who says he sold four tablets of it in Malta for fifty-five ducats. The complete silence of the early *isolarii*, including Buondel-

fatto l'acqua, il quale si mette a parte per la prima e più perfetta sorte di terra . . .'

¹ Crusius, Soranzo, Benetti, Pococke, Tozer.

² This is evidently suggested by the anecdote of the taking of Lemnos in 1657, quoted by Tozer from von Hammer.

³ *Cosmog. de Levant*, p. 36. But in his *Cosmog. Univ.* he represents himself as having visited the island. Cf. below, p. 685, n. 5.

⁴ *Cosmog. Univ.* ii, 805.

monti's, and of such authors as the local Critobulus of Imbros and the traveller Cyriac of Ancona is a valuable negative argument.¹ The only shred of evidence for the appreciation of the earth before the Turkish period is Belon's remark (repeated after him by several others who are probably drawing on his account)² that the custom of digging the earth on one day only dated from the Venetians: the Venetians occupied the island 1464-1477; how, if they organized the digging, as is alleged, for commercial purposes, was the Lemnian earth almost unknown again fifty years later? It is besides probable that 'the time of the Venetians', like the modern 'time of the Genoese' all over Turkey, was only a vague expression for remote date.

In reality the revival in popularity of the famous drug is most likely due to the appearance of the Spanish Jews in the Levant. It is well known that the Jews, expelled in 1492 from Catholic Spain, flocked in the next fifty years to the dominions of the sultan, where they found a religious toleration unknown in Europe. During the second half of the sixteenth century the expelled Jews held a recognized position at Constantinople in the diplomatic and still more in the medical world. Several of the sultans about this date had Jewish physicians,³ who were recommended not only by their scientific

¹ For instance, Amato Lusitano (Franco, *op. cit.*, p. 75) escaped from Pesaro after 1555 to Salonica, where he died, but there is no trace of his knowing *Terra Lemnia* in his *Curationum Medicinalium Centuriæ Septem*, of which the seventh is dedicated to a Salonica friend.

² Du Loir, Coronelli; Covell was told the same thing in 1677, only twenty years after another Venetian occupation.

³ *e. g.* Selim I, Suleiman II, Selim II: the body-physicians of the last two were Andalusian Jews (M. A. Levy, *Don Joseph Nasi*, p. 6). For the position of the Turkish Jews at this time in commerce and finance, see Belon (III, xiii), where also stress is laid on their proficiency in medicine and knowledge of ancient medical writers, derived from Spanish translations. They had already at this period a printing-press at Constantinople.

attainments, derived from Moorish Spain, but by their loyalty to their adopted sovereign. It is possible that one of these, knowing Galen from the Arabic translations, was instrumental in bringing the Lemnian earth to the notice of his imperial master. It is, on the other hand, by no means necessary to consider that the use of the earth was at any time extinct in Lemnos; we should probably conceive of it as a local remedy consecrated by religion in medieval as in ancient and in modern times till quite recent years.¹

Immediately after the revival of the Lemnian earth, and for a century or more after, a number of earths found elsewhere in Europe, begin to compete with it. These were probably either actually similar in composition or credited with similar properties. The date of their discovery, when it can be ascertained, is subsequent to the rediscovery of the Lemnian earth and possibly dependent on it. They are known generically as 'sealed earths', a local epithet being added, but most have no religious associations. The device of the seal is generally a coat of arms and the form of the tablet follows the Lemnian.

Of these the German and Austrian varieties are fully discussed in Zedler's *Universal Lexikon*, s.v. *Siegelerde*, and many varieties of seals are figured by Wurm² and

¹ A parallel case of a medicinal earth which has never attracted the learned is to be found in the 'blewish sort of clay' like fullers' earth, seen by Covel (*Diaries*, p. 247) at Marash near Adrianople, which was moistened by a miracle on the day of the Assumption and bathed in by Greeks, Turks, and Jews 'for any sort of infirmity'. Covel thought it might be of value for cutaneous diseases, but scouted the miracle. The former British Consul at Adrianople (Lieut.-Colonel Rhys Samson, to whom I may here express my obligations) tells me this mud is still used for rheumatism and the same day observed. A service is naturally celebrated in the church of the Virgin, but is now said to have no connexion with the mud-bath. It will be remembered that the same is said by Albacario of the service in Lemnos.

² *Museum Wurmianum* (1722).

Valentini.¹ Cups were made of the Bohemian² and Strigonian³ earths, implying presumably their use as antidotes on the Lemnian analogy; it is further significant that one variety, found near Breslau, was used like the Lemnian for plague in 1633.⁴ In France the earth of Blois seems to have been first exploited about the time of Belon's book. It is mentioned by Thevet⁵ and Palerne.⁶ In Italy were exploited the earths called Sessana, Toccaresc, Florentina⁷ (stamped with the Medici arms), and Oreana.⁸ The Toccaresc variety was used as an antidote,⁹ and as cups were made of terra Sinuessa the same may be inferred of it. A Calabrian earth is said by Pococke to have entirely superseded the Lemnian in European practice.¹⁰

Maltese earth (Pauladadum) is so interesting a parallel (or derivative) of the Lemnian as to deserve a longer notice. It was found in small quantities in the cave of S. Paul near Città Vecchia and appears not to have been in vogue before the Lemnian; our first notices of it are subsequent to the coming of the Knights, and the church on the spot was built only in 1606.¹¹ The earth was used for small-pox and fevers, and particularly for the bites of reptiles, this magical use being associated directly with the incident of S. Paul and the viper, after which all reptiles in Malta became harmless. Numerous

¹ *Museum Muscorum* (1704-14), ii, pl. i. ² Wurm, *loc. cit.*, p. 15.

³ Strigonian earth (Strigonium = Gran in Hungary) was discovered as early as 1568 (Zedler), when Gran was Turkish. A specimen of this earth, the variety *de Monte Acuto*, is preserved in the museum of the Pharmaceutical Society (*cf.* F. Imperato, *Ist. Nat.* (1590), v, xxxvi).

⁴ Zedler, *Univ. Lexikon*.

⁵ *Cosmog. de Levant*: Münster (ed. Belleforest i, 313) says it was discovered *de nostre tems*.

⁶ *Peregrinations*, p. 361. See also Zedler, *loc. cit.*, and Sincerus, p. 60.

⁷ Valentini, *loc. cit.* ii, pl. i.

⁸ Wurm, *loc. cit.*, pp. 7 ff.

⁹ Imperato, *loc. cit.* (1590), v, xxxv.

¹⁰ Wurm, *loc. cit.*, p. 347.

¹¹ Brydone (1770), *Tour*, i, 325; Sonnini, *Voyage*, i, 69.

varieties of seals are shown in the plates of Wurm and Valentini, including (1) the bust of S. Paul holding staff and serpent (*rev.* a Maltese cross), (2) S. John (*rev.* arms of the Grand Master), (3) a hermit worshipping the cross (*rev.* a three-masted ship) and various saints. Images and vases were also made of the earth, the vases being thought, like the Lemnian, to crumble away when poison was poured into them.¹ We have thus an almost complete parallel for the Lemnian earth.²

Outside Europe the earth of Bethlehem seems worth mentioning in this connexion. It is found in a cave still shown as the refuge of the Holy Family and a place where the Virgin nursed the infant Christ. The cave is known already to Mandeville (1322);³ a Russian pilgrim Grethenios (*c.* 1400)⁴ says that pilgrims took a milky powder from the place 'for remedy and benediction' generally. Later it became specialized as a milk-charm, and was so used even by Mohammedans.⁵ The earth, which is chalky, white, and very friable, is now made up into tablets about an inch square, roughly stamped with the bust of the Virgin on one side and a monogram on the other side. Yet a second sort, much harder and more like clay, is sold outside the Sepulchre church; this is made up in round tablets with a very rough device (on one side only) showing the Holy Family in the stable, the beasts being quaintly

¹ They were also used for fever, *cf.* Carayon's *Rel. Inéd. de la Compagn. de Jésus*, 1864, p. 129.

² For the Maltese earth see Thevet, *Cosmog. Univ.* i, 27; F. Imperato, *Ist. Nat.* (1590), v, 37; Breithaupt, *Helden Insel Malta* (1632), p. 69; E. Francisci, *Lustgarten* (1668), pl. xli; John Ray, *Travels*, i, 262; Zedler, *loc. cit.*; Brydone (1770). Wurm (p. 347) figures a cup of it with legend DIVINO HOC PAVLI ANTIDOTO ATRA VENENA FVGABIS and reptiles moulded in relief.

³ Ed. Wright, p. 163.

⁴ Khitrovo, *Itin. Russes*, p. 182.

⁵ Thevet, *Cosmog. de Lev.* p. 37; *cf.* also Feyerabend, *Reyssbuch*, pp. 220, 274; Villamont, *Voyages*, ii, 426; Lithgow, *Rare Adventures*, pp. 247, 425. A specimen is figured by Valentini, *loc. cit.* ii, pl. i.

represented by projecting heads. This would appear to be an 'orthodox' variety.¹

The vogue of these rival earths naturally restricted the trade in the Lemnian. In the middle of the eighteenth century the traveller Pococke says it was no longer carried to Europe but used only in the Levant (and even here it was menaced by the export of the Maltese variety), while the pharmacist Pomet² says that the number of seals then current was confusing, making him think 'that everyone makes 'em to his fancy'; he curiously dissociates the sealed earth from the Lemnian, which 'was said to be the same as the sealed earth but in its natural state without any impression upon it'.³ Such a state of uncertainty among the profession could not fail to be fatal to what was essentially a faith-cure.

The West at length reached the stage of pure scepticism. Choiseul-Gouffier, Hunt, and Sibthorp no longer have any belief in the virtue of the Lemnian earth, and analysis has justified their conclusions, at least so far as concerns modern samples.⁴ This scepticism has, with the spread of western influence, reached Lemnos itself. Conze in the sixties was able still to purchase sealed tablets of the earth at an apothecary's, and in 1876 Pantelides writes of it as still in repute among the Turks

¹ Tablets of these earths were early used as charms, cf. Lucius, *Aufänge des Heiligenk.*, p. 194 (quoting especially Augustinian, *Civ. Dei*, xx, 8, 7). At Sens Millin records a box of earths from the Holy Land (*Midi de la France*, i, 97).

² *Compleat History of Drugs* (1712), p. 415. A contemporary specimen of Lemnian earth (which can hardly be genuine) in the museum of the Pharmaceutical Society is shown in *B.S.A.* xvi, p. 230: this variety is mentioned by Zedler and figured by Wurm, p. 10.

³ Probably the preparation made from the baobab tree and called *Terra Lemnia Sigillata*, *Encycl. Brit.*, 3 ed., s.v. *Adansonia*.

⁴ Daubeny, *Volcanos*, pp. 236-7; De Launay, *Chez les Grecs*, pp. 122 ff. Tozer doubts whether the original vein is not exhausted. On the chemical side of edible earths in general an article (inaccessible to me) has lately been published in *Schweiz. Wochenschr. f. Chymie*, 1909, pp. 417-25.

of Constantinople. Tozer found the superstition expiring, the festival nearly abandoned, and the site in a fair way to be lost. I myself in 1909 could not obtain the earth in the capital of the island, and at the pottery below the site bought only bowls of ill-levigated clay bearing the traditional inscription *tin i makhtum*.¹ The monopoly of the pottery and seal, formerly hereditary in a Turkish family, has lost even this link with the past, and the once priceless antidotal bowls have come down to the very moderate figure of a halfpenny each.

In conclusion, it is not without interest to consider in connexion with the Lemnian *terra sigillata* and its analogies a category of sealed earths owing their virtue solely to their provenance and associations. Earth from the tombs of holy men is regularly conceived of in the East² as partaking of the virtue of the sainted dead, and consequently as possessing healing and other miraculous powers.³ Those who knew Salonica in Turkish times will remember how the *khoja* of the Great Mosque distributed to pilgrims (at a price) minute quantities of the dust from the 'Tomb of S. Demetrius' for use as medicine or amulets. At the tomb of Sheikh Adi, the patron of the Yezidi, near Mosul, balls of earth from the grave are similarly sold to pilgrims.⁴ The next stage in development is to seal the grave-earth as a guarantec

¹ The seal itself is modern according to the tradition given by Tozer.

² Also in the West, cf. Greg. Turon. *De Mirac. S. Mart.* I, xxxvii, xxxviii.

³ See further above, pp. 262 f.

⁴ Layard, *Discoveries in Nineveh*, i, 284. This earth, like that of Kerbela, is of considerable ritual importance (see Heard, in *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xli, 210, 212). Similarly, the holy oil made at Echmiadzin is mixed with earth, made into balls, and hung up in a house for luck (Mrs. Bishop, *Journeys in Persia*, i, 277). At the church of S. James in Jerusalem de Brèves saw tablets of earth brought by pious Armenians (*Voyages*, p. 122).

of its authenticity. Lane, in his *Modern Egyptians*, describes sealed tablets of earth from the Prophet's grave at Medina, which are used as charms by Moslems.¹ Similar sealed earth is brought by pilgrims from Kerbela and Nejef.² Like these grave-earths the sealed earths of Bethlehem and Malta seem to depend for their vogue entirely on their religious associations. In the case of the Lemnian earth, side by side with the scientific or pseudo-scientific appreciation of its qualities, we discern at all ages a similar strain of religious association,³ which reinforces its more positive virtues. The Turks told an artless legend that 'a disciple of Christ, being miraculously transported to Lemnos, wept so sorely at the separation from his Master that of his tears was formed the wondrous earth'.⁴ As to the Greeks, Covel's report of their associating it with our Saviour's transfiguration, has been given already.⁵ In Galen's time some lost legend connected the earth with Artemis, as in earlier days its existence was obviously considered as marking the place where Hephaestus fell.

Traces of a further cycle of secular folk-lore now lost,

¹ Ch. xi (p. 323). 'Oblong flat cakes, of a kind of greyish earth, each about an inch in length, and stamped with Arabic characters, "In the name of God! Dust of our land [mixed] with the saliva of some of us".'

² P. della Valle, *Viaggi*, iii, 461: 'Sopra la tomba [of Abbas], trouai . . . certe come medaglie, fatte di terra cotta, che sogliono portar da Kierbela, e dalla sepoltura del lor famoso Hussein: nelle quali medaglie di terra hanno per vso d'improntare il nome di Dio, con qualche parola diuota.' Cf. Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, iii, 202, and Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 223. For the earth of Nejef see Cuinet, *op. cit.* iii, 209.

³ Cf. Greg. Turon., *De Glor. Mart.* I, vii.

⁴ Blochet, in *Rev. Or. Lat.* 1909, p. 175. The tears became earth on 7 August.

⁵ Above, p. 677. To this idea the proximity of Lemnos to the peak of Athos, which is dedicated to the Transfiguration, has evidently contributed. Westerns seem to have connected Athos with the 'exceeding high mountain' of the Temptation (Struys, *Voyages*, p. 70).

connecting the Lemnian earth with Philoktetes, may possibly be discerned. According to one account, Philoktetes was cured on Lemnos by the priests of Hephaestus,¹ the remedy being presumably the earth of classical fame.² But in the usual form of the legend the stench of the hero's wound made him so unbearable to men that he was 'marooned', naturally enough on an *uninhabited* island. The figure of Philoktetes thus approximates to the 'leprous prince' of a folk-lore cycle current in both East and West. In this cycle the hero, banished from men, is eventually healed by a natural remedy, the use of which is suggested to him by observing its power of curing diseased animals.³ The remedy is in several versions a hot spring, and the animal a pig. Examples are the well-known legend of Prince Bladud at Bath, and those of 'Helena, daughter of Yanko-ibn-Madyan' at Yalova in Bithynia,⁴ and of an anonymous Byzantine princess at Brusa.⁵ I would tentatively suggest that the goat, hitherto unexplained, which in Dioskorides' time formed the device of the Lemnian

¹ Eustath. *ad Hom.* 330; Hephaestion, in Photius, 489 R.

² Philostratos, *Heroikos*, 306.

³ For remedies indicated by animals see Baring Gould, *Curious Myths*, 2nd series, pp. 129 ff.

⁴ Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 33. 'Yanko-ibn-Madyan' is a legendary emperor of Constantinople frequently mentioned by Evliya, his name being apparently a compound of 'Yanko' (John Hunyadi) and his son Matthias!

⁵ Kandis, *Ἡ Πρωῦσα*, p. 185. Cf. also the similar story of Rhodanthe and Dosicles (a Greek novel by Theodoros Prodromos, of the twelfth century, ed. Hercher, *Erotici Script.* ii) where Rhodanthe dies, but Dosicles, when hunting, sees a wounded bear roll himself into a certain herb and recover, so gathers the herb and revives Rhodanthe. Cf. also a modern story attributing the discovery of the hot springs of Tiflis to a hunting party which saw a wounded stag plunge into them and revive (Gulbenkian, *Transcaucasia*, p. 102). A partridge found a spring for thirsty Arabs (Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, p. 130). A gazelle led to the cure of the sultan Sanjar's son, for which see above, p. 462, n. 5.

seal,¹ was in the case of Philoktetes the indirect instrument of the cure.²

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¹ See above, p. 672.

² A goat so figures in a modern Greek variant of the theme of the Leprous Prince (Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 83). In classical times goats were supposed to have the power of recognizing the (medicinal) dittany of Crete: see Virgil, *Aen.* xii. 412-15; Pliny, *H. N.* xxv. 8. 97; *Hist. Plant.* 98; *cf.* also Tozer, *Islands of the Aegean*, p. 47. The goat is a difficult animal to connect with Artemis.

³ Authors who visited Lemnos are marked with a dagger (†).

⁴ See Blochet, in *Rev. Or. Lat.* xii (1909), pp. 175 f.

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OBSERVATIONS ON INCUBATION ¹

FOR accidental reasons incubation in the ancient temples of Asklepios has become so familiar to us that we are inclined to think it typical and to consider all phenomena which resemble those of the Asklepios temples as derived from them. In the wider sense, however, incubation means sleeping in a holy place with the intention of receiving some desired communication ² from the *numen* supposed to inhabit the holy place.

¹ [My husband left a quantity of scattered notes together with a brief draft of his ideas on incubation, it being his intention to write a long article on the subject. As some of his ideas have been anticipated by the admirable article of Mr. Louis H. Gray in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion*, which appeared too late for my husband to consult it, I have done no more than edit his draft and insert as footnotes his illustrative references.—M. M. H.]

² By no means always in connexion with healing. Thus S. Romuald was turned to the religious life by a vision of S. Apollinare when sleeping in his church at Ravenna (P. Guérin, *Vie des Saints*, s.v.). Incubation at Daniel's tomb was supposed to bring remission of present grievances and insurance against those to come (Walpole, *Travels*, p. 423, quoted also by Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, p. 495). S. Francis Caracciolo (died 1608), on feeling his end approach, obtained permission to pass a night in the Holy House of Loretto (P. Guérin, *op. cit.*, s.v.). In the same way Catholic pilgrims formerly incubated in the Sepulchre church 'for benediction' (Lithgow, *Rare Adventures*, p. 335; Casola's *Pilgrimage*, ed. Newett, p. 261): this is still important to Russian pilgrims (S. Graham, *With the Russian Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, pp. 131 f.). Analogous was the incubation at S. Patrick's Purgatory, which was supposed to relieve from future purgatory (Baring Gould, *Curious Myths*, 1st Series, no. xi). Incubation at a certain tomb relieved a fratricide from his penitential chains (Greg. Turon., *De Glor. Conf.* lxxxvii). A woman's insistent prayers obtained at length a relic of S. John the Baptist (Greg. Turon., *De Glor. Martyrum*,

Incubation in this sense is natural and logical when the hypothesis ¹ prevails that (1) the *numen* is localized and has special power at his holy place and that (2) the darkness and quiet of night together with the dream-state ² are peculiarly suitable conditions for communication with the *numen*. The revelation is in the first place an oracle ³ and comes by way of instruction. For this reason the procedure at the shrines of the oracular Amphiaraos ⁴ and Trophonios in ancient Greece is very similar to that familiar to us at the healing shrine of

I, xiv). Lucius cites a case where incubation brought victory (*Anfänge des Heiligenk.*, p. 243) and another where it was the means of recovering stolen property (*ibid.*, p. 274, n. 3); it may be remarked that, while the author regards Cosmas and Damian as successors of Asklepios he does not find incubation practised by them. S. Theodore recovered after incubation some property stolen from a Jerusalem goldsmith (*ibid.*).

¹ This hypothesis is common to most peoples at a certain stage in their religious development and may be perpetuated late in their civilization; it is as characteristic of the Jewish, and therefore of the Mohammedan and Christian, religion as it was of classical antiquity. The most interesting modern Jewish incubation shrine is at Jobar near Damascus, where Elisha is the healing saint and the place of incubation is a vault under a synagogue built in an otherwise exclusively Mohammedan village. Accounts of the ritual are given by Burton, *Inner Life of Syria*, p. 101; Mrs. Mackintosh, *Damascus*, p. 98; Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, i, 64; J. L. Porter, *Giant Cities*, p. 340; Stanley, *Sinai*, p. 412; Thévenot, *Voyages*, ii, 693; d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 461; Pococke, *Voyages*, iii, 387; Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, p. 487. According to Carmoly (*op. cit.*, p. 136) it is mentioned by Samuel bar Simson, a pilgrim of A. D. 970, so that its antiquity is vouched for satisfactorily. It is also to be noticed that the shrine is not a grave, but rather a place frequented, like the stations of Khidr, by the spirit of Elisha.

² In incubation cases dreams are rather the exception than the rule: cure by no means depends on them.

³ The case of S. Romuald (above, p. 689, n. 2) approaches the oracular idea, as do those of the recovery of stolen property mentioned by Lucius, *op. cit.*, p. 274, n. 3.

⁴ In S. Jerome's time incubation for divination was practised to Asklepios (see the authors quoted by Beugnot, *Hist. Destr. du Paganisme*, i, 369).

Epidaurus.¹ As, however, it is mostly for health² that men implore the gods, incubation becomes specialized for healing, the method of communication being either by instruction or by direct action of the god.³

Any *numen*,⁴ even the very substantial *peris* of a Brusa bath, according to Lady Blunt,⁵ may be a healing *numen*, his credit and his sphere of action being determined by results.⁶ Instances of departmentalization in modern Greece are the Panagia, who is a general practitioner,⁷

¹ So for that matter is the story told of S. Swithin at Winchester, for which see Hutton, *English Saints*, p. 289.

² Including relief from sterility: cf. d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 340 (obscure Moslem saint on the Cape of Beirut) and Mrs. Hume Griffith, *Behind the Veil in Persia*, p. 282 (Sheikh Mati near Mosul).

³ Sometimes both are combined as in the case of S. Pardoux cited by Collin (*Hist. Sacrée de Limoges*, p. 435). Cf. the words of Zoega 'de aegrotis, qui somnium capiunt in locis martyrum, quo salutem recipiant aut somno moneantur' (quoted by Lucius, *op. cit.*, p. 406, n. 2).

⁴ S. Benedict cured the saintly emperor Henry II (P. Guérin, *Vie des Saints*, s.v. S. Henri II). S. Andrew in Pontus (White, in *Mosl. World*, ix, 181) and at Patras (Lucius, *op. cit.*, p. 300, after Greg. Turon., *De Glor. Martyr.* I, xxxi), the Forty Martyrs in various places (cf. e.g. Lucius, p. 300, and Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, p. 118), S. Anthony in Syria (Kelly, *Syria*, p. 103, and Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, i, 319), S. Elias at the baths of Gadara (lepers: see Antoninus martyr, ed. Tobler, vii, 9), and Daniel (Walpole, *Travels*, p. 423) are all mentioned as granting healing after incubation. An obscure saint may be as potent as his more famous brother: thus the almost unknown bishop Marcellus of Paris cured fever (Greg. Turon. *De Glor. Conf.* lxxxix), another Syrian *santon* cures madness (Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 48, quoted by Kelly, *Syria*, p. 247), while Sidi Yakub of Tlemcen is good for demoniacal possession (Montet, *Culte des Saints Musulmans*, p. 31). S. Makrina at Hassa Keui in Cappadocia also cures (Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, pp. 206 ff.).

⁵ See above, p. 109.

⁶ S. Israel, a tenth-century saint of Limoges, was buried in the common cemetery, but became known as a saint because of the miracles which occurred after incubation at his grave (Collin, *Hist. Sacrée*, p. 38).

⁷ This is usual throughout the Greek area.

and saints Michael¹ and George,² who specialize in cures of madness.³ In general, the cures are not confined to human beings, animals also benefiting by incubation at certain shrines,⁴ and, where the population is of mixed religion, all sects tend to frequent a shrine that has acquired fame by its healing miracles.⁵

It happened in ancient Greece that Asklepios achieved fame as a healer, but throughout the later history of his cult it did not differ from other cults which practised incubation except in its elaborate development, which in the end bridged the gap between supernatural (miraculous) and scientific healing. Gradually it became no longer necessary that patients should sleep in the temple itself: cures were effected no less in the surrounding

¹ For S. Michael see M. Tinayre, *Notes d'une Voyageuse*, pp. 148 ff. (in Thrace); Amélineau, *Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne*, i, 73, 80 (in Égypt); Cousin, *Hist. de l'Église*, tr. Mr. C., III, ii, 3, p. 83 (at Constantinople, from Sozomenos; cf. Maury, *Magie*, pp. 241 ff.).

² For S. George consult Mrs. Bishop, *Journeys in Persia*, i, 276 (Armenian church at New Julfa); Burton, *Inner Life of Syria*, p. 389 (near Jerusalem, mentioned also by V. Guérin, *Descr. de la Palest.*, p. 312, and Tobler, *Topogr. v. Jerusalem*, ii, 501 ff.); Vaujany, *Caire*, p. 293 (at Cairo); Tobler, *op. cit.* i, 371 (in a Coptic monastery).

³ Cf. the promise of Michael given in Bonnet, *De Mirac. a Mich. patr.*, p. 18, quoted in Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 85, n. 5.

⁴ Cf. especially Carnoy and Nicolaïdes, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, pp. 335 ff. (Haji Bekir), and also p. 203 (S. John the Baptist) and p. 204 (S. Makrina).

⁵ A Jewish woman of Lule Burgas took her son to incubate in a Turkish *turbe* at Kirk Kupekli in Thrace (F. W. H.); a leprous Jew of Cyprus incubated in a church of S. Michael (Amélineau, *Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne*, i, 81); Bulgar Uniate parents took their sick child to incubate in an Orthodox church of the Archangels in Thrace (Tinayre, *Notes d'une Voyageuse*, pp. 148 ff.). Christians and Moslems frequent the Damascus tomb of George the Porter (Thévenot, *Voyages*, iii, 49); Turks, Jews, and Christians incubate at a chapel of S. Elias near Ephesus (Svoronos in *Μικρασ. Ἡμερολ.* 1916, pp. 384-91); the Cave of the Invention at Jerusalem is full of the hairs of sick Moslems and Christians who have used it superstitiously (Fabri, *Evagat.* i, 297; further details in Tobler, *Golgotha*, p. 303).

buildings. At the same time the intermediaries of the god tended more and more to become skilled physicians handling a far wider range of disease than the cases susceptible to suggestion, which are those generally catered for with success by purely miraculous means.

It is curious to compare in our own times the establishment of modern hospitals and treatment at certain holy places formerly noted for their supernatural cures. Examples are the hospital at Balukli near Constantinople, the madhouse in the monastery of S. George in the Prinkipo Islands,¹ and the madhouse at Gheel² in Belgium. In the last case the supernatural treatment, consisting in passing nine times under the saint's sarcophagus nine days in succession, is on the wane and now optional, though the scientific treatment is well organized and much reputed.

There is, moreover, a social side³ to incubation, for a pilgrimage to an incubation shrine is at once a complimentary visit to the *numen* and a picnic excursion not in the first place for bodily health.⁴ The season of S. George's festival has probably much to do with his popularity in Greece as compared with the essentially identical saints Theodore, Sergius, Bacchus, and Demetrius.⁵

In the East all the stages of incubation may still be found. The simplest experience is that of Clermont-Ganneau,⁶ who, travelling rough for economy without tents in his early days, frequently slept in *makams*.⁷ In

¹ Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, ii, 32.

² Maury, *Croy. du Moyen Âge*, p. 359.

³ For this social side of religion see Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 102.

⁴ Lady Burton (*Inner Life of Syria*, p. 101) and Mrs. Mackintosh (*Damascus*, p. 98) are explicit on this point with reference to Jobar.

⁵ [The opening of the *Prologue* to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* well illustrates this argument.—M. M. H.]

⁶ Clermont-Ganneau, *Pal. Inconnue*, p. 55.

⁷ A *makam* is defined by Tyrwhitt Drake (*P.E.F.*, Q.S. for 1872, p. 179) as an actual tomb or chapel erected in fulfilment of a vow, in

virtue of the *tabu*¹ attached to them, foreigners and natives alike are there safe from danger of attack.² In modern Greece, where incubation is characteristic of outlying rather than of parish churches, many pilgrimage churches, being thus in the country, had no other accommodation than the church to offer to pilgrims.³ This may therefore have been the original practice at modern Greek incubation shrines, Greeks having no prejudice against passing a night in such quarters.⁴ Results on credulous minds easily warrant the idea, fervently believed by present-day Russian pilgrims to Jerusalem,⁵ that it is beneficial to spend a night in a holy place.

In general the vigil of the saint is considered the best time for healing⁶—that is, the time of the *numen's* manifestation is specialized⁷ just as his habitation is localized.

obedience to a dream, or prompted by ostentatious piety. Its *cueinte*, with all it contains, is sacrosanct. One result of this sanctity is that *makams* are frequently used as safe deposits for property (Conder, in *P.E.F.*, *Q.S.* for 1877, p. 91).¹ See further above, p. 237.

² Even wild animals are supposed to respect the *tabu* at Daniel's tomb at Susa, where travellers and brigands alike shelter, with their horses, from wild beasts (Loftus, *Travels in Chaldaea*, p. 322).

³ A Greek from Chios informed me that they celebrate only evening services at the church of S. George near the town of Chios, but they incubate (on the vigil of the festival) at the more remote church of Myrsinidi.

⁴ Contrast the feelings of the Roman Catholic priest La Roque when lodged in a church of the Lebanon by a Maronite *curé* (*Voyage de Syrie*, p. 165).

⁵ Stephen Graham, *With the Russian Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, pp. 131 f.; above, pp. 268, 689, n. 2.

⁶ Georgeakis and Pineau, *Folk-Lore de Lesbos*, p. 344, says 'la veille de la fête d'un saint les malades vont coucher dans sa chapelle'. For the importance of the morning service compare Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 199 ('Ο ἄης Νικήτας . . . 'ς τὸ πανηγύρι τοῦ ἀγίου εἶχαν μαζευτῆ ἐκεῖ ἀποβραδὺς πολλοὶ χριστιανοί, γιὰ νὰ λειτουργηθοῦν τὸ πρωτῆ): cf. the same author's no. 637, and in general Carnoy and Nicolaïdes, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, pp. 206 ff., 335 f.

⁷ Sick animals are best brought to the shrine of Haji Bekir in Cappadocia on the evenings of Thursday, Friday, and Saturday (Carnoy and Nicolaïdes, *op. cit.*, p. 335).

This suggests that sleeping may not have been originally regarded as the essential, a consideration borne out by the fact that visions are the exception, not the rule. In other words, most cures are not essentially dependent on visions. In classical antiquity, however, sleeping was probably essential for healing; the insistence of Aristophanes on sleeping at Asklepieia will be remembered, also the dream oracles of Amphiaraos and Trophonios.

THE CALIPH MAMUN AND THE
MAGIC FISH ¹

THE circumstances attending the death of the Caliph Mamun (A.D. 833) are thus related by Masudi, who wrote about a century after the event. On his return from a victorious raid against the Greeks the caliph encamped in the beautiful valley of Bedidun.² Like all Orientals, he was susceptible to the charm of clear, running water, and at his orders a rustic pavilion was constructed over the spring called Kochairah, from which the river Bedidun flowed. In this the caliph sat. A silver coin was thrown into the spring, and so clear was the water that the legend of the coin beneath its surface could be read. Mamun then noticed in the spring a fish 'a cubit long and shining like an ingot of silver,' which he desired should be caught for him. This was done, but the fish, when brought to the caliph, escaped by a sudden movement into the spring, sprinkling the caliph's breast, neck, and shoulders with cold water as it did so. It was again caught, and the caliph gave orders that it should be cooked. As he did so, he was seized by a shivering fit, and, when the fish was cooked, he was in a high fever and unable to eat it. This was the beginning of the illness which caused his death. Before this took place he had the guides and prisoners called and asked them the significance of the name of the spring Kochairah. He was told that it meant 'stretch out thy feet', which he took for an omen of his death. He then asked the Arab name of the country he

¹ Reprinted from *J. H. S.* xlii, 99 ff.

² Podandus, the modern Bozanti, two days from Tarsus on the post-road to Eregli.

was in ; the reply was ' Rakkah '. As it had been foretold him that he should die at a place thus named, he knew that his hour was come. And he died then and was carried to Tarsus and buried ' on the left-hand side of the Friday mosque '.¹

As to the local nomenclature in this story two observations may be made. (1) To Masudi and the Arabs the name *Kochairah* meant nothing : but the historian says that some held that it was *Bedidun*, and not *Kochairah*, that meant ' stretch out thy feet '. We have thus clearly a local Greek derivation of Podandus from *ποῦς* (' foot ') and *τείνω* (' stretch ').² (2) In *Rakkah* we have probably to do with a corrupt form of the name of the neighbouring Byzantine fortress Herakleia, called by the Arabs *Irakla* ; the resemblance between *Rakka* and *Irakla* is close enough for the purpose of the story.³

The story itself is pretty evidently based on a folk-legend turning on the theme of inevitable fate.⁴ But what is the point of the elaborate fish episode ? It is clear that the fish was a magic fish, otherwise it could not have caused the caliph's death as it did. The only hypothesis which really explains the story is that both spring and fish were sacred, that the caliph sinned by wishing to catch the fish, and persisted in his sin even after his first warning. This hypothesis is backed by

¹ *Les Prairies d'Or*, ed. and tr. Barbier de Meynard, vii, pp. 1-2 and 96-101.

² If the pun seems far-fetched, what about ' *Ἰκόνιον διὰ τὸ ἡκέλαι τὸν Περσέα* (Preger, *Script. Orig. Constant.* i, 72) ? For punning on local names cf. Theoph. Cont. Const. Porph., V, xxv, p. 113 P, A. D. 838 (cf. Bury, *J.H.S.* 1909, p. 125), where Omar inquires the local names from Greek captives and derives bad omens from the names. The idea is probably Greek, as in both cases the Moslem comes off badly and the puns are Greek.

³ An Armenian authority of 1108 (cited by Tomaschek in *Sitzb. Wien. Akad., Phil.-Hist. Cl.* cxxiv, 1891, viii, 66) speaks of a fortress *Krakka* near Kybistra or Herakleia (Kybistra = Eregli).

⁴ The lesson seems never to be learnt.

two points. (1) The Greek name of the spring is given as *Aidareka*, which evidently contains the name of a saint, to whom the spring was held sacred by Christians. (2) A coin was thrown into it,¹ evidently in accordance with the world-wide custom at sacred springs and wells. This incident may be held to prove that the caliph knew from the first that the spring was sacred. One can hardly doubt that the tale came originally from a hostile (Christian) source. Masudi had plenty of opportunity for access to non-Moslem writers and is said not infrequently to have made use of them.

The memory of Mamun seems to have survived at Tarsus, at least among the learned, till the middle of the seventeenth century, when the incidents recorded of his death were located not at Podandus (Bozanti), but quite near Tarsus itself.² Of his tomb nothing is recorded after the thirteenth century, when it was still a Moslem pilgrimage, though Cilicia was in Christian hands and the mosque had become a church of SS. Peter and Sophia. This curious fact rests on the authority of Yakut (1225)³ and Willebrand of Oldenburg (1211).⁴ The latter speaks of the tomb as that of the 'sister of Mohammed', which looks as if the identity of its occupant was already becoming vague among the common folk. The church of SS. Peter and Sophia is thought by Langlois⁵ to have occupied the site of the present Ulu Jami, a purely Mohammedan building, but this is far from proved.

¹ For this world-wide practice see above, p. 302, n. 5.

² Haji Khalfa, tr. Norberg, ii, 360.

³ Le Strange, *E. Caliphate*, p. 133.

⁴ Ed. Leo Allatius, *Σύμμικτα*, i, 137.

⁵ *Cilicie*, p. 317. See below, p. 702.

THE THREE UNJUST DEEDS

ACCORDING to the Koran story,¹ when Moses was travelling with the (unnamed) Servant of God, the latter committed three apparently blatant acts of injustice, wantonly sinking a ship, killing a youth, and repairing a wall for a family which had received the travellers inhospitably. Subsequently an explanation was forthcoming: the ship was thus saved from impressment by a king, the youth was an unbeliever and a better son was given to his parents in his stead, while the wall concealed a treasure which belonged to orphans, but would have been secured by the inhospitable man had the wall been allowed to fall into ruins.

A clearly similar tale exists in the Talmud,² where Rabbi Jochanan was granted a vision of Elijah, with whom he went on a journey. Being hospitably entertained by a poor man whose only support was a cow, Elijah in the morning killed the cow. A rich man received them badly, yet Elijah at his own expense repaired his house wall for him. A rich synagogue received them badly; in return Elijah wished that they might all become presidents at once. A poor community received them well, but Elijah wished them only one president. The explanation was that the cow was the redemption for the poor man's wife, who had been fated to die that day, repairing the wall had prevented the rich man from finding a hidden treasure when he dug a foundation for the wall, while one president spells harmony, many discord.

It seems hardly possible that there is no connexion

¹ Sale's *Koran*, pp. 222 ff. (ch. xviii).

² Polano, *Selections from the Talmud*, pp. 313 ff.

between the two tales and, the Jewish being in the Talmud and therefore probably not later than the second century of our era, we may therefore with some confidence believe the Talmudic tale to be the source of the Koranic. It seems to be a Jewish apophthegm written round the theme of ' Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right ? ' ¹ Jews were fond of such apophthegms ; the Biblical story of Job's misfortunes is an obvious instance. Another, concerning David, is found in the Talmud.² David once saw a mosquito attacking a spider and an idiot killing both, whereupon he exclaimed at the uselessness of mosquitoes, spiders, and idiots in the scheme of creation. But later, when he cut off Saul's cloak in the cave, he stumbled over Abner, who would have discovered him had a mosquito not diverted Abner's attention by stinging him. Still later, when he himself was hiding in a cave from his enemies, they would have found him if a spider had not spun its web over the entrance of the cave and thus given the impression that the cave was empty. Finally, when he fled to Gath, his only resource was to feign himself mad. Whereby the existence of mosquitoes, spiders, and idiots was justified.³

As the story of the Three Unjust Deeds occurs in the Koran and the nameless Servant of God is usually identified with Khidr,⁴ it is not surprising to find versions of the tale told in Moslem lands to-day with Khidr as the hero. Hanauer relates ⁵ an interesting variant current among Palestine Moslems. When Moses and Khidr were making a journey together, Khidr stole

¹ *Gen.* xviii, 25.

² Polano, *Selections from the Talmud*, pp. 310 ff. Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, p. 297, gives approximately the same story, dated at latest in the twelfth century and with a wasp instead of a mosquito.

³ There is probably a more symmetrical prototype somewhere (possibly in the Panchatantra) : the idiot is out of place, three *insects* are required.

⁴ See above, p. 331.

⁵ *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*, pp. 58 ff.

a washhand basin from a hospitable man, presented it to an inhospitable man, and killed the young nephew of a kind hostess. The reasons were that the hospitable man was too confiding, the inhospitable man was to be made hospitable by finding hospitality profitable, and the boy, had he lived, would have murdered his good aunt.

Very interesting are two versions current among Christians in the Turkish area. The first was collected by Professor Dawkins¹ at Imera, a village near Kromni in the district of Trebizond. There three travellers met a *pallikar*, who joined them. Ill received by an inhospitable village, the *pallikar* rebuilt a ruinous wall in the village. A second village proved inhospitable, and again the *pallikar* repaired a crumbling building, this time a house. Being well received in a third village, the *pallikar* in the night strangled the son of their host. The explanation given by the *pallikar* was that a treasure lay hidden under the falling wall and would have been discovered and thus caused many murders but for his repairing the wall; had the house in the second village fallen, it would have destroyed the neighbouring house, where good people lived; the boy would have grown up wicked, corrupting his father also, so that his death had saved both himself and his father from hell. Then, announcing himself to be the Christ, the *pallikar* vanished from their sight.

The second Christian copy is told in Bulgaria.² Here a monk travels with an armed man, who is afterwards found to be S. Michael. The armed man destroys the house of a hospitable cowherd and kills the son of a hospitable rich man, in the former case to reveal to the cowherd a buried treasure and in the second to save the boy from killing his brother. The third *motif* is missing.

¹ The story is so far unpublished, but Professor Dawkins kindly allows me to publish it in advance.

² Shishmanova, *Légendes Relig. Bulg.*, pp. 168 ff. It is interesting to find S. Michael the hero in this case, he occurring in the Bible as the executant of the Divine will, especially in the direction of violence.

GRAVES OF THE ARABS IN ASIA MINOR¹

AMONG the Mohammedan religious antiquities of Asia Minor the tomb-sanctuaries held to represent the resting-places of Arabs killed during the forays of the eighth and ninth centuries form a well-marked and extremely interesting group. Their authenticity is on general grounds more than doubtful. The campaigns of the Arabs led to no permanent occupation; the lands they had conquered for the moment were restored to Christendom or fell to alien races. Only in the borderlands, where in times of peace Christian and Moslem might meet on equal terms, can we expect a true tradition regarding Arab graves or a continuous veneration of them to have persisted. Of these borderland Moslem cults supposed to date back to the Arab period we can point to two examples, the tomb of the 'sister of Mohammed' at Tarsus and the tomb of Umm Haram in Cyprus.²

The former is mentioned by Willebrand of Oldenburg (1211) as still a place of Moslem pilgrimage under the Christian kings of Armenia. It was situated outside the church of S. (Beatus) Peter and S. Sophia in the middle of the town.³ It seems at least possible that this tomb

¹ This chapter has already appeared in *B.S.A.* xix, 182 ff.

² A list of female Arab saints in Palestine is given by Conder, *P.E.F.*, *Q.S.* for 1877, p. 99. The Druses admit women to the ascetic inner brotherhood of *Akal* (Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 203): the women appreciate the privilege, but for the prosaic reason that it saves them money in rich clothes. In general, female saints in Islam are converted Christian princesses or amazons.

³ Ed. Leo Allatius, *Σύμμικτα*, i, 137 'In angulo quodam extra foris Ecclesiae sepulta est soror Mahomet; cuius tumbam Saraceni in multo petunt timore et devotione.' For the site of the church in question in the opinion of Langlois see above, p. 698.

was really that of the caliph Mamun, miscalled by the Frankish chronicler. Mamun died in A. D. 833 at Podandus (Bozanti) and was buried at Tarsus, then an important frontier town of the Arabs.¹ I have no information as to the perpetuation or otherwise of this cult down to our own day. For present purposes it is important mainly as showing the possibility of the survival of a Moslem cult in spite of Christian domination.²

The tomb of Umm Haram is, owing to Mr. Cobham's researches,³ better documented. The Arab sources, which he quotes at length, are sufficient to prove that Umm Haram was a historical person, that she died in the course of an Arab expedition to Cyprus, and that she was buried there in A. D. 649. Her tomb seems to have been known at least three centuries later, both to Arab and Christian,⁴ but the exact position in the island is not indicated. There follows a significant *lacuna* in the history of the grave till after the conquest of Cyprus by the Turks in 1572.

Haji Khalfa,⁵ half-way through the next century, is the first modern authority to mention, but without giving the name of the saint, the present 'tomb of

¹ See above, p. 697.

² A modern parallel is the survival of the tomb and cult of the Turkish saint Gul Baba at Buda-Pest (above, p. 551). In our own time the grave of Murad I on Kossovo, now in Serbia, is protected by a special clause in the Treaty of London.

³ 'The Story of Umm Haram', in *J. R. Asiat. Soc.*, 1897, pp. 81 ff. A beautiful photograph of the *tekke* is reproduced by M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Gr. Sitten und Gebräuche auf Cypern*.

⁴ Const. Porph., *de Them.* i, 40, and Al Baladuri (d. A. D. 893) cited by Cobham.

⁵ Tr. Armain, in Vivien de S. Martin, *Asie Mineure*, ii, 667: '[Memlahah]... il y a en cet endroit un tekieh ou couvent de derviches, dans lequel reposent les reliques d'une sainte dame qui vivait du temps du Prophète.' The earlier Turkish geographer Piri Reis (c. 1550, *ap.* Oberhammer, *Cypern*, i, 427) does not mention the tomb in his description of the island.

Umm Haram ' on the salt lake near Larnaka, which continues down to our own day to be a frequented Moslem pilgrimage with a well-endowed *tekke*. This is the more significant since the site of the ' tomb ' is not out of the beaten track : indeed the salt lake at Larnaka has always been one of the sights visited by travellers.¹ The so-called ' tomb ' itself, though now associated with Umm Haram, has been recognized by Cobham as a prehistoric building similar to the chapel of Phaneromene² in the same district and the so-called ' tomb ' of S. Catherine at Famagusta.³ All three appear to have been underground prehistoric buildings, not necessarily tombs.

In the case of the tomb of Umm Haram, Mariti (1760-7) records from a Christian source a tradition that its discovery was relatively recent and that its exploitation was due to a dervish. Among Mohammedans generally was current a tradition that the building, originally underground, was, at a date not indicated, laid bare by heavy rains. In this condition it was discovered by shepherds, to whom its nature was revealed by a vision of a lady in white raiment.⁴ It thus seems clear that the gap in the history of the tomb cannot be filled, that its cult has not been continuous, and that its authenticity is improbable. The history of other ' discoveries ' of Arab tombs makes that of Umm Haram's still more suspect.

Of the reputed Arab tombs in Asia Minor the most

¹ Kootwyck (1619), who describes the salt lake at length, does not mention the tomb (Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, p. 191) : the earliest foreign notice of it seems to be that of Le Bruyn (1683), *Voyage*, ii, 495, who calls it the tomb of Mina, mother of the Prophet.

² Magda Ohnefalsch-Richter, in *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, p. 311 : cf. Deschamps, *Au Pays d'Aphrodite*, pp. 12 (S. Phaneromene) and 140 (S. Eulavios), both being Phenician monolithic tombs.

³ Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, in *J.H.S.* iv, 112.

⁴ *Travels in Cyprus* (Cobham's translation), p. 184.

important is that of Sidi Battal Ghazi,¹ which lies in a mausoleum (*turbe*) attached to the convent (*tekke*) bearing the name of the hero, six hours south of Eski-shehr and on the site of the ancient Nakoleia in Phrygia. The *tekke* was formerly a very important seat of the Bektashi dervishes ; its popular vogue was enhanced by the fact that it lay on the pilgrims' road from Constantinople to Mecca.² It is supposed by Ramsay and other authorities to occupy the site of an earlier Christian holy place, but in my opinion on insufficient grounds. The assumption rests partly on inexact archaeological data and partly on the overworked idea that every holy place has always been such. The evidence in favour of the assumption is as follows :

(1) The site is undoubtedly that of the ancient Nakoleia.³

(2) Ruins of a Byzantine monastery are said to be incorporated in the buildings of the convent. Radet goes so far as to say that the mosque is a Christian basilica : ⁴ Ouvré, his companion, is not so sure.⁵ Other travellers' descriptions are vague.⁶ A recent visitor,

¹ He is the prototype of El Cid, of whose tale there is an early fragment in Arabic (Bouillet, *Dictionnaire*, s. v. *Cid*).

² The *tekke* has been visited by many European travellers, see especially Wülzinger, *Drei Bektaschiklöster Phrygiens*, xx, 103. The earliest first-hand account by a western known to me is that of the anonymous author [1663] of the (B.M.) *Add. MS.* 7021 (f. 35). It was known at least by repute to Menavino (*Cose Turchesche* (1548), p. 60). It is interesting to compare the effect of the railway on the pilgrimage of S. Anne d'Auray in Brittany, where pilgrims now come all the year round, with a corresponding diminution in the number of visitors on the day itself (De Quetteville, *Pardon of Guingamp*, p. 472).

³ Ramsay, in *J.H.S.* iii, 119 ; cf. *Hist. Geog.*, p. 144.

⁴ *Arch. des Miss.* vi (1895), p. 446.

⁵ *Un Mois en Phrygie*, p. 89.

⁶ H. Barth, *Reise*, pp. 88–9 ; Sir C. Wilson, in Murray's *Asia Minor*, p. 144 ; Ramsay, *Pauline Studies*, p. 168 ; A. D. Mordtmann, as below, p. 707, n. 1.

Brandenburg, seems to refute the idea implicitly.¹ Turkish sources attribute the building of the mosque to Suleiman the Magnificent.²

(3) Cuinet mentions candlesticks,³ and Sir Charles Wilson a cup⁴ of Christian workmanship, in the *turbe*. Radet calls these Perso-Byzantine:⁵ in any case the evidence of such movable furniture is negligible.

(4) The legend of Sidi Battal's marriage with a Christian princess is read by Ramsay⁶ as evidence of previous Christian occupation. But it is characteristic of a hero of a chivalric romance—and the cycle of legend which has grown up round the name of Sidi Battal places him in this category—that a maiden on the enemy's side should fall in love with him.⁷ The Byzantine borderer, Digenes Akritas, elopes with an *emir's* daughter, and as a Christian hero is compelled on that account to spend some pages in remorse;⁸ a Moslem can without reproach add the lady to his harem.⁹ Further, the marriage of a Mohammedan potentate with a Christian was by no means unknown in the days of Ala-ed-din, to which the discovery of the tomb of Sidi Battal is referred.¹⁰

The Mohammedan traditions of the *tekke* are clear and consistent; the official version is given in Ethé's

¹ *Byz. Zeit.* xix, 106: 'in der sog. "Kirche," d. h. dem älteren Teil des Klosters.'

² Haji Khalfa, tr. Armain, in Vivien de S. Martin's *Asie Mineure*, ii, 702: *cf.* 'Jardin des Mosquées', in Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.*, p. 82 (706).

³ *Turquie d'Asie*, iv, 213. ⁴ *Loc. cit.* ⁵ *Loc. cit.*, p. 447.

⁶ *Pauline Studies*, p. 169, and elsewhere: *cf.* below, p. 709.

⁷ For such a case at Philereimo in Rhodes see above, p. 647, n. 2.

⁸ Rambaud, *Ét. Byz.*, p. 79.

⁹ Sidi Battal had at least two other Christian wives, a daughter of the Emperor and a daughter of his vizir Akrates (probably Akritas himself); *cf.* Ethé, *Fabrten des Sajjid Batthal*, i, 99, 100.

¹⁰ The father of Ala-ed-din, for instance, married a Christian woman (Sarre, *Reise*, pp. 39 f.).

*Fabrten des Sajjid Battal*¹ as follows: The 'castle of the Messiah' was given by Ala-ed-din, Sultan of Rum (1219-36) to his general Hazarasp. One of the latter's shepherds, named Kodlija, while feeding sheep on the hill opposite the fortress, saw there a miraculous light. He became as if enchanted, and his sheep gathered together to the spot. Hazarasp, being informed of the miracle, built a chapel on the site and it became a pilgrimage. The spot was not connected with Sidi Battal till he himself appeared in a dream to the mother of Ala-ed-din, who was a descendant of the Prophet, and bade her build him a monument at the castle of the Messiah, where he had met his death. The mother of Ala-ed-din went to the castle and made inquiries, and another vision was vouchsafed to her in confirmation of her dream; the earth opened showing a door, through which she passed down a flight of seven steps to find the Arab warrior standing armed before her. The mother of Ala-ed-din built the mausoleum of the newly-discovered saint; the buildings of the site were subsequently added to by the Mihaloglu family² and the Ottoman emperor Suleiman the Magnificent.³ In the latter part of the fifteenth century George of Hungary, who for many years lived, apparently in this part of Asia Minor, as a prisoner of the Turks, testifies to the wide vogue of the cult of Sidi Battal in his day. He says that 'Sedichasi' was held in great esteem and veneration all over Turkey and by Mohammedans in general. His tomb was on the frontier between the Ottomans and Karamania, and, though these frequently

¹ i, 213 ff. This relation does not form part of the romance proper, to which we shall return. Other Turkish sources are quoted by A. D. Mordtmann (*Gelehrte Anzeigen d. bayr. Akad.* 1860, pp. 260-95, and *Φιλολ. Σύλλογος, Παράρτημα τοῦ θ' τόμου*, pp. xiv ff.).

² A renegade family established in Bithynia under the early Ottoman sultans.

³ Probably about 1534, the year of the emperor's visit to the tomb on his way to Bagdad (Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* v, 212).

quarrelled among themselves, none dared approach the tomb or do damage to the adjacent country, since those who had done so always found that the vengeance of the saint followed on their act.¹ Further, it was commonly held that those who asked his aid, especially in war, were never disappointed. Great quantities of money, animals, and other gifts were yearly offered to the saint by the king, the princes, and the common folk. In the sixteenth century the name of Sidi Battal was the war-cry of the Turkish armies.²

The convent has lost much of its prosperity since the fall of the Bektashi order under Sultan Mahmud II and the decline of the pilgrim road with the progress of steam navigation. The tombs of Sidi Battal and his Christian wife are still shown in the *turbe*, and that of the pious shepherd Kodlija just outside it. Close by the *tekke* of Sidi Battal stands the tomb of Malik Ghazi,³ his companion in arms, who fell with him at Akroenos.⁴ This tomb is probably to be regarded merely as a pendant to Sidi Battal's.⁵ Both, it will be noticed, are on the farther side of the river from Eskishekr and its Byzantine representative;⁶ this river may at some

¹ *De Moribus Turcorum* (c. 1481), cap. xv (see above, p. 495).

² 'Wann sie Krieg fürnemmen, so rüffen vnd schreyen sie zu dem *Sedichassi* dem Heyligen der *Victori* und dess Siegs . . . Soll begraben liegen auff den Grentzen *Othomannorum* und *Caramannorum*' (Breuning, *Orient. Reyss.* (1579), p. 106). The convent was by this time already in the hands of the Bektashii (cf. Browne, *J. R. Asiat. Soc.* 1907, p. 568), who were intimately associated with the Janissaries.

³ Visited by Radet and Fougères in 1886 (see map in *Arch. des Miss.* vi, 1895).

⁴ 'With Al Battal was killed Malikh, the son of Shu'aib' (*Kitab Al 'Uyun* (eleventh century), ap. Brooks, in *J.H.S.* xviii, 202).

⁵ The *tekkes* of *Melik Ghazi* (1) in the Kale Dagh near Sarimsaklik (R. Kiepert's map, section *Kaisarieh*) and (2) at Niksar in Pontus (Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 18, 104; Cumont, *Stud. Pont.* ii, 261) are probably to be connected with the Danishmend prince of that name (1106-13), but the legend current at Niksar suggests contamination with the Arab cycle.

⁶ Karaja Hisar, according to Radet (*loc. cit.*, p. 515).

time have formed the frontier between Moslem and Christian.

The story of the miraculous discovery of Sidi Battal's tomb is of course strongly tinged with myth, but there is no reason to doubt that the revelation and establishment of the cult of the saint dates back to Seljuk times. The hero himself was the historical Abd Allah Abu-'l Husain el Antaki, 'el Battal' ('the Valiant') being a title of honour; he is known from contemporary sources, Arab and Byzantine, to have taken part in the Arab raids of the eighth century and to have fallen in battle at Akroenos (Afiun Kara Hisar), many miles south of the *tekke* which bears his name, in A. D. 740. Even if the topographical difficulty could be got over, it is impossible to bridge the gap in the history of the tomb between the battle of Akroenos and the reign of Ala-ed-din, unless we suppose (what is highly improbable) that an inscription was found with the remains. Sidi Battal is comparatively well known from history; his apocryphal adventures, like those of his Byzantine counterpart Digenes Akritas, are numerous and in the canonized version of the romance fill a considerable book.¹ Certain incidents of the romance are widely current; such are the hero's adventures at Maslama's siege of Constantinople (A. D. 717), where he penetrated alone as far as S. Sophia and rode into the building on horseback,² his dealings with a Christian nun whom he afterwards married, and his romantic death, caused by a stone thrown as a warning by a Christian princess in love with him, who eventually killed herself from remorse.³

¹ For the adventures of Sidi Battal see the authorities cited by Mordtmann (*loc. cit.*) and especially the canonized version of the romance, a Turkish composition of the fourteenth or fifteenth century based on an Arabic original, translated by Ethé (*Fabriten des Sajjid Battal*).

² The historical Sidi Battal appears from the Arab sources (Brooks, *J.H.S.* xix, 26) to have been present at this siege.

³ It is this princess who is buried beside the hero.

The wide vogue of this popular legend is shown by its connexion with many localities in Asia Minor. Sidi Battal's rock is shown at Mal-tepe near Constantinople,¹ his castles at Erdek² and in the Karaja Dagh (Cappadocia),³ a mosque reputed of his foundation exists at Caesarea,⁴ a second tomb at Kirshehr,⁵ and a third on the Ali Dagh near Caesarea,⁶ while a dome commemorates his birth-place at Malatia.⁷ Opposite Constantinople he is connected with Kadi Keui (by the verbal identification of *Kadi* and *Ghazi*),⁸ and one version of the legend of the Maiden's Tower makes Sidi Battal the cause of its construction: the Greek governor destined it—of course in vain—to shelter his daughter and his treasure from the redoubtable Arab leader.⁹ The Kirk Kiz Dagh (*Mountain of the Forty Virgins*), near the *tekke* of Sidi Battal, is probably associated with the episode of the Convent of the Forty Princesses in the romance.¹⁰ On Argaeus Sidi Battal was imprisoned in a well, whence he made his escape by the assistance of a great snake.¹¹

A similar cycle of popular tradition groups itself round the name of Husain Ghazi. The centre seems to be Alaja in Paphlagonia, called by Haji Khalfa¹² Hus-

¹ Oberhummer in Meyer's *Konstantinopel*, p. 332.

² Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, ii, 99.

³ Ramsay and Bell, *Thousand and One Churches*, p. 435.

⁴ Haji Khalfa, tr. Armain, p. 676; cf. Le Strange, *E. Caliphate*, p. 146.

⁵ Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 152, n. 2; cf. Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 332.

⁶ Skene, *Anadol*, p. 146.

⁷ Haji Khalfa, p. 660. So Digenes has at least three tombs, near Trebizond, in Crete, and in Karpathos, and other memorials in Cyprus and Crete (Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, nos. 73, 74, 118-22, 131), while the historical Christian conqueror of Crete from the Arabs, Sarandapechys, multiplies to such an extent that his name becomes a generic word for a giant. For other multiplications of tombs see above, pp. 298 ff.

⁸ Evliya, I, ii, 78.

⁹ Evliya, I, ii, 78.

¹⁰ Ethé, *op. cit.* i, 89 ff.

¹¹ Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, ii, 275.

¹² Tr. Armain, p. 678.

ainabad, which remains the official name of the Alaja *nabiyeh*¹. Husain Ghazi, brother of the *serasker* of Malatia, says the local legend, had his head cut off in an attack on Angora and carried it to a mountain an hour and a half east of the town where he died. The spot was commemorated by a *tekke* which was a much-frequented pilgrimage in the seventeenth century.²

Husain's death was avenged by his son Jafer, who took from the Christians a castle near Kirshehr and converted the governor Shamas after a single combat.³ The name of the latter is commemorated in that of the Shamaspur *tekke* at Alaja, which contains another reputed grave of Husain.⁴ Jafer is probably the hero buried at the *tekke* near Tulumbunar (on the Kasaba line) which bears his name.⁵

Another Arab warrior certainly historical is Abd-el-Wahab, whose tomb is venerated at Sivas.⁶ He is said by the Arab chroniclers to have been killed 'in the land of the Romans' in A. D. 730-1.⁷

Nearly all these persons are commemorated in the romance of Sidi Battal. Husain is the father of Battal,⁸ Jafer is Battal himself before he received his title,⁹ and Abd-el-Wahab is constantly mentioned.¹⁰ In the romance, however, the fighting centres round Amorium

¹ Murray's *Asia Minor*, p. 31; Cuinet, i, 298.

² Evliya, ii, 228; there is now a *turbe* only, administered by the Bairami dervishes of Angora (Perrot and Guillaume, *Explor. de la Galatie*, i, 283).

³ Ainsworth, *Travels*, i, 157; cf. Barth, *Reise*, pp. 74, 78. Schumas (*sic*) figures in the romance (Ethé, *loc. cit.* i, 21) as a monk converted by Battal, Schamasp as the brother of the governor of Amorium killed by him (*ibid.* i, 27). *Shamas* is the Arabic for *deacon*.

⁴ See above, p. 95.

⁵ F. W. H. (*cf.* above, p. 103).

⁶ Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 666.

⁷ *Kitab al 'Uyun*, ap. Brooks, in *J.H.S.* xviii, 200: the death of Abd-el-Wahab is placed under the next year by Al Tabari (d. 923, *ibid.*).

⁸ Ethé, *op. cit.* i, 7.

⁹ *Ibid.* i, 57; cf. Evliya, I, i, 27.

¹⁰ Ethé, i, 37, &c.

(Hergan Kale), which was historically a notable Byzantine fortress during the Arab wars, but, having been razed by the Arabs after the great siege of 838, disappeared at that date from history. Its site, like that of Akroenos, has only recently been identified, and by westerns: the reputed Arab tombs, as we have seen, are nowhere near it. But the later Arab writers seem to have been misled by the similarity of the two names in Arabic into identifying Amorium with Angora,¹ which accounts for their placing the tomb of Husain Ghazi at the latter town, while the romance makes Amorium the scene of his death.²

Other Arab memorials in Asia Minor, not apparently connected with the Battal cycle, are mentioned by Ibn Batuta at Daonas³ (*vilayet* of Aidin) and at Sinope,⁴ the former a memorial of the birth-place of Suhayb, a Companion of the Prophet, the latter a tomb of Bilal the Ethiopian. Another tomb of Bilal, presumably if not authentic at least earlier than that at Sinope, is shown at Damascus.⁵

Earliest of all the Arab memorials in Asia Minor and also apparently not connected with the Battal cycle, is the tomb of 'Amru'l Kais', which is mentioned as shown at Angora by the early thirteenth-century geographer, Yakut.⁶ He was an Arab chief, contemporary with the Prophet, and author of some poems which are still highly esteemed. He is the hero of a romantic story in many points obviously fantastic. He is said to have gone to Constantinople to seek help from the emperor against the slayers of his father. According to Yakut, 'the king's daughter fell in love with him,

¹ Le Strange, *E. Caliphate*, p. 153.

² Ethé, *op. cit.* i, 11.

³ Tr. Sanguinetti, ii, 277. Cf. Evliya, ii, 38. His tomb was at Sivas (Evliya, I, ii, 113).

⁴ Tr. Sanguinetti, ii, 349.

⁵ Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 272; Porter, *Damascus*, p. 17.

⁶ *Ap.* Brooks, in *J.H.S.* xxi, 76.

and when Caesar heard of this, he promised that the armies should follow him when he reached Syria or he would order the armies in Syria to support him. And when he reached Ancyra he sent him some poisoned garments, and when he put them on, his flesh fell off, and he knew that he would die.' ¹

The *Life* of Amru'l Kais gives some details concerning his death at Ancyra. While he was suffering from the effects of the poisoned robe sent him by the emperor, he saw at the foot of a mountain named Assib or Gezib 'the grave of a princess who had died in that city' and apostrophized it in verse; 'immediately after he died and was buried beside this woman and his tomb is still there.' ²

One is inclined to suspect that the journey of Amru'l Kais to the Byzantine court is a detail borrowed from or confused with the similar journey of his namesake (?) 'Amorkesos' in 473, ³ in spite of the discrepancy in date. The details about Angora must come from some one who knew the place. The princess's tomb is evidently the 'column of Julian', called to this day *Kiz Minaret*, 'parce qu'ils s'imaginent qu'elle soutenoit le Tombeau d'une fille'. ⁴ We shall probably not be far wrong if we assume that the supposed tomb of Amru'l Kais was the other remarkable ancient monument of Ancyra, *i. e.* the Augusteum. Later, this tradition seems to have been lost: an undated inscription, found by Perrot and Guillaume over the arch of a small building inside the Augusteum and removed by their expedition, gives the name of Mohammed Ibn Bekr and a verse of the

¹ Yakut, i, 391 (kindly translated for me by Mr. Brooks).

² *Vie d'Amrokkais*, tr. Slane, p. 27; cf. Rückert, *Amrilkais*, p. 130.

³ Malchus, frag. 1, in *F.H.G.* iv, 121; Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, i, 231 f.

⁴ Tournefort, *Voyage*, letter xxi. The Turks have a similar idea about the column of Marcian at Constantinople (see above, p. 197, n. 1). The princess at Angora seems now identified with Belkis, queen of Sheba (Barth, *Reise*, p. 79). See further, below, p. 749.

Koran.¹ Mohammed Ibn Bekr was a partisan of Ali who revolted against the caliph Osman in Egypt ;² this connexion is perhaps due to the adjacent (Bairami) dervishes to whom the Augusteum belongs.

It appears from the foregoing that the graves and memorials of the Arabs in Asia Minor, though they commemorate in many cases historical persons and the great historical fact of the Arab wars, and indicate also in a vague way the area over which these wars were fought, are almost certainly all fictitious. So far as we can see, the traditional sites have been discovered by 'revelation' and identified by an uncritical use of written sources or merely by floating tradition.³ They thus afford no independent topographical evidence for the Arab campaigns. It is further to be remarked that Ibn Batuta's notice of two Arab memorials already in the early fourteenth century shows that such memorials were sought for and identified in this way already in the Seljuk period. Earliest of all is the tomb of Amru'l Kais, and, if we may believe the traditional account, the tomb of Sidi Ghazi was discovered at the same period. The motive for the 'discovery' of such tombs is consciously or subconsciously political. At the back of the mind of the conquering race lies the idea of substantiating a prior claim to the conquered soil.⁴ The tomb of Eyyub, the great *Ghazi* of the Arab siege of Constantinople, was said to have been revealed actually during the siege of 1453.⁵ Mohammed II, having laid siege to

¹ xvii, 20 ; see Perrot and Guillaume, *Explor. de la Galatic*, i, 299.

² Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, i, 173 ff.

³ The beginnings of a Battal myth were recognized in our own times by Barth (*Reise*, pp. 52-3) between Yuzgat and Caesarea, where an historical person of the reign of Murad IV (1623-40), bearing the title of Battal, was already becoming confused with the legendary hero.

⁴ A *real* burial gives a similar claim. It was not without such an intention that the caliph Mamun was buried in the frontier town of Tarsus (I.e. Strange, *E. Caliphate*, pp. 132-3) : see above, p. 703.

⁵ Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* ii, 395 (who aptly compares the

Constantinople, was, with his seventy attendant saints, seven whole days searching for the tomb. At last Ak-Shems-ed-Din exclaimed, 'Good news, my Prince, of Eyyub's tomb,' and, thus saying, he began to pray and then fell asleep. Some interpreted this sleep as a veil cast by shame over his ignorance of the tomb; but after some time he raised his head, his eyes became bloodshot, the sweat ran from his forehead, and he said to the Sultan, 'Eyyub's tomb is on the very spot where I spread the carpet for prayer'. Upon this, three of his attendants, together with the Sheikh and Sultan, began to dig up the ground, when at the depth of three yards they found a square stone of verd antique, on which was written in Cufic letters, 'This is the tomb of Eba Eyyub'. They lifted up the stone, and found below it the body of Eyyub wrapped up in a saffron-coloured shroud, with a brazen play-ball in his hand fresh and well preserved. They replaced the stone, formed a little mound of the earth they had dug up, and laid the foundation of the mausoleum amidst the prayers of the whole army. A shepherd who fed his sheep near the site of the present mosque noticed that in the height of summer a round plot of grass there was always fresh and green. The sheep did not touch it and made obeisance to it. The shepherd reported this to the Ulema, who, after long prayers, decided that it was the grave of Eyyub and his companions. This was not generally accepted and the people asked as a sign that a foot should

finding of the Sacred Lance by the Crusaders before Antioch): *cf.* Evliya, I, ii, 35. The occurrence is not mentioned, however, by any contemporary authority for the siege (Mordtmann, *Belagerung*, p. 111) and probably took place shortly after. (So Cantimir, i, 106; d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, i, 305.) A modern version of the story is told by S. Adamson in *Harper's Magazine* (June 1913, pp. 30 ff.), in which, as in the case of the tombs of Umm Haram and Sidi Battal, the first discovery of the sanctity of the site is attributed to shepherds. An illuminating example of such a 'discovery' is given by Pouqueville, *Hist. Régénér. Grèce*, ii, 386.

show itself above the supposed grave.¹ Which, after prayer had been made, taking place, all were convinced that Eyyub was really buried there.²

Similarly, at the siege of Bagdad under Suleiman (1534), where religious animosities might be used to spur on the soldiers, the tomb of the orthodox (Sunni) doctor Abu Hanifa was 'discovered' under the walls of the heretic (Shia) town.³ The discoverer in the case of the tomb of Eyyub (and probably in all such discoveries) was a pious sheikh: if we bear in mind the extraordinary influence of dreams and their interpretation in the eastern world it is obvious that the good faith of a devout and pious mystic need not be called in question. But, as we have seen from the cases of Umm Haram, Sidi Battal, and Eyyub, the fully-developed type of legend postulates two agents in such discoveries, the shepherd,⁴ to whom the sanctity of the spot is revealed by an outward miracle, and the wise man, who is guided by a dream to interpret it according to his learning. The sequence is psychologically true. To the simple and devout peasant any chance combination of circumstances may give a religious colour to a commonplace discovery, and anything remotely resembling a tomb presupposes a buried saint.⁵ It remains for the learned to give the saint a name and a historical setting.

¹ For this barbarous miracle see above, pp. 252-5.

² *Précis* of Carnoy and Nicolaidès, *Folklore de Constantinople*, pp. 155 f.

³ Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* v, 222.

⁴ In the West also the shepherd 'discovers' (Sébillot, *Folk-Lore de France*, iii, 122).

⁵ Cf. above, p. 61, and 4.

THE MOSQUES OF THE ARABS IN CONSTANTINOPLE ¹

INTRODUCTORY

TWO mosques in Galata—the Mosque of the Arabs (*Arab Jami*) and the Mosque of the Leaded Store (*Kursbunlu Maghzen Jamisi*)—lay claim to be the earliest buildings consecrated to Moslem worship in Constantinople. Both are supposed to date from the period of the Arab sieges, many centuries before the Ottoman conquest. Their traditional claim to this honourable pedigree is of some antiquity. Evliya Efendi, in the middle of the seventeenth century, already attributes an Arab origin to four buildings in Galata, of which two are the mosques in question and the others a lead-roofed granary (*Kursbunlu Maghzen*), still used as such in his time,² and the famous Galata Tower.³ All these, and in addition the Rose Mosque (*Gul Jami*) in Stambul,⁴ are supposed to have been built during the famous siege of Constantinople by the Arabs under Maslama.

The Tower of Galata and the Rose Mosque being undoubtedly Christian buildings, the historical accuracy of Evliya's information may reasonably be called in question as to the other reputed Arab buildings of Constantinople. In the case of Arab Jami, the better known of the two Galata mosques, its Arab origin is, if

¹ Reprinted from *B.S.A.* xxii, 157 ff.

² *Travels*, I, ii, 167.

³ *Ibid.* I, ii, 49.

⁴ *Ibid.* I, i, 24. Evliya states that the Rose Mosque, having become a church, was turned over to the Moslems as the price of Bayezid I's retirement from Constantinople. Bayezid made a demand of this sort in 1391, but it was not complied with (Ducas, p. 49 B). For the real history of the mosque (S. Theodosia) see van Millingen's *Churches in Constantinople*, pp. 162 ff. See also above, p. 40.

not asserted, at least considered as a possibility by several serious writers, but sufficient information has come down to us to allow the elements of history and tradition to be disentangled.

§ I. ARAB JAMI AND ITS TRADITIONS

The ' Mosque of the Arabs ' stands on low ground not far from the shore of the Golden Horn between the inner and outer bridges. Its remarkable minaret, in reality a church tower with a short wooden spire, was, till it was recently obscured by buildings, a familiar object to every one crossing the outer bridge from Stambul to Galata. The history of the building can be traced into the Genoese period, when, as Evliya admits,¹ it was a Christian church. Under the Genoese it belonged to the Dominican Order and was dedicated to S. Paul.² In plan it is a simple rectangle divided by three rows of columns into a wide nave and three aisles, of which two are on the north side. These are covered with a wooden roof. The line of the nave is continued by a short vaulted chancel flanked by lower compartments carrying on the line of the aisles. At the south-eastern corner the plain, square tower alluded to a few lines above still serves as the minaret of the mosque. Beneath it, opening by a typically Gothic archway,³ runs a vaulted passage. In the west wall of this is built a doorway more Byzantine than Gothic in general character, decorated in the spandrels with scutcheons bearing rampant lions. This doorway originally communicated with the eastern continuation of the south aisle. Further traces of the use of the building as a Latin church are afforded in the interior by remains of

¹ *Travels*, I, ii, 51.

² Belin, *Histoire de la Latinité de Constantinople*, pp. 215 ff. The church of S. Paul is mentioned about 1400 by Clavijo (Hakluyt Soc. edn., p. 49).

³ See *B. S. A.* xxii, pl. v.

frescoed saints on the west wall, portions of a marble tessellated pavement in the nave, and a large number of flooring slabs with Latin inscriptions and Genoese coats-of-arms,¹ discovered in the course of recent repairs.² The structure as a whole is of brick and rubble, but has been much repaired ; the south-west corner is finished as a clustered column in brick.

The orthodox Moslem version of the mosque's history is given by the eighteenth-century author of the *Jardin des Mosquées*³ as follows :

‘ Arab Jami was built by Maslama, an *emir* of the Ommeyad House. The rhymed history of the foundation of the mosque hangs in the interior. . . . It is said to have been founded in the sixty-sixth year of the Hejira (A. D. 685–6) under the caliph Abdel-Malik by his captain Maslama at the siege (the poem says *conquest*) of Constantinople. Maslama was recalled by the caliph Omar II ; this is why the mosque fell into ruins and was only rebuilt by Sultan Mohammed III (1595–1603).’

In confirmation of the legendary foundation of Arab Jami an ebony cup, supposed to be that of Maslama himself, was till recently kept in the mosque : the water of the mosque well was drunk from this cup with beneficial results by expectant and nursing mothers.⁴

When we come to examine this tradition, we find, first, that the date given (A. D. 685–6) is not that of the siege of Constantinople by the Arabs under Maslama (which took place in A. D. 717–18), though it comes reasonably near the date of the first Arab siege (A. D. 672–7). There is no record of a mosque having been

¹ Two, bearing dates 1323 (Belgrano, in *Atti Soc. Lig.* xiii, p. 322 (3)) and 1433 (Hasluck, in *B.S.A.* xi, 54), had been recorded earlier.

² These had been hidden under the wooden floor, but were known to exist in the sixties (De Launay, cited in *Atti Soc. Lig.* xiii, 273).

³ In Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii, 71. Evliya (*Travels*, I, i, 25 ; I, ii, 49, 51) says it was built by the caliph Omar Abdul-Aziz during the fifth siege, which he dates A. H. 92.

⁴ D’Ohsson, *Tableau*, i, 285 ; Scarlatos Byzantios, *Κωνσταντινούπολις*, ii, 46–7 : *cf.* above, p. 266.

built by the invading Arabs during either siege.¹ During that of Maslama the Arabs never entered the Golden Horn, so that it is impossible that a mosque should have been built in Galata, which was in all probability already a fortified suburb ; if a mosque had been built at all it would have been either outside the land walls or on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, where the besieging troops had their head-quarters.²

It is true that a small mosque (*mesjid*) existed at Constantinople as early as the tenth century, but this was in the Praetorium, which was near the Forum of Constantine in the city proper. The building of this mosque is attributed by Constantine Porphyrogenitus to the reign of Michael III Balbus, who, he says, erected it as a favour to Maslama.³ This is, of course, a confusion ; the siege of Maslama (in the reign of Leo the Isaurian) resulted in the complete discomfiture of the Arabs, and their leader was in no position to ask favours from the Emperor. The mosque in the Praetorium probably dated from the Saracen embassy of A. D. 860, which, owing to political circumstances, obtained favourable terms.⁴ This mosque seems to have lasted down to the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204.⁵ In the succeeding centuries there is no trace of its existence. It is particularly significant that the Mohammedan travellers El Harawi and Ibn Batuta, who visited Constantinople in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries respectively, mention no Mussulman house of prayer in the city.⁶

¹ For the Arab accounts see Brooks, in *J.H.S.* xviii, xix.

² See the account of the siege and the disposition of the Arab forces in Bury's *Later Roman Empire*, ii, 402 ff.

³ *De Adm. Imp.* xxi (p. 101 B).

⁴ Bury, *Roman Empire*, p. 279.

⁵ See the passages cited by Du Cange, *Constant. Christ.* ii (p. 164 P), cap. xv.

⁶ Ibn Batuta, tr. Lee, p. 83, n.

§ 2. SUPERSTITION AND POLITICS AT
CONSTANTINOPLE, 1570-1610

The date of the 'discovery' of Arab Jami, *i.e.* its transformation from a church, is probably little earlier than the end of the sixteenth century. This period was characterized by considerable anti-Christian feeling among the Turks, the origins of which must be sought partly in internal, partly in external conditions. All latent tendencies to superstition were stirred by the approaching millennium of the Hejira (1592-3); this afforded an easy text to the dervish prophets and saints, who have at all times exerted a considerable influence on the masses. Rauwolff, speaking of this period (1575), says :

'They have (as some of them have told me) a peculiar Book, . . . wherein is briefly Written, what shall happen to them every year, whether it be good or bad. This beginneth in the same Year, with their Prophet *Mahomet*, and continueth for 1000 Year, when this is at an End, they have nothing more of that Nature worth any thing. And being they go no further, some will deduce or conclude from thence, that their Reign will soon have an end, when those years are passed.¹ Wherefore they fear the *Christians* very much, and confess themselves, that they expect to suffer a great blow from the *Christians*. And this one may see or conclude from hence, for on their Holidays in the Morning about 9 of the Clock they shut up the Gates of their Towns, great Champs,² and other Publick Habitations, as I found at *Aleppo*, so that many times I could not get either out or in until they opened them again, for they fear at that time to be Assassinated by the *Christians*.'³

¹ The idea is much older; *cf.* Schiltberger's *Travels*, ed. Telfer, p. 66 (*c.* 1400).

² The author probably wrote *Chans*, the ordinary Turkish for *caravanserai*.

³ In Ray's *Voyages*, i, 311: *cf.* Shaw's *Travels to Barbary*, p. 246. The fear of Christian attack during Friday prayers was not without reason; there was an unsuccessful plot for the surprise and recapture

Prophecies of this sort had begun to circulate already in the first half of the century. That of the 'Red Apple' is at least as early as 1545, probably a good deal earlier.¹ The well-known prophecy foretelling the downfall of the Turks, which was supposed to have been inscribed on the tomb of Constantine and to have been interpreted by the patriarch Gennadius, was current at Constantinople in the seventies of the same century.² In such circumstances omens are never wanting. Miraculous appearances of fiery crosses are reported in Constantinople about the time of Lepanto,³ and in 1591 an outbreak of plague gave further confirmation to popular fears.⁴ All these indications of nervousness among the Turks go far to explain the ascendancy of the dervishes and of superstition at the period in question. To necromancers, soothsayers, and astrologers the common people looked for counter-charms against the vaguely impending disaster, and the ruling classes, if they did not believe, found it politic to be conciliatory. The sultan himself (Murad III, 1574-95) was notoriously superstitious.⁵ It is not without significance that the venerated mosque of Eyyub was rebuilt in the year 1000

of Rhodes at this hour in 1525 (Lorr, *Rhodes*, p. 33: cf. further below, p. 752). George Borrow, in the thirties, found the same tradition and practice current at Tangier (*Bible in Spain*, p. 332). The same idea occurs also in a Greek folk-story from Trebizond (Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 22).

¹ See below, p. 736.

² Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, p. 102. This is the prophecy of the 'Yellow Race' for which see above, p. 471, n. 4.

³ These appearances are pictured and described by the Venetian cartographer Camotti.

⁴ Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* vii, 244. The extreme susceptibility of the Turks to interpret extraordinary events in the most gloomy sense is illustrated by their apprehensions when the Bosphorus froze in 1669: they were 'so frightened that they look'd upon it as a dismal Prodigy, and concluded that the world would be at an end that year' (T. Smith, in Ray's *Voyages*, ii, 46).

⁵ Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* vii, 282.

of the Hejira,¹ or that the Bektashi dervishes owed their official connexion with the Janissaries to the same period.²

External events also boded ill for the success of Moslem arms, and public feeling tended in an anti-Christian, and particularly anti-Catholic, direction. The signal victory of the combined fleet of the Catholic powers at Lepanto in 1571, following the repulse before Malta in 1566, raised the apprehensions of the Turks as much as the hopes of Christian Europe. For many years after these events the diplomacy of the Catholic powers was severely handicapped at the Porte.³ Of all the Catholic powers Spain was the most detested, not only for the prominent part she had played at Lepanto, but also for her treatment of the Moors. A treaty was denied her in 1578,⁴ and a full century later Sir Dudley North writes: 'The Spaniards neither have nor ever had an ambassador at the Porte; which perhaps may be derived from their hatred to all Mahometans for the sake of the Moors.'⁵ The hatred was certainly reciprocated and, at Constantinople especially, kept alive by fugitive Spanish Moors settled there.

The final expulsion of the Moors from Spain did not

¹ *Jardin des Mosquées*, in Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii, p. 57.

² D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, iii, 325.

³ This phase of affairs was made good use of by the rising Protestant powers, England and Holland. The first English treaty with the Porte was made in 1581, an embassy being established next year. The Dutch Capitulations date from 1610. Elizabeth certainly made capital out of the distinction between 'Protestant' England and 'idolatrous' Spain (see Pears, in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* 1893, pp. 439 ff.), and James followed her precedent. He is said to have styled himself to the Porte 'Verus fidei contra omnes idolatras falso Christi nomen profitentes [!] . . . propugnator' (*Ambassade de J. de Gontaut-Biron*, p. 36).

⁴ Hammer-Hellert, *op. cit.* vii, 51.

⁵ *Lives of the Norths*, ii, 134. G. 1617 della Valle records a persecution of Jesuits at Constantinople on account of their alleged treasonable correspondence with Spain and the Pope (*Voyages*, ii, 252 ff.).

take place till 1610,¹ but there was a serious rebellion in 1570,² and shortly after this date we find Spanish Moors flocking to Constantinople.³ In the middle of the next century Evliya says that ‘the Inhabitants of the interior castle [of Galata, *i.e.* the central compartment of the Genoese walled town] have in their hands a *khatti-sherif* of Sultan Mohammed II, by which they are allowed to suffer no Infidel among them. . . . These inhabitants are for the greatest part Moors, who were driven out of Spain and settled at Galata.’⁴ We may probably assume that the name of Mohammed II is a slip or perversion for that of Mohammed III (1595–1603), the rebuildler of the church-mosque of the Arabs. The exclusion of ‘infidels’ from the central part of Galata may have been made to appear a political necessity at a time when the Turks were nervous of Christian plots.

The Moorish refugees of Galata were, naturally enough, fanatical against the Christians, hardly less so against the Jews. It is precisely in the years between 1570 and 1610 that we hear of a series of aggressions against Catholic churches,⁵ causing in some cases their

¹ Knolles, *Turkish History*, p. 899, where the decree of expulsion is given.

² Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* vii, 51.

³ In 1578 a Constantinople letter (Charrière, *Négociations dans le Levant*, iii, 787) mentions a complaint preferred by ‘dix ou douze Mores de Granate, habitans icy . . .’ The rush began later: *cf. Relaz. di M. Zane* in Alberi, III, iii, 390 (1594): ‘di Spagna concorrono ogni giorno mori in Constantinopoli, che si nominano *mondesari*, come se uscissero solamente di Granata, ma in effetto tutta la Spagna n’è contaminata, e subito giunti levano il tolpante’ (*i.e.* avow themselves Moslems); *cf.* also the same *Relazione*, p. 440. Later still (1608–10) the French embassy espoused the cause of the Moors fleeing from Spain through Marseilles, though official efforts on their behalf were not always successful; *cf. Ambassade de J. de Gontaut-Biron, Table Analytique*, p. 443, and Index, *s.v.* ‘Grenadins’.

⁴ *Travels*, I, ii, 51; *cf. ibid.*, p. 53, ‘a great number of them are Arabs and Mogrebins’.

⁵ Especially against those of the Dominican order according to J. Seville, in *Notre Dame*, 1914, p. 120.

transformation into mosques. In 1591 it was proposed to treat the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem in this way.¹ In the following year S. Anna at Galata was threatened,² and probably about the same period S. Anthony and S. Paul were actually taken.³ Tournefort distinctly states that the latter was confiscated to serve as a mosque for Grenadine Moors.⁴ This is the obvious interpretation of its present name. The Orthodox, perhaps suspected of a *rapprochement* with the Catholics, owing to the intrigues of the Jesuits, suffered hardly less. To Murad III's reign (1574-95) is dated the seizure of the church of Pammakaristos (*Fethiyeh Jamisi*),⁵ till then the Patriarch's cathedral, and of a church of S. John the Baptist.⁶

The hostility shown by the Moors to the Constantinople Jews is less easy to account for. It probably dated from the days when both races were subject to Spain. The Jews, expelled in 1492, had flocked, like the Moors a hundred years later, to Constantinople, and throughout the following century were influential in Turkey as physicians, diplomatists, and tax-farmers. Their importance ends suddenly with the close of the

¹ Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* vii, 287.

² *Ibid.*

³ T. Smith in Ray's *Voyages*, ii, p. 40: 'St. Paul and St. Anthony were both taken away some years since from the Christians, and turned into Moschs. The former of which is now known by the name of *Arab Giamesi*, or the Mosch of the *Arabians*.' An earlier notice of the seizure of S. Paul is given by Du Loir (*Voyages* (1654), p. 66); Comidas (*Descr. di Costant.* 1794, p. 59) seems certainly wrong in assigning the seizure to the reign of Suleiman (1520-66), when the Moors, to whom he attributes it, were not yet fled out of Spain. But the Christians may have been dispossessed earlier. S. Paul's is not mentioned among the Latin churches of Galata by Breuning, (1579, *Orient. Reyss*, p. 89). See Seville, in *Notre Dame*, 1914, p. 119.

⁴ *Voyage*, Letter XII. 'La Mosquée des Arabes fut confisquée sur les Dominicains, il y a environ 100 ans, pour servir aux Mohamétans Granadins.'

⁵ Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* vii, 232: the *Jardin des Mosquées* gives the date 1591.

⁶ *Constantiniade*, p. 108.

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sixteenth century.¹ One cause seems certainly the influx of the Moors, who despise and hate the Jews far more than do the Turks. The refugees at Constantinople, finding the Jews no longer their equals in servitude, but their inferiors as non-Mussulmans in a Mussulman country, and their superiors in wealth and standing, satisfied their prejudices and avenged their Spanish wrongs on the hated race. This feeling seems to have risen to its height in 1612, when the Moors resident in Galata, supported by the Kadi, who was one of them, drove out the Jews and destroyed their synagogues.² But for French diplomatic action, the Catholic Church of S. Francis would have shared the fate of the synagogues.³

The usurpation of the church now called the Mosque of the Arabs thus falls chronologically in the middle of a long period of anti-Catholic feeling, instigated by superstitious fears at home and Catholic successes abroad, and fomented by the Moorish refugees from Spain. The supposed pre-Turkish traditions of the mosque rest on no more than a fanciful interpretation of its name, which originally denoted the population for whose use it was appropriated.

§ 3. KURSHUNLU MAGHZEN JAMISI

Like the Mosque of the Arabs, the Mosque of the Leaded Store or Underground Mosque (*Yer Altı Jami*) claims to date from the Arab siege of Constantinople under Maslama, when it served as a mosque for the Faithful. According to popular legend the Arab leader at his departure, knowing that some Moslems had been buried in it, obtained leave from the Greeks to seal up

¹ But their connexion with medicine and the University of Salamanca lasted far into the next century (T. Smith, in Ray's *Voyages*, ii, 59).

² Knolles, *Turk. Hist.*, p. 917.

³ *Ibid.* and des Hayes, *Voyage*, p. 125.

the key-hole with lead (*kurshun*) to prevent the desecration of their graves.¹ This elaborate story is devised to explain the name of the mosque, really derived from its proximity to the lead-roofed granary mentioned above.

The Underground Mosque is situated near the quays just outside the new bridge and immediately behind the Port Office. As its name implies, its floor-level lies somewhat lower than the level of the street, and the building, being low and badly lighted, has the appearance of a large cellar. The plan is a simple rectangle divided into a series of square compartments by quadrangular piers of masonry supporting a series of vaults.² The building is, to judge by the position of the *mihrab*, fairly correctly orientated.

The building seems to have been identified by the discovery in it of alleged Arab tombs, now attributed to saints named Amiri, Wahabi (left of entrance), and Sufian or Abu Sufian (right of entrance). The latter tomb is the most important of the group and occupies a separate compartment within a grille; it is evidently associated with Sufian, one of the Arab warriors who took part in the first Arab siege (672-7) by Moawiya.³ It is frequented as a pilgrimage by Turkish and Armenian, occasionally by Greek, women. For a small fee the guardian lays on the tomb a new garment or handkerchief, which, having remained there forty days, is an infallible love-charm, if worn by the man it is desired to attract. Women desirous of children wear round their waists a handkerchief which has been consecrated in a similar way.⁴

¹ Meyer's *Konstantinopel*, p. 253: cf. Grosvenor, *Constantinople*, ii, 698.

² According to the *Jardin des Mosquées* (p. 73) the mosque measures 62 × 1 paces and has forty-two vaults.

³ Brooks, in *J.H.S.* xviii, 186; Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, ii, 311. Abu Sufian was the title of the caliph Moawiya.

⁴ For this procedure see above, p. 266.

The 'discovery' of the tombs and mosque is attributed by von Hammer, on the authority of the *Jardin des Mosquées*, to a pious Nakshbandi sheikh, who had had revealed to him the site of the Prophet's father's tomb at Medina in the middle of the eighteenth century; the funds for the building were contributed by the vizir, Mustafa Pasha, who was himself a member of the Nakshbandi Order.¹ But the mosque and its tombs are mentioned at least a century earlier by Evliya,² so that the eighteenth century could have been responsible only for a reconstruction, as indeed the *Jardin des Mosquées* states. The original discovery cannot be placed later than the death of Murad IV (1640), since Evliya tells us that the emperor 'intended finishing the mosque, but could not accomplish it'.³ We may perhaps attribute the first 'discovery' of this so-called Arab mosque to the same period and combination of circumstances as were responsible for that of *Arab Fami*. In this case there is nothing to indicate that the building ever served as a church; its numerous vaulted aisles may have suggested a mosque to Moors familiar with the early many-columned Arab type of mosque found at Cordova and elsewhere, or the whole may have been built in recent times after the discovery of the 'Arab tombs'. The tradition of the pre-Turkish mosque is, in any case, to be regarded as no more than a patriotic fable resting solely on the religious credulity of the masses, stimulated by the dreams and revelations of holy men.

By similar methods numerous churches in the capital which were transformed into mosques by the Turks have acquired a spurious sanctity by the discovery in them of 'Arab' saints' graves; in some cases, like that of Sufian in Galata, these have been associated with

¹ Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xv, 261: cf. *Jardin des Mosquées* (*ibid.* xviii, 73).

² *Travels*, I, i, 24.

³ *Ibid.* I, ii, 167.

more or less historical personages.¹ In S. Andrew of Crete (*Khoja Mustafa Pasha Jamisi*), for example, are shown the graves of the daughters of Husain, who, says tradition, having been captured by the Greeks, killed themselves rather than marry unbelievers ;² many *dedes* or saints' graves independent of mosques have similar traditions.³ A curious example is Baba Jafer, the saint of the galley-slaves' prison, who was identified with an ambassador of Harun-al-Rashid.⁴

In a previous chapter⁵ I have attempted to indicate the process by which such identifications are arrived at. The existence of a holy-place or the grave of a saint is inferred from accidental circumstances, such as the discovery of a sarcophagus or of human remains, especially an undecayed corpse,⁶ the appearance of a miraculous light, or the fall of a wall,⁷ with or without coincidences connecting these accidental circumstances with dreams or with the 'luck' of individuals or communities. The name and history of the saint discovered depend on the lucubrations of learned mystics. The cult is perpetuated by the faith or credulity of the superstitious, often assisted by interested persons.

In the case of the 'Mosque of the Arabs' the rational explanation of the name was easily forgotten, and the romantic substituted under these influences. The 'type and tradition' of Arab saint once evolved—and this happened early both in Asia Minor and at Constantinople⁸—the name 'Arab' is sufficient to determine

¹ See the *Jardin des Mosquées* (18th c.) in Hammer-Hellert, *op. cit.* xviii, pp. 18 (185, *Hasan Husain Mesjidi*), 33 (333, *Kabriyeh Jamii*), 35 (349, *Khoja Mustafa Jamisi*).

² See above, p. 17.

³ See especially Evliya, *Travels*, I, ii, 15.

⁴ *Ibid.* I, i, 26.

⁵ Pp. 250 ff.

⁶ For a Moslem saint of this sort discovered in 1845 near Larnaka, see Ross, *Reisen nach Kos, &c.*, p. 198.

⁷ Prof. White, in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xxxix, 155.

⁸ Cf. above, p. 714.

the period and setting of the saint or building involved. At Rhodes, for instance, the tower actually built by the Grand Master de Naillac about 1400, being called Arab's Tower (*Arab Kulesi*), is referred to the conquest of Rhodes by the Saracens under Moawiya.¹

§ 4. THE 'ARAB' IN FOLK-LORE AND HAGIOLOGY

The current conception of an 'Arab' saint includes two ideas, that of the Arab proper, a compatriot of the Prophet and champion of the Faith, and that of the negro,² which is implied by the popular connotation of the word 'Arab' in Turkish. Fusion is rendered easy by the facts (1) that the negroes with whom the Turks are in habitual contact, coming from or through North Africa, are Arabic speakers, and (2) that certain races, notably the Sudanese, are characterized by magnificent physique and reckless courage in war; there is no reason to doubt that the gigantic negro Hasan who distinguished himself at the siege of Constantinople was a historical and characteristic figure.³ In historical folk-lore, consequently, it is not surprising to find the heroes of traditional Moslem exploits frequently represented as 'Arabs'.

¹ Biliotti and Cottret, *Rhodes*, p. 501. The name *Arab Kulesi* is at least as old as Beaufort (*Piloting Directions for Mediterranean*, 1831, p. 300), whose survey took place in 1811. The Moawiya tradition I cannot find before Biliotti.

² It is interesting in this connexion to read Fabri, *Evagat.* ii, 512, where he says 'reperimus idolum in forma pueri Aethiopsis in caverna petrae stantem, cui Arabes interdum pro tempore oblationes afferunt'.

³ In the less reputable field of brigandage the recent exploits of certain redoubtable 'Arabs' are still locally remembered (*cf.* Georgeakis and Pineau, *Folk-Lore de Lesbos*, p. 323; E. Deschamps in *Tour du Monde*, 1897, p. 185 (Cyprus, an historical negro brigand 'thirty or forty years ago': *cf.* his *Au Pays d'Aphrodite*, p. 95)). Dutemple, *En Turquie d'Asie*, p. 51, says the Kara Mustafa Hammam at Brusa was so named from a real negro.

Philippopolis, for example, is said to have been taken by the besieging Turks owing to the discovery and destruction of the subterranean aqueducts which supplied it with water; the discoverer was an 'Arab'.¹ Beside the apocryphal grave of Constantine Palaiologos at Vefa Meidan (Constantinople) is shown the equally apocryphal tomb of his slayer; the slayer was an 'Arab'.² Similarly, the Moslem champion slain by the Bulgarian hero, Bolen Doitsi, at Salonica was an 'Arab'.³ But by far the commonest *role* of the 'Arab', not only in the folk-lore of Turkey, but in that of the Balkans,⁴ is that of the terrifying spectre or *jinn*. The 'Arab' *jinn*, reflecting the fidelity of his earthly counterpart, the negro slave, generally figures as a guardian, especially of treasure,⁵

¹ Tsoukalas, *Περιγραφή Φιλιππουπόλεως*, p. 27.

² Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, ii, 677.

³ Gougouzes in *Λαογραφία*, i, 690. The tomb of Emir in the cemetery Turbet Birket Mamilla is supposed to be that of a gigantic negro who fought against the Christians (Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*, p. 83).

⁴ For the 'Arab' in Turkish folk-stories, see Kunos, *Türkische Volksmärchen aus Stambul*, preface, p. xviii; for the Greek area, where he is generally called Ἀράπης (*Mōpos* in the Ionian Islands, *Σαρακηνός* in Crete), see Polites, *Νεο-ελλ. Μυθολογία*, pp. 133, 145 ff., and *Παραδόσεις*, nos. 419 ff., with the learned note on 419; also Carnoy and Nicolaidis, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 149. The 'Arab' appears early in Greek folk-lore as the *famulus* of a sorcerer; see anecdote of Photius in Bury's *Later Roman Empire*, p. 445. A man, wishful to terrify his neighbours, blacked his face so as to look like a negro; they took him for a were-wolf (Dozon, *Contes Alban.*, p. 166; cf. the fear of a negro ghost in van Lennep, *Travels in Asia Minor*, i, 191). In the voyage of Sindbad an immense and terrifying negro is encountered (Lane, *Thousand and One Nights*, p. 277). In the West evil spirits and devils are commonly conceived of as negroes: cf. Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii, 78, 862, and de Voragine, *Légende Dorée*, pp. 107, 601.

⁵ Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, nos. 419-45 inclusive; Pashley, *Crete*, ii, 39; Cockerell, *Travels*, p. 151; St. Clair and Brophy, *Residence in Bulgaria*, p. 55; W. Turner, *Tour in the Levant*, iii, 512; Perrot, *L'île de Crète*, pp. 103 ff. Cf. Lane, *Thousand and One Nights*, p. 339.

but also of buildings¹ and wells.² In connexion with haunted buildings and treasure (which are very often combined, a haunted building being assumed to be haunted by the guardian of treasure concealed in it) the conception of an 'Arab' guardian is based on (1) the regular use in the East of black slaves as confidential servants,³ and (2) the common folk-lore practice of immolating a victim at the commencement of a building in order that his spirit may establish the structure.⁴ In the case of treasure the victim may be the confidential servant: his immolation then secures both secrecy as to the whereabouts of the treasure and a ghostly guardian for its future protection.⁵ In Greek

¹ Polites, *op. cit.*, nos. 455-62; cf. Hobhouse, *Albania*, i, 529 (haunted houses); Palgrave, *Ulysses*, p. 59 (haunted bath). In Egypt a 'talisman' which prevented the silting up of a branch of the Nile in the eighteenth century took the form of a negro with a broom (Lucas, *Voyage fait en 1714*, i, 339). The English are said to have stolen this broom (Niya Salima, *Harems d'Égypte*, p. 330).

² Polites, *op. cit.*, no. 433 (= Leo Allatius, *De Graec. opin.*, p. 166), and references given in the note (p. 1108); Lawson, *Modern Greek Folk-lore*, p. 276; Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie* (en Suisse, 1780), ii, 301 (*magrèbins* are good at finding treasure); Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, pp. 142, 172; Thomson, *Land and the Book*, p. 135.

³ This is strongly brought out by the Turkish folk-stories (Kunos, *loc. cit.*).

⁴ The well-known *Bridge of Arta* story affords a good illustration (Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 169, note, and nos. 481-3 incl.; also in *Νεο-ελλ Μυθ.* p. 139; Sainéan, in *Rev. Hist. Rel.* xlv, 359 ff.). The story occurs all over the Balkan area and as far east as Kurdistan (M. Sykes, *Dar-ul-Islam*, p. 160). In the version given by Dozon, *Contes Alban.*, p. 256, and localized at Dibra, the immured mother suckled her child, but as soon as the child grew up, water flowed instead of milk from her breast. This suggests that the suckling *motif* was originated by the sweating of lime from the mortar of new buildings. See further Hasluck, *Letters*, pp. 124, 195.

⁵ For the immolation of a human victim with this object (*στοιχειώνω*) see Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 424 with the note, and no. 483. The ghost guardian must be appeased with blood by the finders of the treasure (*ibid.*, no. 404).

folk-lore the 'Arab' is occasionally a female apparition;¹ I can as yet find no instance of this on the Turkish side.²

The conception of Arab *jinn*s who guard mysterious buildings, especially castles, or treasures, or both, is partly answerable for the recurring use of *Arab* in Turkish geographical nomenclature. *Arab Hisar* ('Castle of the Arab'), the ancient Alabanda, *Arab Kulesi* ('Arab's Tower') at Rhodes,³ *Arab Euren* ('Ruins of the Arab'),⁴ and possibly Arabkir are examples. Above the last-named town is a mountain called indifferently *Arab Baba* and *Kara Baba*,⁵ presumably after a saint (*baba*) or *dede* worshipped on its summit. In this case certainly *Arab Baba* and *Kara Baba* are identified, so that *Kara* (*black*) is here a synonym for *Arab*. It therefore follows that the numerous Turkish cults directed to *Kara Baba*⁶ may be associated with 'Arab' saints and place-names like *Kara Euren* ('Black Ruin') and even *Kara Hisar* ('Black Castle') may be similarly associated⁷ with 'guardian-Arab' *jinn*s.

If these 'Arab' *jinn*s prove by experience to be placable they may easily attain to a cult. This is probably

¹ e. g. the guardian of the treasure at the Roman baths called after her 'Αράπισσα at Sparta (Wace, in *B.S.A.* xii, 407) and the ghost 'Απαπατζέλλα of the Kamares cave in Crete (Halliday, in *Folk-Lore*, xxiv, 359).

² The porphyry head built into the castle of Rumeli Hisar is said to be that of an Arab woman petrified for mocking the workmen (Grosvenor, *Constantinople*, i, 168), but this is hardly a parallel.

³ Above, p. 730.

⁴ With this compare *Dev Euren*, 'Ruin of the Ogre', another figure familiar to folk-tale (not 'Ruin of the Camel', as Von Diest, *Tilsit nach Angora*, p. 52, n. 4).

⁵ Ainsworth, *Travels*, ii, 5, 6.

⁶ e. g. in the fortress commanding the bridge at Chalkis, and at Athens (Dodwell, *Tour*, i, 305 : cf. Kambouroglous, *Ἱστορία*, iii, 125).

⁷ Ramsay (*Pauline Studies*, p. 182) comments on the fact that ancient sites frequently bear names compounded with *kara*, none with *siah*, though both words mean 'black', from which he infers that the word implies awe or mystery. The difference between *kara* and *siah* is primarily one of language, *kara* being vernacular Turkish, *siah* Persian.

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the history of the *S. Arab* of Larnaka,¹ the *Arab zade* of the Seven Towers at Constantinople,² of *Arab Oglu*, a saint in Pontus,³ and the *Sheikh Arab Sultan* of Dineir⁴ who, if our theory be correct, are in effect promoted from *jinn*s or demons to *dedes* or saints. Similarly, a white marble statue at a fountain in Candia, which has acquired not only a Moslem cult but a cycle of legend, is, in spite of its material, conceived of as a petrified 'Arab'.⁵ In the case of *Arab Oglu*, who is worshipped on an ancient site near Kavak, we may surmise that the cult arose from the apprehensions of some superstitious treasure-seeker, the 'Arab' saint being no more than the guardian of the treasure always supposed to exist on ancient sites. This affords a more easy explanation than the 'survival' theory of the tendency remarked by Ramsay⁶ of Moslem cults to exist in such places. Such figures as *Arab Oglu* might in favourable circumstances develop still further into saints boasting a name and even a place in history.

For the Christians the development of the 'Arab' figure from *jinn* to saint is less easy, since his very name brands him as a Moslem, ecclesiastical and artistic traditions connect him with the Devil,⁷ and he is probably inextricably mixed with the 'bogey' of childhood. In spite of these disabilities the development may take place. We have the precedent of the *S. Barbaros* of the monastery of Iveron on Athos, an 'Arab' raider who struck the image of the Virgin of the Gate (*Πορταίτισσα*), was converted by a miracle, and became a monk and eventually a saint.⁸ In some such way, probably, was converted the 'S. Arab' of Larnaka,⁹ who is now wor-

¹ Mariti, *Travels in Cyprus*, tr. Cobham, p. 41.

² F. W. H.

³ White, in *Records of the Past*, vi, 101.

⁴ G. Weber, *Dinair*, *passim*.

⁵ Above, p. 188, n. 1.

⁶ *Pauline Studies*, p. 182.

⁷ On this point see Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 419, note.

⁸ Above, p. 88, n. 1.

⁹ Mariti, *Travels in Cyprus*, tr. Cobham, p. 41.

shipped by Christians under the decorous name of S. Therapon.¹ Of this sanctuary Mariti writes in the eighteenth century as follows: ‘ To the north-west of Larnaca, a few paces outside the town, there is a small mosque called by the Moslem “ Arab ” and by the Greeks “ S. Arab ”; both sects hold it in great veneration, the one deeming it dedicated to one of their Dervishes, the other to some Saint. The Turks respect the mosque, or rather little chapel, which they say was built by the said Arab, and the Greeks devoutly visit the sepulchre, a subterranean grotto in which they hold that for many years lay the body of their supposed holy hermit.’²

This ‘ S. Arab ’ is now worshipped by Moslems as ‘ Turabi ’ and by Christians as ‘ S. Therapon ’.³ Turabi is the name of a fifteenth-century dervish who was noted for his liberal views as to religions outside Islam.⁴ Therapon is a saint and healer well known in Cyprus, but not specially connected with Larnaka.⁵ The ambiguous saint possibly developed first from the nameless ‘ Arab ’ (‘ Ἀράπης) to Turabi, the genitive τοῦ Ἀράπη (sc. ὁ τεκκές, ἡ σπηλιά) possibly aiding the transition. From Turabi, by way of the form Tharape,⁶ to Therapon is easy. It seems at least fairly clear that we have here a case of an ‘ Arab ’ cave-jinn who has managed to secure a footing in both religions.⁷

¹ Hackett, *Church of Cyprus*, p. 421. For a similar alleged conversion of a Moslem saint to Christianity, see Schiltberger (ed. Telfer, p. 40).

² *Travels*, ed. Cobham, p. 41.

³ Hackett, *Church of Cyprus*, p. 421; Lukach and Jardine, *Hdbk. of Cyprus* (1913), p. 47.

⁴ Von Hammer, *Osman. Dichtkunst*, i, 214; a Kadri convent named *Turabi Tekke* exists at Constantinople (Brown, *Dervishes*, p. 317).

⁵ For his legend see Delehayé, in *Anal. Bolland.* xxvi, 247 ff.

⁶ Mas Latrie, *Trésor de Chronologie*, p. 911.

⁷ See also above, pp. 87 f.

THE PROPHECY OF THE RED APPLE¹

THE famous Turkish prophecy of the 'Red Apple' comes to us first in 1545, when it was published by Georgewicz, a Hungarian, for many years prisoner among the Turks,² in (transliterated) Turkish with a Latin translation and a commentary. The following is an English rendering of the text :

'Our Emperor shall come, he shall take the realm of the Gentiles (Kiafir), he shall take the Red Apple and capture it : if unto the seventh year the sword of the Unbeliever (Giaur) shall not come forth, he shall have lordship over them unto twelve years : he shall build houses, plant vineyards, hedge gardens about, and beget children ; after twelve years from the time that he hath captured the Red Apple, the sword of the Infidel shall come forth and put the Turk to flight.'

Our anonymous prophet knew his craft and provided, like the Delphian Apollo, for all contingencies. His first line of defence is, as has been already pointed out,³ the interpretation of the word 'year', which in such utterances allows of some latitude. Further, the central episode, the taking of the 'Red Apple' (*Kizil Elma*), on which the rest of the prophecy depends, is obscure, and suggests many lines of thought.

The general symbolism of the 'Red Apple' is certainly *world dominion*. At Constantinople, long before the Turkish conquest, the 'apple' or orb held by the statue of Justinian which stood on a column before

¹ Reprinted from *B.S.A.* xxii, 171 ff.

² *Prognoma sive praesagium Mehemetanorum*, dated, by the introductory letter, 1545. The prophecy is also published in the Turkish collections of Lonicerus.

³ *Das Ausland* (Munich), 1828, no. 93, p. 372. It will be noted further that 'seven' and 'twelve' are mystic numbers.

S. Sophia was regarded as a talisman or 'luck' of the empire. This 'apple', Mandeville tells us, 'betokens the lordship which Justinian had over all the world': in the fourteenth century it had fallen down, which was 'a token that the emperor hath lost a great part of his lands and lordships'.¹ The conquest of Constantinople and of Justinian's empire might thus be symbolized by the taking of the 'Red Apple'. But the interpretation of a prophecy current nearly a century after the fall of Constantinople obviously could not rest on this alone, and the mysterious 'Red Apple' was identified with several of the successive goals of Ottoman arms, in particular Constantinople (probably retrospectively) and Rome, which the Turks aimed at or even threatened in the first half of the sixteenth century. Turkish opinion in Georgewicz's day held that the 'Red Apple' symbolized 'some strong and well-fortified imperial city',² but as to its identity opinion was divided. Some said Constantinople was meant, others Rome: the latter interpretation in the end became generally accepted, despite the fact that Rome was never taken by the Turks. Both these interpretations of the 'Red Apple' are indicated by the gloss (current already in Georgewicz's time) *Vrum papai*, which might be translated, according to fancy, 'the pope (*i. e.* patriarch) of the Greeks' (*Rum*, 'Ρωμαῖοι) or 'the pope of the Romans' of Rome. As we shall see, both interpretations were harmonized by seventeenth-century expositors.

The interpretation current among the Turks of the

¹ Ed. Wright, p. 130: *cf.* Procopius, *de Aedif.*, i, 2; *cf.* Schiltberger, *Travels*, ed. Telfer, p. 80 and note, and for Mandeville's sources, Boven-schen in *Z. f. Erdk.*, 1888, p. 211.

² 'Kizil Elma dicunt esse urbem aliquam fortissimam et munitissimam imperialem' (Georgewicz's commentary), whence doubtless the anonymous writer in *Ausland* draws the erroneous inference that 'Red Apple' was a synonym for *any* strong city.

seventeenth century, which sought to identify the Byzantine and the Roman 'Red Apple', is given by Evliya Efendi. In S. Sophia's long ago was an image of the Virgin holding in her hand a carbuncle as big as a pigeon's egg, by the blaze of which the building was lighted every night. This carbuncle was removed on the birth-night of the Prophet to *Kizil Elma* (Rome), which received its name 'Red Apple' from thence.¹ There is no attempt to explain the connexion of carbuncles with 'red apples'. A carbuncle is, of course, a garnet (ML. *Lapis granatus*, Fr. *Grenat*), so called from the likeness of its colour to that of a pomegranate.

Of 'red apple' as a paraphrase either for 'carbuncle' or pomegranate—the ordinary Turkish word for the latter is the Persian *nar*—I can find no distinct indication: ² but we shall detect later hints of the connexion.³ Modern Turkish tradition identifies the 'Red Apple' of Rome with the gilded dome of S. Peter's, which is said to be visible from the sea.⁴

Evliya quite inconsistently continues, evidently draw-

¹ *Travels*, I, i, 57. A Russian pilgrim (Khitrovo, *Itin. Russes*, p. 91) notices in S. Sophia a statue of Leo the Wise which had this property. For other stories of carbuncles that lighted buildings see C. W. King, *Natural History of Precious Stones*, p. 239.

² There may be a play on this in a Turkish couplet quoted by Gibb (*Ottoman Poetry*, iv, 25).

³ 'Red Apple' for pomegranate has an exact verbal parallel in the Latin name (*Malum Punicum*) of the same fruit. The Arabic for pomegranate is *rumman*, which gives a distinct point if the 'Red Apple' means *Rome*. Round Granada the wood of pomegranates is called 'soto de roma' (Bradshaw's *Spain*, p. 48). For the curiosity of the subject I note here that there is a mountain called *Kizil Elma Dagb* ('Red Apple Mountain') in the Troad: the name is not derived from the colour of the mountain, possibly from its shape (as apparently its ancient name *Κότυλος*, 'wine-cup'). Other *Kizil Elma* mountains are shown in R. Kiepert's map above Bartin in Paphlagonia and near Kestelek on the Rhyndacus.

⁴ Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iv, 25, note. The globe on the dome is probably meant.

ing upon an independent tradition: 'The Spanish infidels were once or twice masters of Islambol [Constantinople], and thence that egg [*i.e.* the carbuncle] came into their hands.'¹ He thus implies that the 'Red Apple' was, according to one version, in Spain. After what we have said elsewhere² as to the emigration of Spanish Moors to Constantinople about the end of the sixteenth century, it is hard to resist the suggestion that here again we have stumbled across the equation 'Red Apple' = Carbuncle = Pomegranate, the 'Red Apple' in this case symbolizing the long-lost Moslem kingdom of *Granada*. Though the derivation of the name of *Granada* from its abundance of pomegranates is not universally accepted by philologists, it is so far the received popular etymology that the pomegranate figures in the arms of the city; and the modern surname *Nar*, which occurs among the Spanish Jews of Turkey, is surely a translation of the name *Granada*, implying the same identification.

The prophecy of the 'Red Apple' was thus applied to two, if not three, cities. A later edition of George-wicz's *Praesagium* connects it, giving no reason, with a fourth, Buda-Pest; so far as we can see, this is merely an arbitrary application of a prophecy to a city which was long the goal of Turkish arms and eventually (1526) fell to them. Certain it is that in 1538, *twelve years after the taking of Buda*, portents were seen in the sky at Constantinople foretelling the imminent ruin of the Turks by the Christians.³ Were these interpreted in the light of the prophecy of the Red Apple, backed by the recent Christian victories of Andrea Doria?

Another possible claimant is the city of Rhodes, taken in 1522, after an unsuccessful siege in 1480. Already in the early fifteenth century was current a derivation of the name of Rhodes, not from *ῥόδον* (rose),

¹ *Loc. cit.*

² Above, p. 723.

³ *Avisi di Costantinopoli*, Venice, 1538.

but from *ῥοῦδι* (pomegranate), on the ground that the city was as full of men as a pomegranate of seeds.¹ We have already remarked on the obscure connexion which seems to exist between the 'Red Apple' and the pomegranate. If Rhodes were taken as the 'Red Apple' of the prophecy, the destruction of the Turkish power by the Christians would be due to occur in 1534. It may be significant that superstitious Turks, arguing from omens, augured ill of the chances of a Turkish army which marched into Hungary in that year.²

¹ Buondelmonti, *Liber Insularum* (1420), ed. de Sinner, p. 72.

² Schepper, *Missions Diplomatiques*, p. 136. In this year the marble lion of the Bucoleon was said to have turned its head away from Europe and towards Asia. Such stories are rather the effect than the cause of superstitious fears.

THE MAIDEN'S CASTLE

INTRODUCTORY

‘MAIDEN’S TOWER’, ‘Maiden’s Castle’, ‘Maiden’s Palace’¹ are in Turkey among the commonest popular names for ruins whose history is long since forgotten. On the Greek side of the Aegean ‘Castles of the Fair One’² are no less numerous. The present chapter is an attempt to examine and classify the folk-stories current regarding the various ‘Maiden’s Castles’ in the Greco-Turkish area, which will be found, as might be expected, to be variations of a comparatively small number of *motifs*, some of which have achieved a very wide vogue through their adoption by popular literature. The broad division is into ‘strategic’ and ‘romantic’ themes; both of these have many variants, which, we shall find, will lead us to include in the general category of ‘Maiden’s Castles’ certain ruins bearing names apparently irrelevant to our inquiry. The setting of the stories ranges from the fairy-story pure and simple, where the figures are nameless types and magic

¹ Kiz Kulasi, Kiz Kalesi (or Kiz Hisar), Kiz Serai: a ‘palace’ in my experience generally has columns, *cf.* Choisy, *Asie Mineure*, p. 134 (temple of Aizani). Outside Turkey ‘Maiden’s Castles’ are cited from Transcaucasia (Gulbenkian, *Transcaucasie*, p. 210: *cf.* Koechlin Schwartz, *Touriste au Caucase*, p. 161), from the Crimea and from Persia (from Kerman in Hume Griffith, *Behind the Veil in Persia*, p. 32; and P. M. Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, p. 190). The name does not appear to be common in the Arab-speaking area but is recorded at Jaber in North Mesopotamia by Cahun (*Excursions sur les Bords de l’Euphrate*, p. 188): *cf.* the ‘Maiden’s Mount’ mentioned by Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, p. 91, and by Stanley, *Sinai*, pp. 29 f.

² Κάστρο τῆς Ὠραιᾶς: *cf. e. g.* Buchon, *Grèce Continentale*, pp. 373, 397. The ‘Fair One’ is of course the ‘Beauty of the World’ of the Turkish folk-tales.

machinery is freely employed, to the pseudo-historical, in which the heroine at least is provided with a name and approximate date.

§ I. 'Strategic' Legends

The usual role of the Maiden in the 'strategic' type of story is that of the Amazon defender. The conception of the woman-warrior is common to all nations¹ and backed by historical examples. In the folk-tales the 'Maiden's Castle' is usually taken despite the valiant efforts of the heroine, who, to avoid capture, throws herself from the castle-walls and is killed.² Another *motif* very dear to Greek folk-tale and song is that of the youthful janissary who, disguised as a woman with child, takes advantage of the humanity of the maiden defender of the castle, who is often a princess, in order to secure an entrance, and is of course followed by his concealed comrades in arms.³

A link between the 'romantic' and 'strategic' types is formed by the legends which represent the maiden inside the castle as in love with one of the attacking army; the denouement turns on her treachery. A love

¹ Even in Turkish folk-lore the figure of the girl-*ghazi* is not uncommon: see an example in *Wiss. Mitth. Bosnien*, i, 479 (cited by Bjelokosić): cf. Bordeaux, *Bosnie Populaire*, p. 174. One of the seven warrior saints (ἑπτὰ ἐβλιάδες) buried in the moat at Candia is reputed to have been a woman (F. W. H.). Cf. Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, ii, 137, 141.

² Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, nos. 86, 87, gives texts of such stories from Thessaly (cf. Chirol, *Twixt Greek and Turk*, p. 118) and Alaja Kale in Pontus, with references to all parts of the Greek world. A Georgian version is cited by Palgrave (*Ulysses*, p. 76). At the ruined castle of Kilgra in Bulgaria is shown the place where forty maidens threw themselves headlong to avoid capture by their conquerors (Jireček in *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* x (1886), p. 189). Cf. the story in Miller, *Latins of the Levant*, p. 38.

³ Polites, *op. cit.*, no. 88 (Kynouria): Chaviaras in *Λαογραφία*, ii, 572-4 (songs from Symi, Nisyros, Castellorizo). The theme has entered into the common stock of Greek minstrels.

affair between a Christian and a Moslem, the lady being usually converted to her husband’s religion, is a natural theme in the chivalric-romantic folk-literature of the Near East.¹ The lady either warns her lover of danger or suggests to him the stratagem which leads to the fall of the fortress.

As an example of the first, the ‘ romantic ’, type we may quote the tragic loves of Sidi Battal and the Christian princess. The scene is the Christian ‘ Castle of the Messiah ’, besieged by the Arab armies with Sidi Battal at their head. Within the walls is a Christian princess enamoured of the Arab captain. Hearing of a plot against her beloved, she drops a stone from the wall to give him warning. The stone falls on him and kills him ; the heroine destroys herself from remorse and is eventually buried by his side.² Of the second, the ‘ strategic ’, type a good example is the Rhodian legend of the castle of Phileremo. In it a Rhodian knight besieging the place succeeds in obtaining an entrance by disguising himself in the skin of an animal, this not very brilliant stratagem being suggested by his Greek mistress within the walls.³

What may be regarded as the converse of this stratagem, because it involves the disguise of animals as men, is familiar from the well-known ruse of Hannibal. The besiegers of a castle suggest a retreat by driving off by night a herd of goats with lights attached to their horns ; the beleaguered garrison, thrown off its guard, opens the gates and the besiegers, ambushed outside, easily

¹ Cf. especially the tale told at Mecca of the captive Moslem and the Christian princess : see above, p. 73. On the Christian side the elopement of Digenes Akritas with an *emir’s* daughter (Rimbaud, *Ét. Byz.*, p. 79) is a case in point.

² Éthé, *Fabrten des Saggiid Battbal*, ii, 234 ff. : the site of the ‘ Castle of the Messiah ’ is presumably to be sought near the reputed tomb of the hero south of Eskishehr in Asia Minor, for which see above, pp. 705-10.

³ Above, p. 647, n. 2

force an entrance. This is related on the Greek side of the capture of Serfije [Servia] in Macedonia and Nicomedia by the Turks,¹ and on the Turkish side of the numerous ruins called 'Goat Castle' (Kechi Kalesi).² One of these at least bears the alternative name of 'Maiden's Castle',³ from which we may suspect the interweaving of a 'romantic' *motif*.

§ 2. 'Romantic' Legends

The chief varieties of the 'romantic' type of legend, in which the heroine is normally a princess, are :

- (a) the immured princess,
- (b) the bewitched maiden, and
- (c) the princess and the rival lovers.

(a) The immured princess *motif*, familiar from the stories of Danae, S. Barbara, and Rapunzel, is especially associated with isolated castles or towers. Typical are the so-called 'Tower of Leander' (in Turkish 'Kiz Kulasi' = 'Maiden's Tower') at Constantinople, which is surrounded by water, and the similarly situated tower at Korykos in Cilicia. Of 'Leander's Tower' two distinct stories are told, both with a pseudo-historical setting. In the first the daughter of the Greek governor of Skutari is immured with her father's treasure in the tower in order to preserve both from the Arab hero, Sidi Battal.⁴ The story coming from a Mohammedan source, it is hardly necessary to add that the precaution is taken in vain. The second story is more typical. It

¹ Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, nos. 17, 18.

² e.g. near Yuzgat (Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, i, 387), near Bicher on the Angora line (von Diest and Anton, *Neue Forschungen*, p. 27), and near Smyrna (Cochran, *Pen and Pencil*, p. 232). The two latter alone give the story. The French call a castle outside Sidon the 'Château des Chèvres' (Goujon, *Terre Sainte*, p. 54). Niebuhr (*Reisebeschreibung*, iii, 142) tells the story of an unnamed Anatolian castle.

³ The ruin near Smyrna (Texier, *Asie Mineure*, ii, 278).

⁴ Evliya Efendi, *Travels*, I, ii, 78.

represents the immured maiden as the daughter of a Turkish sultan, of whom a dervish prophesied that she would die at fourteen. The tower was built to defeat the prophecy by affording the princess during the dangerous period a refuge whence chances of accidental death were so far as possible eliminated. Fate cannot, however, be thus cheated, and the doomed girl died from the bite of a scorpion brought her in a basket of fruit. A more elaborate version of the same story, told at great length by Castellán, makes the heroine a daughter of Selim II and interweaves a romantic *motif* and wins to a happy ending on Sleeping Beauty lines, the introduction of her lover causing the dead princess to revive.¹

At Korykos,² where the Greeks of the Sporades localize their folk-songs and legends of 'Beauty's Castle', there are well-preserved remains of a medieval fortress on the shore and an isolated tower on an adjacent island. Of the mainland castle is told the story of the disguised janissary.³ Both castles are also represented as elaborate precautions to save from her fate a king's daughter, whose early death by the bite of a snake was foretold to her father. The snake is eventually introduced in a basket of figs, sent to the princess, according to one version, by her lover.⁴

¹ J. Reid, *Turkey and the Turks*, p. 298 : cf. Tollot, *Voyage*, p. 320 ; Castellán, *Lettres sur la Morée*, pp. 190 ff. Melek Hanum (*Trente Ans dans les Harems d'Orient*, p. 2) tells the story, but the only point is the inevitability of fate. Réglá (*Turquie Officielle*, p. 296) has the story complete. An entirely different story of Leander's Tower, in which a treasure *motif* is prominent, is given by Carnoy and Nicolaïdes, *Folklore de Constantinople*, pp. 41 ff.

² For Korykos see Beaufort, *Karamania*, pp. 240 ff. ; Langlois, *Cilicie*, pp. 211 ff. ; Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, ii, 74.

³ Chaviaras in *Λαογραφία*, ii, 572-4.

⁴ *Ibid.* 557 f. Some similar legend appears to be told of the ruins of Pompeiopolis near Mersina : these are said to be the work of a Jew named Hakmun, who built a castle near by for his daughter Hind (Barker, *Lares and Penates*, p. 131).

(b) The 'bewitched princess' *motif* is associated with remote and lonely castles and is frankly magical. At Kos the heroine is the daughter of Hippocrates, bewitched by Diana into the form of a frightful dragon. Any one who was brave enough to kiss her on the lips might turn her back into human form and win the reward of her hand and the lordship of the island.¹ A somewhat similar story, evidently lacking in some particulars, is related by Schiltberger of an enchanted princess in a castle near Kerasund; the narrator tells the story quite simply and evidently believed it. Indeed he was minded to explore the castle himself, had he not been dissuaded by equally credulous Greek priests, who told him that the Devil was in it. His words are :

'There is on a mountain a castle, called that of the sparrow-hawk. Within, is a beautiful virgin, and a sparrow-hawk on a perch. Whoever goes there and does not sleep but watches for three days and three nights, whatever he asks of the virgin, that is chaste, that she will grant to him. And when he finishes the watch, he goes into the castle and comes to a fine palace, where he sees a sparrow-hawk standing on a perch: and when the sparrow-hawk sees the man, he screams, and the virgin comes out of her chamber, welcomes him and says: "Thou hast served me and watched for three days and three nights, and whatever thou now askest of me that is pure, that will I grant unto thee." And she does so. But if anybody asks for something that exhibits pride, impudence, or avarice, she curses him and his offspring, so that he can no longer attain an honourable position.'²

The fate of three typical adventurers is given. The first, 'a good poor fellow', asked only that he and his family might live with honour and had his wish granted. The second, a prince of Armenia, asked for the hand of

¹ Ed. Wright, p. 139: *cf.* Fabri, *Evagat.* iii, 267-8. See also Polites in *Δελτίον Ἰστορ.* 'Εταιρείας, i, 85 ff.

² Schiltberger, ed. Telfer (for the Hakluyt Society), p. 41, § 30: *cf.* Mandeville. ed. Wright. v. 202.

the lady ; and the third, a knight of Rhodes, for an inexhaustible purse ; these were cursed for the sins of pride and avarice respectively. The introduction of the hawk, though without much relevance for the story as here told, is of interest as explaining the name ' Hawk Castle ' (*Doghan Hisar*) borne by several ruined castles in Turkey.¹

(c) The ' Princess with Rival Lovers ' *motif* demands a rather more elaborate setting. The theme is a competition between the lovers for the hand of the heroine. One of them undertakes as his task to build the castle of which the story is told, the other generally an aqueduct. The latter feature seems to be an adaptation from the somewhat different story of the loves of Ferhad and Shirin, originally Persian and located in Persia,² afterwards treated by several Turkish poets³ and given a picturesque Turkish setting in the neighbourhood of Amasia, where the aqueduct hewn in the rock by Ferhad for the service of his mistress, and even the grave of the faithful lover, are shown.⁴

The juxtaposition of castle and aqueduct in Greco-Turkish lands seems almost inevitably to attract the story of the Rival Lovers.⁵ A variant of some interest was told me in 1915 of Nikopolis. Here the rivals were three brothers who each produced a masterpiece in

¹ e. g. near Panderma (Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, ii, 95). The *doghan* is a species of goshawk.

² At Kasr-i-Shirin (Browne, *Lit. History of Persia*, ii, 405 ; Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, i, 318). The Persian story in its literary form is at least as early as the twelfth century. ³ Gibb, *op. cit.*, i, 318 ff.

⁴ Haji Khalfa, *Djihannuma*, tr. Armain, p. 682 ; Sestini, *Viaggio a Bassora*, p. 45 ; Skene, *Anadol*, p. 104 ; Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, i, 373. For a Greek parallel or derivative cf. the Cypriote story of Digenes and Regina (Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 73).

⁵ It is told of a castle in Acarnania (Polites, *op. cit.*, no. 164) ; of the *Κάστρο τῆς Ὠραιᾶς* in Doris (*ibid.*, no. 165) ; of Corinth (*ibid.*, no. 162) ; of Attica (*ibid.*, no. 163) ; of a castle in Naxos (*ibid.*, no. 167) ; of Aspendus in Pamphylia (*ibid.*, no. 149) ; and of Phyle in Attica (Collignon in *Mém. Ac. Inscr.* xxxix (1914), p. 423).

competition for the hand of the princess at Preveza (*i.e.* Nikopolis), where there are several ruins suitable for the legendary princess's palace. The first built the aqueduct of Nikopolis, the second the church of the Panagia Paregoritissa at Arta, while the third in one day planted a vineyard and gathered its fruit. The three having been declared equal, they prayed that the princess might be smitten with leprosy so that none of them could have her. Which prayer being granted, the story comes to an unromantic end.

§ 3. *Perversions*

Professor Polites' learned note on the various stories of the 'Castle of the Fair One' makes it clear that the original 'Ωραία has in some cases undergone considerable perversion. Notable are the confusions with Syria (*Κάστρο τῆς 'Ωραίας = Κάστρο τῆς Σουρίας*) in the stories from the Sporades concerning the castle of Korykos, and with the Macedonian castle of Servia (*Κάστρο τῆς 'Ωραίας = Κάστρο τῆς Σερβίας*) in the story there localized. Still more widely spread is the perversion of 'Ωραία into 'Οβραία (for 'Εβραία = Jew), which is, partly at least,¹ responsible for the numerous 'Jews' Castles' ('Οβραιόκαστρο, Turkish *Chifut Kalesi*) on both sides of the Aegean.

We have thus found that many of the commoner names given to ruined castles in the Greco-Turkish area (*Κάστρο τῆς 'Ωραίας = Kiz Ka'lesi, 'Οβραιόκαστρο—Chifut Kalesi, Dohan Hisar, Kechi Kale*) may be derived from the 'Maiden's Castle' cycle of folk-legend or attached to it with a little ingenuity. The essential for the 'strategic' type is inaccessibility, for the 'immured princess' isolation, for the 'bewitched maiden' remoteness. All these characteristics may be combined

¹ The influence of the *genuine* Chifut Kalesi, a colony of Karaite Jews in the Crimea, must also be taken into consideration.

in the same castle, and the presence of an aqueduct or other remarkable building near it would render it eligible for the 'rival lovers' *motif*. One building could therefore lay claim to more than one legend, as is conspicuously the case with 'Leander's Tower' and Korykos.

In conclusion, it seems worth while to draw attention to a development on the Turkish side of the 'Maiden's Castle' cycle, which brings it into connexion with an entirely new range of associations. In more than one instance the anonymous maiden (*kiz*) heroine of these castle legends is identified by the simple process of adding the syllable *bel* to the already existing *kiz*, and so arriving at Belkis, who figures in eastern legend as the Queen of Sheba and wife of Solomon. A ruin which is so large or so beautiful as to suggest supernatural builders is thus appropriately enough brought into connexion with Solomon, the arch-magician. Such palaces of Belkis are found in the theatre of Aspendus,¹ the temple on Cape Sunium,² and that of Hadrian at Cyzicus.³ The column of Julian at Angora figures as the Minaret of Belkis.⁴ But at Aspendus Belkis in her turn is thrown into the melting-pot of popular etymology and emerges with an entirely new setting based on the equation of the first syllable of her name to the Turkish *bal* (*honey*). Bal Kiz, the 'Honey Maiden', figures as the daughter of the Queen of the Bees; she is courted by the King of the Serpents, who eventually carries her off by means of a cleverly contrived bridge. This bridge is evidently the remarkable siphon-aqueduct of Aspendus,

¹ Texier, *Asie Mineure*, iii, 218. The same author remarks (ii, 169) that Belkis is associated also with Sagalassus. For her at Baalbek see Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, p. 315.

² Piri Reis in *Ath. Mitth.* xxvii, 427.

³ Texier, *Asie Mineure*, ii, 169; Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, p. 5, *cf.* p. 204; Piri Reis, *loc. cit.*

⁴ H. Barth, *Reise*, p. 79; here again there is a fluctuation between 'Kiz Minare' (Tournefort, *Voyage*, Letter xxi) and 'Belkis Minare'.

which is made use of also in the local version of the 'Rival Lovers and the Princess'.¹

¹ The latter part of this development is possibly paralleled in the case of a notable castle in Cilicia called Shah Meran Kalesi, or, in Turkish vernacular, Yilan Kalesi (*Snake's Castle*), which is supposed to be the actual residence of the King of the Serpents (Haji Khalfa, *Djibannuma*, tr. Armain, p. 662; Menasik-el-Haj, tr. Bianchi, in *Rec. de Voyages*, ii, 102; Langlois, *Cilicie*, p. 469; Davis, *Asiatic Turkey*, pp. 73 ff.; Cuinet, *Turquie d'Orient*, ii. 43, 93; H. J. Ross, *Letters from the East*, p. 283). If we take into consideration the facts (a) that Cilicia was once part of the medieval kingdom of Armenia and (b) that Semiramis (Shah Miram) is a prominent figure in Armenian folk-lore (see Tozer, *Turkish Arm.*, pp. 349 ff.; Boré, *Arménie*, p. 75; Scott-Stevenson, *Ride through Asia Minor*, p. 273), it seems probable that Shah Meran is a perversion of Shah Miram (Semiramis), just as Balkiz is of Belkis.

A MODERN TRADITION OF JERUSALEM

DOWN to our own times, certainly as late as the sixties of the last century, the city of Jerusalem solemnly closed its gates every week during the time of the Mohammedans' midday prayer on Fridays.¹ More than one tourist has been disagreeably surprised, on returning from a morning excursion outside the walls, to find himself obliged to wait at the closed gate till the ordinary traffic was resumed. This curious custom arose, not from any religious scruple on the part of the Turks, but on account of an alleged prophecy, which foretold that on this day of the week and at this hour a Christian army should one day surprise the city. The superstition appears to have been more or less general in the Turkish empire, and can be traced as far back as the latter half of the sixteenth century. A western traveller, Dr. Rauwolff, writing in 1575, says² that Turks believed their power was to be overthrown a thousand years after its inception. As their millennium fell a few years later (in 1592-3), they were in his time in great fear of the Christians, and on holidays shut the gates of their towns and public buildings early to prevent being surprised by the Christians.

Later, the custom of closing the town gates during Friday prayer is recorded at Rhodes by several travellers,³ and at Tangier by Borrow, the gypsy-scholar.⁴ At

¹ Cf. E. Robinson, *Palestine*, i, 356; Saulcy, *Voyage en Terre Sainte*, p. 295; Tobler, *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, i, 147; Thévenot, *Voyages*, ii, 653.

² In Ray's *Voyages*, i, 311: quoted in full above, p. 721.

³ Jowett, *Christian Researches*, p. 416; Turner, *Tour in the Levant*, iii, 17; C. B. Elliott, *Travels*, ii, 175.

⁴ *Bible in Spain*, p. 332: cf. Drummond Hay, *Marokko*, pp. 4 f. At Alexandria the Turks shut the *fondics* of the Frankish merchants

Jerusalem itself it cannot be traced earlier than the early seventeenth century,¹ and the silence of the very numerous earlier pilgrims makes it improbable that it obtained much before this. Indeed, the starting-point of the idea is probably rather Rhodes than Jerusalem, since it is a matter of history that in 1525, only three years after the loss of Rhodes to Christendom, a plot was elaborated for its surprise and recapture. This depended on taking advantage of the slack watch kept by the garrison during the time of Friday prayers.² At Jerusalem, however, as often happens, this comparatively recent tradition of the weekly hour of danger was amalgamated with the originally independent idea that a victorious Christian army was fated one day to enter the city by the Golden Gate of the Temple area,³ the traditional site, not only of Christ's triumphal entry, but also of that of the victorious Byzantine emperor Heraclius, bearing the True Cross recovered in his Persian campaign.⁴

The Golden Gate has been walled up for many centuries.⁵ Probably on some theory of recurrent

at night and during the Friday prayer (De Brèves, *Voyages*, p. 235). Shaw (*Travels to Barbary*, i, 402) says the practice was general all over the Turkish area.

¹ Tobler, *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, i, 147, citing Troilo (1666-?), p. 152.

² Torr, *Rhodes*, p. 33.

³ Thévenot, *Voyages*, ii, 653; Maundrell, ed. Wright, p. 173; Goujon, *Terre Sainte*, p. 122 (emperor of France to enter conquered Jerusalem here); Pierotti, *Légendes Racontées*, p. 35 (a king of the West to enter).

⁴ I. Burton, *Inner Life of Syria*, p. 371.

⁵ De Brèves, *Voyages*, p. 158; d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 214; Thévenot, *loc. cit.*; Tischendorf, *Terre-Sainte*, p. 189. Lady Burton (*loc. cit.*) says it has been closed for 713 years; the *Citez de Hierusalem* (1187), cited by Tobler, *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, ii, 994, says the gate was already walled up. Williams (*The Holy City*, i, 152) records the tradition that it had been closed by Omar. For the evidence of its temporary opening on the festivals of Palm Sunday and Holy Cross, see below, p. 753, n. 6.

cycles, it appears to have been fairly usual for a Mohammedan conqueror to block the gate by which he entered a conquered city, presumably to prevent the operation being repeated to his prejudice by a hostile force at a subsequent period, when the constellations should again be in favourable conjunction for entry.¹ Historical instances of this occur at the conquest of Rhodes in 1522² and of Bagdad in 1638.³ Elsewhere in the East blocked city gates are not uncommonly associated, rightly or wrongly, with this superstition.⁴ Greek tradition, for example, holds that the Golden Gate of Byzantine Constantinople was blocked for a like reason.⁵

It seems evident, from the passage in Rauwolff, that the gates of Turkish towns were closed on Fridays in apprehension, not of an isolated attack, but of a more general catastrophe to Moslem arms, coincident with the year 1000 of the Mohammedan era (A. D. 1592-3); and it is probable that the idea, starting from Rhodes, developed in that sense. At Jerusalem the Golden Gate appears to have been walled up already in crusading times,⁶ though it was temporarily opened twice a year for the two festivals of Palm Sunday and Holy

¹ Cf. the case of the Persian ambassador in 1806 cited above, p. 203, n. 5.

² Belabre, *Rhodes of the Knights*, p. 64.

³ Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 240.

⁴ The Turks walled up a gate at Damascus for this reason (Thévenot, *Voyages*, iii, 49: there is a view of it in Porter, *Damascus*). A certain gate at Cairo was unlucky for Mohammed Ali, who never used it (Mills, *Three Months*, p. 53).

⁵ Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, p. 669.

⁶ Joannes Wirziburgensis (c. 1165: cited by Tobler, *Descr. Terr. Sanct. ex saec. viii, ix, xii, xv*, p. 128) says it was 'lapidibus obstructa' except when opened for Palm Sunday and Holy Cross. Similarly, Ludolf von Suchem (*De Itinere* (c. 1350), p. 76) says it was 'semper clausa', but describes the Palm Sunday procession. There were wooden doors there in the sixteenth century according to Meggen (1542), Villinger (1565), Fürer (1566), and Lussy (1583), all cited by Tobler, *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, i, 156.

Cross,¹ commemorating the entries of Christ² and Heraclius³ respectively. But the Turks' apprehension of attack was sufficiently real to induce them to set a special watch inside the blocked gate during the fatal hour.⁴

It will be remembered that our own troops, who in a sense may be held to have fulfilled the belated prophecy, marched into Jerusalem by the commonplace Jaffa or Hebron gate used by every visitor driving from the station before the war. Thus the 'prophecy' appears to have been no more—though perhaps it is fair to add, no less—successful than many others made in recent times.

¹ Sept. 14.

² The superstition that Christ shall re-enter Jerusalem by the Golden Gate during the Friday prayer is mentioned by Quaresimus (1616–26), Troilo (1666–?), and Chateaubriand (1806), according to Tobler, *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, i, 156. Petachia (tr. Carmoly, in *Nouv. Journ. As.* viii, 1831, p. 404) says that the Jews of his time had a tradition that the *Séchinah* went into exile by this gate and should one day return in triumph by it: in support of the tradition he quotes *Zech.* xiv, 4 and *Is.* lii, 8.

³ Burton, *Inner Life of Syria*, p. 371: Tobler, *Descr. Terr. Sanct. ex saec. viii, ix, xii, xv*, p. 128 (Joannes Wirziburgensis).

⁴ Pierotti, *Légendes Racontées*, p. 35: Tobler, *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, i, 146. That the Arabic root *feth* should mean both *to enter* and *to conquer* may also have contributed towards the growth of the legend.

ORIGINAL TEXTS

I. *The Parthenon as a Mosque*¹

La Guilletière, *Athènes Ancienne et Nouvelle*, pp. 193 f.

‘**I**L n’y a pas quinze ans que le Temple de Minerve estoit une des plus celebres Mosquées du Monde. Elle avoit esté mise en reputation par les Derviches, qui sont des Religieux Turcs ; Et avant que le grand Vizir . . . irrité des fraudes qu’ils faisoient dans la Religion Mahometane les eust chassez de l’Europe pour les renvoyer à Cognac, lieu de leur institution, on ne faisoit point d’estat d’un de ces Religieux s’il n’avoit esté en pelerinage à la Mosquée d’Athenes. Ces sortes de Pelerins avoient defiguré le dedans du Temple par une quantité de morceaux de taffetas, et de vieilles escharpes qu’ils avoient arborées de tous costez. Il n’y avoit pas jusqu’à leurs Devots . . . qui n’attachassent aux murailles quelque petite Banderolle mi partie de rouge, & de jaune, & quelquefois de jaune & de vert . . . Enfin on y attachoit quelque curiosité qu’on avoit apportée des pays estrangers, & un Artisan Turc qui avoit fait quelque chef d’œuvre de son art, le venoit estaler le long des murailles. Ce grand attirail d’offrandes en est presque banny.’

II. *Extracts on Lampedusa*²

(a) Thévenot, *Travels* (1656), p. 271.

‘It is an Island that produces nothing, and is only inhabited by Coneys : but because there is good Water upon it, and a good Harbour, Ships put in there for Fresh-water.

In that Isle there is a little Chappel, wherein there is

¹ To illustrate p. 14.

² To illustrate p. 46.

an Image of the Blessed Virgin, which is much Reverenced both by Christians and Infidels, that put ashore there ; and every Vessel always leaves some present upon it. Some Money, others Bisket, Oyl, Wine, Gunpowder, Bullets, Swords, Musquets, and in short, all things that can be useful even to little cases ; and when any one stands in need of any of these things, he takes it, and leaves Money or somewhat else in place thereof. The Turks observe this practice as well as the Christians, and leave Presents there. As for the Money no body meddles with that, and the Galleys of *Malta* go thither once a year, and take the Money they find upon the Altar, which they carry to our Lady of *Trapano* in Sicily. [Follows a story of a ship which could not leave the island, one of the ship's company having stolen from the Virgin] . . . Many Miracles are wrought in that place, at the intercession of our Blessed Lady, which are not so much as doubted of, neither by Christians nor 'Turks.'

(b) Sir Dudley North (1680), in R. North, *Lives of the Norths*, ii, 160 f.

'Lampadoza . . . they say is uninhabited, and hath on it only one vaulted building, or church ; on one side whereof, there is an altar for the Christians, and, on another place, for the devotions of the Turks ; and so it is by all esteemed holy. In this building, they say, are always found most things necessary for seafaring men ; clothes of all sorts, cordage, biscuit, &c., and a treasury of all sorts of money, though in no great quantity. It is lawful for all, that come here, to serve their occasions with what they find and need ; but they must be sure to leave in value somewhat else that may be equally needful on other occasions, be it money or goods ; which if they perform not, it is said that they can never sail from the island, but will stand still in the sea, be the wind never so fresh. For this reason, it is

said that, whenever any vessels or gallies of Corso, come here, who are full of lawless needy rogues, they, that command in chief, have care to send some principal man, to see that nothing be embezzled by any of their company, for fear of being punished by the winds, &c.’

(c) Sieur Dumont, *Nouveau Voyage du Levant*, 1694, p. 224.

‘ Il y a dans cette Ile une petite Chapelle dediée à la Vierge, dans laquelle il y a un Autel, & tout auprès un cercueil, avec un turban au dessus, & on appelle cela le Tombeau de Mahomet. Les Turcs & les Chrêtiens ont une si grande devotion à cette Chapelle ; qu’il n’y passe jamais ni des uns ni des autres, sans y faire quelque ofrande soit d’argent, soit de vivres ou autre chose ; nous y trouvâmes dessus deux grosses pastaiques fraiches, un sequin d’or, des aspres d’argent, & quelque petite monnoye de Malthe, que nôtre Capitaine augmenta d’une piece de trois sols & demi de France. Nôtre nocher me dit que tout ce qu’on métoit là, étoit pour le secours des pauvres Esclaves, qui se savoient souvent de Malthe ou d’Afrique par cet endroit, & devenoit si sacré & miraculeux ; que si quelqu’un qui ne seroit pas esclave, avoit pris quelque chose sur cet Autel, il ne pouroit jamais sortir de l’Ile.’

(d) J. Otter, *Voyage en Turquie* (1734), ii, 371 ff.

‘ L’Isle n’a point d’autre habitation qu’un Hermitage,¹ ou l’on voit une petite Chapelle dediée à la sainte Vierge, & le Tombeau d’un Murabit nommé Beni Mubarek, l’un & l’autre taillés dans le roc.

¹ The hermit is mentioned already by Ariosto. In *Orlando Furioso*, XLIII, cl ff., he mentions the island as the scene of a combat between Christians and Saracens. *Ibid.* XLI, i ff., he relates how Roger, on his way from Biserta, is cast ashore on a desert island inhabited by a hermit who baptizes him. The island, however, is never named. In XLIII, clxxxvii ff., Ariosto indicates that the hermit and island are near Sicily.

‘Cet Hermitage appartient aujourd’hui à un Prêtre Maltois, qui dessert la Chapelle. Il a aussi soin de tenir la grotte du tombeau bien propre, & d’y faire brûler une lampe. Ce n’est même qu’à cette condition qu’il y est souffert par les Turcs & par les Barbaresques, comme il paroît par des Patentes accordées à l’Hermite par un Capoudan Pacha, et par les Begs d’Alger & de Tripoli . . . Les vaisseaux qui y relâchent en assez grand nombre laissent tous quelque chose à l’Hermite, soit en argent, soit en provisions. Frère Antoine m’avoua même qu’il arrivoit souvent que de bonnes ames Mahométanes, attirées par la dévotion au tombeau de Beni Mubarek, laissoient des aumônes pour l’entretien de sa lampe.’

(e) Pococke, *Description of the East* (1737), II, ii, 183.

‘[Lampidosa] did belong to a Christian hermit, and a Marabut or Turkish hermit, and served as a place both for Christians and Turks to take in provisions, with an agreement that neither of them should suffer from those of the different religion. The Marabut dying not long ago, the Mahometan Corsairs seized on what was in the island, and carried the Christian away captive, of which great complaint was made by the French consul, who demanded the captive.’

(f) Egmont and Heymann, *Travels*, i, 63.

‘Its only inhabitant is a French priest, called father Clement, who lives in a cave like a hermit, probably by way of penance, to atone for the disorders of his life while a pirate, which for many years was his occupation. Some part of his provisions he fetches from *Malta* in a boat, though scarce a ship touches here without making him some acknowledgment. He has also made himself a garden, and erected an altar, where he reads mass before a statue of the Virgin Mary, pretended to be miraculous. Close by this harbour is interred a Turkish

Saint, in great repute among the Mahometans, who, on passing by this island, never fail to offer up their prayers.'

III. *Extracts on Mamasun*¹

(a) Pharasopoulos, *Tà Σύλατα*, 1895, p. 74.

Μαμασός . . . ἐνταῦθα διατηρεῖται . . . ὁ ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου Μάμαντος λελατομημένος ἐν βράχῳ καὶ περιέχων τὰ λείψανα τοῦ προμνημονηθέντος ἁγίου, ὧν τεμάχιά τινα ἐπηργυρωμένα φέρουσι γράμματα Ἀρμενικά. ἐπίσης ὑπάρχει καὶ ἀργυρᾶ θήκη, ἐν ᾗ εὐρίσκεται ἐν ὠλένιον καὶ ἐν κερκιδικὸν ὄστουν. Ὑπάρχει δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀργυροῦν περιλαίμιον, δι' οὗ περιβάλλουσι τοὺς λαιμοὺς αὐτῶν, οἱ κατὰ καιροὺς πρὸς ἴασιν ἐρχόμενοι ἀσθενεῖς.

Ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ταύτῃ Χριστιανοὶ καὶ Ὀθωμανοί, ἐν ἀπιστεύτῳ καὶ πρωτοφανῇ (sic) ἁρμονίᾳ ἐκτελοῦσι τὰ θρησκευτικὰ αὐτῶν καθήκοντα ἑκάτεροι κατὰ τὰ νενομισμένα. Εὐρίσκονται δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐννέα εἰκόνες παριστῶσαι τὸν ἅγιον Μάμαντα, τοὺς ἁγ. Κωνσταντῖνον καὶ Ἑλένην καὶ τὴν Θεομήτορα.

i.e. 'At Mamasos is preserved the rock-hewn church of S. Mamas, which contains the relics of the saint. Some portions of these have been silvered over and have Armenian letters on them. There is also a silver reliquary which contains one arm and one shin bone, and a silver necklace which is put round the neck of the sick persons, who come from time to time for healing.

In this church both Christian and Turk perform their religious duties, each after his manner, strange to say without the least friction. There are in it nine pictures (εἰκόνες) representing S. Mamas, SS. Constantine and Helen, and the Virgin.'

(b) Levides, *Αἱ ἐν Μονολίθοις Μοναὶ τῆς Καππαδοκίας*, pp. 130 f.

Ἐν τῇ δύο ὥρας ταύτης [*sc.* "Ἀκ Σαραί"] ἀπεχούση κόμη Μαμασὴν σώζεται ἐκκλησία τιμωμένη ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ ἁγίου Μάμαντος καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Κωνσταντῖνου ἀρχαία λελατομημένη ἀνήκουσα εἰς Μοναστήριον ἡρειπωμένον, ὅπερ οἱ περίξ χρι-

¹ To illustrate p. 44.

στιανοὶ θέλοντες νὰ ἀνακαινίσωσιν ἔκτισαν περὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν οἰκήματά τινα εἰς κατοίκησιν τῶν δις τοῦ ἔτους, τῇ 15 Ἀυγούστου καὶ κα' Μαΐου ἐκ Καρβάλης, Ἀρχελαΐδος [Ak Serai] καὶ Νεαπόλεως [Nevshehr] ἐρχομένων προσκυνητῶν. ὁ νεωκόρος τοῦ ναοῦ τούτου εἶνε τοῦρκος, δεικνύει δὲ ἐντὸς κιβωτίου λείψανά τινα, ἅτινα εὐρέθησαν αὐτόθι καὶ λέγεται ὅτι εἰσὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Μάμαντος· ὅτι μὲν δὲν εἶνε τοῦ ἁγίου Μάμαντος δηλοῦται, etc., εἰσὶ δὲ οὐχὶ ἑνός, ἀλλὰ δύο ἢ καὶ τριῶν ἁγίων λείψανα.

i. e., 'In the village Mamasin, two hours from Ak Serai, is preserved an ancient rock-cut church dedicated to S. Mamas. This belonged to a monastery now ruined, which the Christians of the neighbourhood had the idea of restoring. They have erected near the church buildings for the reception of the pilgrims who come twice a year (15 August and 21 May)¹ from Karvala, Ak Serai, and Nevshehr. The custodian of this church is a Turk, who exhibits certain relics in a box. These were found on the spot and are said to be those of S. Mamas, but it is clear that they are not his, from what we have said in the chapter on Caesarea about the martyrdom of this saint. Further, they are not the remains of one, but of two or three, saints.'

(c) Carnoy and Nicolaidès, *Traditions populaires de l'Asie Mineure*, pp. 192 f.

'Le couvent de Saint-Mamas était, il y a longtemps, bien longtemps, une maison en ruine où un Ottoman serrait de la paille. Or, un jour, le feu prit de lui-même dans la mesure et consuma toute la paille. Le Turc ne comprit rien à ce prodige qui se renouvela plusieurs fois.

De guerre lasse le propriétaire fit une étable de la maison ruinée, et y enferma ses bestiaux. Le lendemain, un de ses animaux mourut : le surlendemain, ce fut un autre ; puis un troisième, un quatrième, jusqu'au dernier.

¹ Assumption and S. Constantine. S. Mamas is celebrated on 2 Sept.

L'Ottoman, qui était un homme pieux, soupçonna quelque mystère. Il fit des fouilles dans le sol de la mesure et découvrit d'abord une église grecque, puis les reliques de saint Mamas.

Le propriétaire fit de l'étable un lieu de pèlerinage, moitié mosquée, moitié église.

Mamaçon-Teguessi—couvent de Mamas—se trouve dans un petit village turc.'

IV. *Extracts on Eski Baba* ¹

(a) S. Gerlach (1578), *Tage-Buch*, p. 511.

'Es vor dem Dorff daraussen eine alte Griechische Kirche hat, darinnen vor Zeiten *St. Niclaus Bischoff* gewesen. Die ist jetzunder gleich wie ein Spital der Türckischen Mönch und Heiligen, welche nun darinnen wohnen. Vor derselben heraussen an der Mauren hangen viel Schaffs-Felle, die sie über sich nehmen, wann sie aussgehen. In der Kirchen drinnen ist zur rechten Hand ein Ort mit einem Gegitter von der andern Kirchen unterscheiden, da an der Wand einander nach herumb hangen ein Hauffen *Rosenkrantz* von schwarzem Holtz: eine Stangen von einem Fahnen, wie sie die *Arabische Bettler* tragen: Ein übergüldtes *Straussen Ey*: Ein *grosser Buzigan*: ² Ein Bischofs Hut, in der Mitte gleich, und ein *Rosen-Krantz* dabey: recht unter diesem ist es zugerichtet wie ein Bettlein, zu dessen Füßen 5. *Leuchter* stehen, und wieder eine *Stange* wie der Arabischen Bettler, in der Mitten dieser Leuchter brennet ein ewiges Liecht. Neben dem Bischoffs-Hut hanget an der Wand ein grosser eiserner *Pfeil*, ein überaus grosser *Bogen*, des Alibides höltzernes Schwert, zween höltzerne Colben, eine Tartschen, ³ ein Dänlein und Hirschhorn, endlich 4. Hirschfüsse. Diese Waffen, sprechen die Türcken, habe *St. Niclaus* gefüh-

¹ To illustrate p. 54 ff.

² *Bosdaghan* (Tk.)=*mace*.

³ *Round shield*.

ret : Die *Griechen* aber sprechen, die Türcken habens nur hinein gehänget. Heraussen ist die Kirche mit schlechten Deppichen bedeckt, als ob stäts etliche Schneider da wären : An der Wand stehen *Arabische Schriften*.’

(b) Robert Bargrave, *Travels* (1652), Bodleian Codex Rawlinson, C. 799, f. 50 *verso*.

‘Sept. 14 (1652). We came to a Toune calld Baba Sari Saltik (Father yellow Pate) which has its name from a Chappell therein, so calld by ye Turkes, but by ye Greeks, Aghios Nicolas, where a Xtian saint is sayd to be buryed ; to whom belongs this Story : When ye Turkes first conquerd these Parts, they assayd divers times to burne this Chappell but were still miraculously preuented, wherefore they conclude that Saint to have been in part a Mussleman (of theyr Relligion) and so proclaime him to this day. It is now lookd to by a dervis-woman who keeps a Lamp allways burning in it and it is called a Tekie.’

(c) Covell, *Diaries* (1675), ed. Bent, p. 186.

‘An old Turk took it (Bobbas-cui) from the Christians, and from him it is now so named, for *bobba* is the common name for *Father*, and is given to every old man in common discourse. He lyes buryed in St. Nicholas’ church, the one thing remaining of the Greekes memoriall or building here. It is made a place of prayer, and he is reckoned a great saint among the common people. When we went into it to see his tomb we met another old Turk, who had brought three candles, and presented them to an old woman that looks after it, and shews it to strangers. He said he had made a vow in distresse to do it. The old woman told us : Yes, my sons, when ever you are in danger pray to this good holy man, and he will infallibly help you. Oh fye ! sister, quoth the old Turk, do not so vainly commit sin,

for he was a mortall man and a sinner as well as we. I know it, quoth the old wife, that onely God doth all and he doth nothing ; but God for his sake will the sooner hear us ; and so ended that point of Turkish divinity. This Church is standing pretty intire. It is but little . . . but very handsome, in the same forme almost with Sta. Sophia, with a great *Cupola* over the body of it ; but the outward wall is scaloped.’

V. *Extracts on the Tekke of Hafiz Khalil, Balchik* ¹

(a) Jireček, *Bulgarien* (1891), p. 533.

‘ Von den sechs und zwanzig Derwischen, die Kanitz 1872 hier fand, ist nur ein Einziger übrig. Der Heilige dieses Klosters ist ein merkwürdiger utraquistischer Mann ; den Türken gilt er als Akjazyly-Babá, den Christen als St. Athanas und wird von Christen und Mohammedanern besonders zur Entdeckung von gestohlenem Vieh angerufen. Vor dem Krimkrieg soll er nur das Vieh der Musulmänner beschützt haben, aber seitdem fanden die schlaunen Derwische Wege ihn auch den Christen genehm zu machen. Im Jahre 1883 wurden die Geschenke für jede der beiden Personen des Patrons besonders gesammelt und das christliche Geld zu einem Schulbau in Balčik verwendet. Jetzt hat die Kirche diesem Doppelcultus ein Ende gemacht, dem wir bald in einer zweiten, vielleicht älteren Gestalt begegnen werden. Das ‘Tekke’ selbst ist ein thurm-artiges Siebeneck aus schönen Quadern mit starkem Echo im Innern ; das Grab des Heiligen ist ein niedriger dachförmiger Sarkophag mit einer grünen Decke, umgeben von Leuchtern und Lampen. Dabei liegen der Koran, die Schüssel, das Siegel (ein metallener durchlöcherter Deckel) und die Pantoffel des Akjazyly-Babá, in welchen Fieberkranke Rundgänge um das Grab zu machen pflegen. Die Russen sollen 1828 den Schädel

¹ To illustrate p. 91.

des Heiligen entführt haben. Auf dem Hofe zeigt man unter einem Aprikosenbaum einen Stein, bei welchem Akjazyly-Babá badete oder nach der christlichen Legende St. Athanas getödtet wurde. Gegenüber liegt die malerische Ruine eines siebeneckigen Imarets (Gasthauses), auf dessen Hof hohes Gras mit Disteln und Klatschrosen wuchert und dessen Kamin Nachteulen bewohnen.'

(b) J. Nicolaos, 'H 'Οδησός, pp. 248 ff. (Translation.)

'In the village of Tekke, situated four hours north-east of the city [Varna] on the Balchik road and now inhabited by Circassian refugees, is a church called Tekke, from which the village takes its name. This church was once Christian and dedicated to S. Athanasius; it was undoubtedly in Christian hands originally. It is now occupied by Mohammedan dervishes. It stands alone on a steep hill opposite the village, which occupies the lower slopes of an adjacent valley. On the second of May, when the feast of S. Athanasius is celebrated by pious Christians, it has been frequented time out of mind by the population of the city [Varna] and the neighbouring villages, and every year there takes place an important *panegyris*, since the healing virtue of the church is celebrated and attracts crowds yearly to the spot. The church is always open and any one who wishes may go and light a candle there. In it is the tomb of the saint, half a metre high and built of marble; on it are a Gospel and lamps, and near it is a hole in the paved floor. When any one is ill, or has damaged a limb, he is carried by his relatives to the tomb of the saint, near which is a pair of women's slippers.¹ Then the dervish asks the sick man whether he is not afraid to pass the night there: if he says he is not, the dervish shuts the door, and the sick man stays

¹ "Εν ζεῦγος ἐμβάδων ἢ μᾶλλον γυναικείων εὐμαρίδων.

by the tomb or sleeps there, thrusting his maimed hand or ailing foot into the hole mentioned above, and at dawn comes out cured.

‘ One such sufferer, whose thigh was injured, relates that he stayed there all night with his foot thrust into the hole ; the dervish retired to his house to sleep, the church was locked, and the patient remained alone in it. All night he felt his foot dragged downward by a violent force, and thought he would be sucked down altogether. To increase his alarm, he heard in the silence of the night a noise as of a man, or rather a spirit, trailing the slippers we have mentioned regularly over the paved floor of the church. The wretched man shrank into himself with fear, and never raised his eyes to see what was happening, but only listened. The noise continued till it was nearly morning. At last, thinking he was going to be sucked down altogether into the earth and making up his mind to hold out to the end, whatever might happen, he fell asleep at the hole about dawn. In the morning the dervish opened the church ; there was no supernatural noise or disturbance. The sufferer took his foot out of the hole, came out entirely cured, and returned home telling what had happened.

‘ A woman of Varna, who did not believe what was reported of the healing power of the church, put her hand into the hole, pretending it was ailing, whereas in reality it was perfectly sound. She remained all night in the church alone, shut in by the dervish, and had the same experience, that is to say, she was drawn down with irresistible force by the arm she had placed in the hole, and heard the noise of the spirit walking in the church with the slippers trailing over the floor. But in the morning, when she wanted to take her arm from the hole, they say she was totally unable to do so until a posse of villagers came and dragged it out by force. The woman herself was so frightened that she died a few days after.’

VI. *Extract*¹ on the *Bektashi Tekkes of Thessaly*²

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ, 1893, no. 55, pp. 442 f. (Translation)

‘South-east of this village [Irinì or Rinì in the deme of Skotousa], in a hilly and romantic situation among tall and shady trees (planes, dwarf-oaks, and cornels), stands the *tekke* of the Bektashi, an establishment famous throughout all Thessaly. In it, according to Government statistics, reside thirty-nine dervishes, but at the time of my visit (1888) I was told that there were, exclusive of servitors, fifty-four, all illiterate and superstitious Albanians. An intelligent dervish informed me that the *tekke* was formerly a monastery of the western church,³ and that the Turks took it over about 1630-40; there was a church of S. Demetrius, but the dervishes say it was dedicated to S. George, on account of the greater veneration they affect towards the latter.⁴ For a time the *tekke* was occupied by Turkish dervishes

¹ To illustrate p. 93.

² This is a translation of an article from the *Volo* periodical to which my attention was called by M. Pericles Apostolides of Volo. The periodical in question was edited, and seems to have been written also, by an Athonite monk, Zosimas.

³ On this point Mr. Apostolides has kindly supplied me with the following additional information: ‘I was told at the *tekke* of Rinì that an inscribed slab with Latin characters was preserved there: this may be the tomb of some Franciscan abbot. According to a *chryso-boullon* of the monastery of Makryniotissa the lands of this foundation extended to the district of Seraji Irini (Σερατζή Ἰρινί). It is therefore most probable that this site was occupied and the monastery built by Franciscans in the Frankish period.’ The existence of a Franciscan monastery in seventeenth-century Thessaly seems to me highly improbable. Confusion has probably arisen from the inscription in letters really or supposedly ‘Frankish’.

⁴ In *Προμηθεύς*, 1891 (p. 268), the same author writes: ‘There is a local tradition that the dervishes preserve to the present day a picture of S. Demetrius and burn lamps before it. I questioned the dervishes on this subject, but was not allowed to see the picture.’

from the great *tekke*, called Kulakli Baba, at Konia.¹ But during the despotic reign of the famous Ali Pasha of Tepelen (according to the *Phonì tou Laoù*),² who justified his contempt for religion by pretending to be a follower of the liberal Bektashi, it was given to the Albanians ; at this time there were founded in Thessaly certain convents which were rather political rallying-points for the surrounding population than religious establishments. There were four such convents, all situated at strategic points, commanding the more frequented highways. These were the *tekkes* of Turbali Sultan near Rini, on the road from Volo to Pharsala and Karditsa ; of Balli Baba, near the village of Tatar, on the road between Lamia, Larissa, and Pharsala ; of Shahin Baba, near the village of Kupekli ; and Baba Tekke, in the celebrated Vale of Tempe, on the road from Larissa to Chaisi. These *tekkes* became the regular resorts of criminals, who plundered and spoiled the surrounding populations. So that, at the time of the destruction of the Janissaries by Sultan Mahmud, in 1826, an imperial order was issued for the destruction of the Bektashi, and the population, both Christian and Mohammedan, fell upon the *tekkes* and drove out their inmates. Two *tekkes*, those of the villages Tatar and Kupekli, were burnt ; that of Rini, either because its inmates put up a more determined resistance, or because it lay some distance from Pharsala, was spared. From 1833 onwards all sorts of rascals, sometimes even brigands, began once more to congregate in it on the pretence of doing penance, and this state of things continued till the last years of Turkish rule under the direction of a former servant of the Muslim Aga, a certain Bairam Aga, who continues to preside over the

¹ The ' great *tekke* at Konia ' can hardly be other than that of the Mevlevi dervishes, who wear a headdress called *Kula* (' tower ').

² Apparently the Volo newspaper (1882-4) of that name, but I have searched it in vain to find this reference.

tekke. Under him the system of rapine and pillage reached its height: the whole countryside was subjected by the raids of his armed brigands. A wily and far-sighted man, he legitimized his oppressive acts after the Union¹ by forged documents, supplied him by the Turkish authorities, making the *tekke* his personal property. He had still two or three monks and a few servitors to back him.

There is a local tradition that the *tekke* was built on the site of an ancient Byzantine monastery of S. George, but it is impossible to confirm this by investigation as long as the Albanians remain in possession. The *tekke* has defences like a small fortress² and entrance is forbidden.

At the time of the Union there were fifty monks or dervishes in the *tekke*: there are now only three and some paid servitors of Bairam Baba, all Albanians. The dervishes who formerly lived here were remarkable for the fact that they wore in their right ears a great iron earring,³ and hanging on their breasts an eight-sided stone;⁴ the novices wore white caps, and all shaved their heads once a week.

¹ *i. e.* of Thessaly with Greece, 1882.

² This is an absurd exaggeration: the chief defences are two sheep-dogs.

³ This is the distinguishing mark of celibate dervishes of the Bektashi order.

⁴ This is evidently the *Teslim Tash* ('Stone of Resignation') of the Bektashi, which has, however, generally a twelve-pointed form.

GLOSSARY ¹

Abdal, fool-saint.
Akbi Dede (or *Dede Baba*), 'apostolic' successor of Haji Bektash.
ἀνάθημα, votive offering.
ἀνακομιδή, exhumation of bones.
Anastasis (Gk.), Resurrection.
ashik, lover.
ayasma (ἄγιασμα), holy well.
baba, father, Mohammedan abbot.
bey, squire, holder of a certain rank.
Chelebi, Head of the Mevlevi of Konia; 'hereditary' successor of Haji Bektash at Haji Bektash.
chesbme, fountain.
cbifilik, farm (*lit.* the amount of land that can be ploughed with a *cbift*, or pair of oxen).
dagb, mountain.
decollati (Lat.), executed criminals.
dede, grandfather, dervish, holy man.
Dede Baba = *Akbi Dede*, *q. v.*
derebey, kind of Turkish governor now obsolete, robber baron.
dervish, kind of Mohammedan monk or religious mendicant.
dev (Pers.), monster.
duden, underground channel.
efrit (Arab.), hideous demon.
eikon (Gk.), Orthodox Church picture.
emir (Arab.), chief, prince.
enkolpion (Gk.), pocket *eikon*.
εὐχολόγιον, Greek prayer-book.
fatiba, opening chapter of the Koran.
gbazi, champion of religion (title given to sultans or generals who

have gained a victory over non-believers).
baga, *i. e.* *agba* ('Mr.').
baji, pilgrim to Mecca or other holy place.
hammam, bath.
begoumenos (Gk.), Greek abbot.
ibadet khane, house of worship.
ilija, natural tepid spring.
imam, Mohammedan priest, leader in the ritual performance of prayer.
imaret, soup-kitchen for the poor.
in, cave.
jami, mosque.
jebar, tyrant, oppressor.
jigber, liver.
jinn, one of the *genii*.
juma, Friday, day of congregation.
kabile, tribe, clan.
kadi, district judge administering the religious law.
kale, castle.
kapu, gate.
kara, black.
karaja, roebuck.
kavass, gendarme, man-servant.
kaza, sub-division of a *sanjak*, *q. v.*
khalife, successor of Mohammed, higher grade of Bektashi abbot.
khan, galleried inn.
khane, house.
kbirka, long cloak, monk's habit.
kboja, schoolmaster.
kbubba, public prayer for the sovereign.
kilise (from Gk.), church.
kirk, *kirkklar*, forty.

¹ Words which occur only once in the text and are there explained are not cited here again. Except where indicated, the words cited are of Turkish origin or commonly borrowed by Turkish. Greek terms are not given in Greek script unless that is found in the text. The meanings given are drawn from the usual dictionaries of the various languages concerned. The glossary as a whole owes much of its value to Sir Harry Lamb, G.B.E., K.C.M.G.

kizx, girl.
kizil, red.
kubbe, domed edifice.
kula, tower.
kurban, sacrifice (*lit.* means of approach).
kub (Arab.), chief of *velis*, *q.v.*
lavra (Gk.), settlement of monks round a common church.
liva, brigadier-general: in civil administration = *sanjak*, *q.v.*
maballa, quarter of a town or village, sub-division of a tribe.
makam (Arab.), sanctuary (see p. 237).
marabut (Arab.), one who devotes himself to the service of the faith.
masbaallah, what God wills!
medreseb, college for study of law and divinity.
meidan, vacant space, square, Bektashi oratory.
meidan tash, see p. 276.
mesjid, mosque.
μέτρον λαμβάνειν, to measure.
mevlud, birthday, particularly of the Prophet.
mibrab, prayer-niche, indicating the direction of the Kaaba.
mollab, judge (if following a name), student (if preceding a name).
mudir, governor of a *mudirlik*, *i.e.* sub-division of a *kaza*, *q.v.*
muezzin, crier who calls to prayer.
mufti, expounder of the religious law.
mubib, Bektashi adherent (*lit.* friend).
mujerred, celibate.
murshid, spiritual guide.
mutebbil, married.
muteveli, administrator of a *vakuf*, *q.v.*
Nakib-el-Asbraf, Registrar of the Prophet's registered descendants.
nameb (Pers.), book.
nishanji, High Chancellor (obsolete).
oda, room.
oda of Janissaries, company.
oke, Turkish pound (2¼ lb.).

pallikar (Gk.), young man, hero.
Panagia (Gk.), Virgin Mary.
panegyris (Gk.), festival.
para, Turkish farthing.
peri, fairy.
pilaf, cooked rice.
pir, old man, patron saint of a guild, superior of an order.
said, holy man, descendant of Mohammed.
sanjak, sub-division of a *vilayet*, *q.v.*
saranda (Gk.), forty.
sari, yellow.
serasker, commander-in-chief.
sbeikh, Mohammedan ecclesiastical dignitary, *e.g.* head of a religious community.
Sbia, non-orthodox Mohammedan.
silibdar, esquire.
skete (Gk.) = *lavra*, *q.v.*
sufi, ascetic rationalist.
Sunni, orthodox Mohammedan.
synaxaria (Gk.), Greek *acta sanctorum*.
taj (Pers.), crown.
Takhtaji, woodcutter.
tash, stone.
tawwaf (Arab.), circumambulation of the Kaaba.
tekke, Mohammedan monastery.
templon (Gk.), screen between chancel and nave.
tesbib, rosary.
teslim tash, stone of resignation.
trisagion (Gk.), see p. 24, n. 4.
turbe, mausoleum.
vakuf, property in mortmain.
veli, saint.
verghi, tribute, now applied only to direct taxes on property.
vilayet, a chief province.
yedi, *yediler*, seven.
yildiz, star.
yogburt, curdled milk.
Turuk, nomad.
ziaret, visit of ceremony, devotion, or friendship.

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PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD
BY JOHN JOHNSON, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY